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Introduction

Le bilinguisme et au-delà :
Réflexions critiques et pratiques innovantes pour appréhender le plurilinguisme dans sa complexité

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Si le bilinguisme et le multilinguisme ne sont ni des phénomènes rares ni des phénomènes nouveaux, ils suscitent toutefois de plus en plus d'intérêt dans la société civile, comme dans la recherche (Edwards, 2013). Cet intérêt croissant s'explique notamment par l'importance accordée à la globalisation des marchés, à la mobilité et aux communications dans le contexte économique néolibéral que nous connaissons aujourd'hui (Beacco & Cherkaoui Messin, 2010 ; Cenoz & Gorter, 2020 ; Flores, 2013 ; Jaspers, 2018 ; Marshall & Moore, 2018). La remise en question des paradigmes monolingues, si fortement ancrés dans les sociétés du Nord global depuis le XIXe siècle (Coste & Simon, 2009), permet par ailleurs de reconnaitre la valeur de pratiques langagières qui existaient déjà, mais qui étaient souvent occultées ou marginalisées (Faltis, 2022 ; Wei & Kelly-Holmes, 2021).

Ce qui a été nommé le *Multilingual turn* ou le virage multilingue (May, 2014a) en linguistique appliquée, en sociolinguistique et en éducation s'est amorcé à la fin des années 1990 et a pris de l'ampleur dans les années 2000 dans le sillage de la parution du manifeste "A pedagogy of multiliteracies : Designing social futures" du New London Group (1996) et du *Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues* (Conseil de l'Europe, 2001). Le virage multilingue est un changement de paradigme qui pose le multilinguisme comme norme sociale plutôt que l'exception à la norme monolingue. Ce mouvement vise à déconstruire la conception des langues comme unités distinctes à enseigner en vase clos, ainsi que l'idée que les

compétences plurilingues seraient organisées en silo et évaluées selon des standards monolingues idéalisés (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020 ; May, 2014a ; Meier, 2017). Van Mensel & Hélot (2019) résument ainsi leur compréhension du virage multilingue :

> Ce virage multilingue fait référence à des recherches qui envisagent le multilinguisme d'un point de vue différent, qui remettent en question des notions telles que celles de langue maternelle, locuteur natif, langue première et langue seconde, bilinguisme additif, etc., soit une conceptualisation réifiée des langues qui ne prend pas en compte la fluidité des pratiques linguistiques, leur dimension sociale, les questions identitaires et les pratiques translangues si courantes parmi les locuteurs plurilingues. (p. 9)

Les pratiques plurilingues, dans leurs nombreuses conceptualisations et leurs diverses manifestations, ne sont plus, selon cette perspective, considérées comme des problèmes à gérer, au sens de Ruiz (1984), ou des signes d'incompétence linguistique (Marshall & Moore, 2018 ; Otheguy, 2016). Elles sont plutôt comprises comme des pratiques sociales qui reflètent le dynamisme et la complexité linguistique, sociale et identitaire au cœur des relations humaines (Coste & Simon, 2009 ; Edwards, 2013 ; García & Sylvan, 2011 ; Hawkins, 2018 ; Marshall & Moore, 2018 ; Meier, 2017 ; Sabatier, 2010 ; Stratilaki-Klein, 2022).

Comme l'explique May (2014a, 2022), ce virage idéologique a certes ébranlé le paradigme monolingue, mais il ne l'a pas remplacé. Le virage multilingue, par son approche critique, a favorisé une prise de conscience de l'ethnocentrisme, de la pensée coloniale et de la perspective historique limitée qui caractérisent la recherche en linguistique appliquée, en éducation et en études des politiques linguistiques (Edwards, 2013 ; Flores, 2013 ; Lotherington, 2011 ; May, 2014a ; Patrick, 2012). Des progrès ont ainsi été observés, entre autres exemples, dans la critique et la déconstruction de l'idéologie du locuteur natif (ex. Chen & Tsou, 2021 ; Jenks & Lee, 2019 ; O'Rourke et al., 2015 ; Ramjattan, 2019 ; Slavkov et al., 2022), dans la théorisation et l'adoption grandissante du concept de répertoire linguistique (ex. Busch, 2017 ; Cenoz & Gorter, 2020 ; Piccardo & Galante, 2018 ; Sabatier, 2010), dans le développement de la pédagogie des multilittératies (ex. King, 2015 ; Lotherington, 2011 ; Reyes-Torres et al., 2021 ; Taylor, 2008 ; Warriner, 2012) et dans la compréhension plus fine du caractère multimodal de la communication (ex. Bezemer & Abdullahi, 2020 ; Dagenais et al., 2017 ; Hawkins, 2018 ; Liu & Lin, 2021).

Toutefois, nombreuses sont les personnes qui estiment que la recherche et la pratique dans les champs des politiques linguistiques, de l'acquisition et de l'enseignement des langues secondes, restent encore fondamentalement marquées par le paradigme monolingue, par l'hégémonie anglo-saxonne et par

le maintien de pratiques coloniales (voir Beacco & Cherkaoui Messin, 2010 ; Cenoz & Gorter, 2020 ; Flores, 2013 ; Jaspers, 2018 ; May, 2014b ; Meier, 2017 ; Paulsrud et al., 2020 ; Stratilaki-Klein, 2022 ; Van Mensel & Hélot, 2019 ; Wei & Kelly-Holmes, 2021, pour n'en nommer que quelques-uns). Il reste difficile d'amener les changements portés par le virage multilingue dans les pratiques et dans les discours et encore moins d'en informer ou d'influencer les décisions gouvernementales en matière linguistique et culturelle (Jaspers, 2018 ; Sabatier, 2010 ; Wei & Kelly-Holmes, 2021). Il reste encore beaucoup à faire pour convaincre du bien-fondé de cette approche, mais aussi pour en reconnaitre les limites, voire les dérives (Jaspers, 2018 ; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012 ; May, 2022). La résistance à implanter ces approches plurilingues en salle de classe (ex. Ballinger et al., 2020 ; Chen & Tsou, 2021 ; Chen et al., 2022 ; Jaspers, 2018 ; Marshall, 2019 ; Prasad, 2015) et la difficulté à le faire sans reproduire les relations sociales inégalitaires (Flores, 2013 ; Ramjattan, 2019 ; Stratilaki-Klein, 2022), illustrent ces limites.

D'ailleurs, le virage vers le multilinguisme devra s'éloigner des valeurs néolibérales des langues et de leur enseignement qui lui sont souvent associées (Coste & Simon, 2009 ; Flores, 2013 ; Jaspers, 2018) et qui limitent sa capacité à soutenir les différentes luttes pour la justice sociale, pour la cohésion sociale, ainsi que pour l'émancipation des apprenantes, des apprenantes et des enseignantes et enseignants qui s'identifient à des groupes minorisés, invisibilisés, marginalisés ou discriminés (Coste & Simon, 2009 ; Faltis, 2022 ; Meier, 2017 ; Piller, 2012). Cela demandera des changements significatifs, voire radicaux, en termes d'idéologie, de discours, de politiques et de pratiques (Bouamer & Bourdeau, 2022 ; Faltis, 2022 ; Flores, 2013 ; Jaspers, 2018 ; Liu & Lin, 2021 ; Ramjattan, 2019) ; des changements qui iront bien *au-delà de la valorisation du bilinguisme et du multilinguisme*.

Quelques mots sur le contexte canadien

Le Canada, à l'instar de ce qui est observé ailleurs dans le monde, entre dans une nouvelle phase dans sa réflexion et ses actions liées au rôle et aux impacts sociaux de sa diversité linguistique en tenant notamment compte des enjeux et de la complexité inhérente à cette diversité. En effet, le pays compte, en plus de ses deux langues officielles, plus de 70 langues parlées par les peuples des Premières Nations, les Métis et les Inuits (McIvor, 2018 ; Sarkar et Lavoie, 2014 ; Statistique Canada, 2017b). Le pays continue aussi de s'enrichir de nombreuses langues provenant des flux migratoires et aujourd'hui, près de 23% des Canadiennes et Canadiens déclarent posséder une langue autre que le français ou l'anglais comme langue maternelle (Statistique Canada, 2017a). Or, dans la continuité des célébrations sur la reconnaissance du caractère bilingue français-anglais du pays il y a maintenant 50 ans, le gouvernement du

Canada a lancé des consultations sur la modernisation de la Loi sur les langues officielles et a annoncé un important investissement pour mettre en œuvre un programme d'apprentissage et de maintien du français et de l'anglais. De nombreuses voix se font pourtant entendre depuis longtemps pour dénoncer les politiques linguistiques coloniales du pays (Boutouchent et al., 2019 ; McIvor, 2015) et elles se sont amplifiées dans la foulée des travaux de la Commission de vérité et réconciliation du Canada (2015). Les revendications insistent sur l'urgence de reconnaitre et mieux protéger les langues autochtones en vue de leur revitalisation, de leur transmission, ainsi que pour contrer, voire renverser, les effets dramatiques du système des écoles résidentielles (Boutouchent et al., 2019 ; McIvor, 2018). Ces contestations ont finalement déclenché des consultations publiques et l'adoption subséquente de la Loi sur les langues autochtones (2019).

Dans le champ de l'éducation, il est important de souligner les initiatives et les progrès qui ont été observés pour l'inclusion des langues et des perspectives autochtones dans les curriculums, bien que plusieurs défis inhérents à cette démarche persistent (Boutouchent et al., 2019 ; Campeau, 2021 ; Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2021 ; Kim, 2017 ; McIvor, 2015 ; Patrick, 2012 ; Sarkar & Lavoie, 2014). La lutte aux discriminations linguistiques et raciales envers les populations autochtones, mais aussi envers différents groupes racisés au pays, constitue aujourd'hui un enjeu incontournable dans le domaine de l'éducation au Canada (voir notamment Madibbo, 2021 ; Ramjattan, 2019). Ces revendications pour plus de justice sociale rendent nécessaire la remise en question du bilinguisme officiel canadien, avec ce que cela implique comme changements dans les politiques et pratiques pédagogiques.

Les recherches et les efforts se poursuivent au Canada pour soutenir le changement de paradigme du monolinguisme vers le multilinguisme. Nombre de travaux de recherche qui portent sur la diversité linguistique en contexte éducatif appellent le monde de l'éducation à revoir ses pratiques et ses politiques du niveau primaire au niveau postsecondaire afin de favoriser l'inclusion scolaire et la réussite de tous les élèves (Armand et al., 2008 ; Ballinger et al., 2020 ; Cummins et al., 2015 ; Dagenais et al., 2017 ; Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2021 ; Hamel et al., 2021 ; Jean-Pierre, 2017 ; Levasseur, 2020 ; Lotherington, 2011 ; Marshall, 2019 ; Prasad, 2015 ; Spiliotopoulos, 2018 ; Taylor, 2008).

Le virage multilingue tarde toutefois à s'implanter dans les pratiques scolaires canadiennes, que ce soit au primaire, au secondaire ou au postsecondaire, et ce tant dans les secteurs anglophones que francophones. Différentes raisons peuvent expliquer cette résistance, dont les suivantes : la prégnance de l'idéologie monolingue ; la croyance largement partagée dans le monde de l'éducation que les langues d'enseignement doivent

rester séparées ; le statut minoritaire des langues autres que l'anglais ; les représentations du bilinguisme et du multilinguisme et les valeurs qui leur sont accordées ; les attitudes, croyances et approches pédagogiques du corps enseignant ; les contraintes logistiques, le manque de formation initiale et continue des enseignantes et enseignants et le manque de ressources pédagogiques (ex. Ballinger et al., 2017 ; Ballinger et al., 2020 ; Cummins, 2019 ; Dagenais, 2017 ; Haque, 2012 ; Lotherington, 2011 ; Spiliotopoulos, 2018). C'est pourquoi les recherches doivent se poursuivre à ce sujet et plusieurs des articles de ce volume se penchent sur ces questions.

Présentation du volume

Ce volume des *Cahiers de l'ILOB* regroupe une sélection d'articles évalués par les pairs issus du Colloque 2021 du Centre canadien d'études et de recherche sur le bilinguisme et l'aménagement linguistique (CCERBAL). Ce colloque virtuel s'est tenu en mai 2021, sous les auspices de l'Institut des langues officielles et du bilinguisme de l'Université d'Ottawa. Sous le thème général du *Bilinguisme et au-delà : Faire avancer la réflexion sur les pédagogies, les politiques et les pratiques*, plus de 275 participantes et participants se sont rassemblés pour étudier la question du bilinguisme dans toute sa complexité. Les articles retenus pour ce volume illustrent la volonté des autrices et auteurs de partager des pistes de recherche critique et des pratiques innovantes qui sont essentielles pour amener le virage multilingue à dépasser les limites que nous lui connaissons.

L'article de Jim Cummins, "Pedagogical translanguaging : Examining the credibility of unitary versus crosslinguistic translanguaging theory" ouvre le volume avec une analyse de la crédibilité de la théorie du *translanguaging* unitaire (UTT) et de la théorie du *translanguaging* interlinguistique (CTT), deux conceptions du *translanguaging* pédagogique. L'UTT, comme l'explique l'auteur, soutient que le système cognitif du locuteur bilingue est unitaire et indifférencié, alors que la CTT est basée sur le principe qu'il existe effectivement des caractéristiques spécifiques à la langue dans le système cognitif du locuteur bilingue. Pour cette raison, l'UTT rejette des concepts théoriques que la CTT considère comme théoriquement crédibles, notamment le bilinguisme additif, la langue académique, la compétence sous-jacente commune et l'enseignement pour le transfert interlinguistique. Cummins présente des arguments pour défendre la crédibilité de ces concepts et conclut que de nombreuses affirmations théoriques de l'UTT sont logiquement erronées et non étayées par des preuves empiriques. Par conséquent, elles risquent de saper les contributions importantes apportées par le *translanguaging* pédagogique.

Les articles de recherche suivants ont été regroupés selon deux grands

thèmes : 1) les défis et les possibilités pour les locuteurs pluri/multilingues et 2) pratiques innovantes en enseignement et apprentissage des langues secondes. Ils seront brièvement décrits ci-dessous.

Défis et possibilités pour les locuteurs pluri/multilingues

Dans l'article "Centring multilingual learners and countering racism in Canadian teacher education," Antoinette Gagné, Jeff Bale, Julie Kerekes, Shakina Rajendram, Mama Adobea Nii Owoo, Katie Brubacher, Jennifer Burton, Elizabeth Jean Larson, Wales Wong et Yiran Zhang se penchent sur la façon dont les candidates et candidats à l'enseignement dans les programmes de formation initiale en Ontario sont préparés à soutenir les apprenantes et apprenants multilingues de la maternelle à la 12e année. L'article soutient qu'afin de mieux servir les apprenantes et apprenants multilingues, il est essentiel d'identifier qui ils sont et quels sont les différents types de soutien dont ils ont besoin. Il y est également démontré que la lutte contre le racisme et la formation des candidates et candidats à l'enseignement pour soutenir les apprenantes et apprenants multilingues est une tâche complexe qui nécessite une collaboration renforcée entre les différents programmes d'éducation et les districts scolaires.

Shelley K. Taylor, Kate Paterson et Yasmeen Hakooz se penchent dans leur article "Meeting invisibilized needs : Youth refugees' language and literacy development at the tertiary level in Canada" sur les défis pédagogiques et les barrières systémiques qui empêchent les jeunes réfugiés de recevoir les services dont ils auraient besoin pour réussir leurs études. Les autrices rappellent que la bonne volonté n'est pas suffisante pour qu'un changement significatif s'opère pour qu'enfin les besoins langagiers des étudiantes et étudiants réfugiés soient répondus et que leur bien-être soit assuré. C'est pourquoi elles concluent en présentant des pistes d'action à mener de concert par les gouvernements, les institutions postsecondaires et par le corps professoral.

Dans son article "La fabrique de l'étranger au niveau stato-national : la langue comme indice du degré d'altérité," Iris Padiou s'intéresse à la construction de la figure de l'étranger en France. Sa recherche s'inscrit dans une approche historicisante et elle se base sur l'analyse de textes législatifs qui traitent du droit au séjour et à la naturalisation. Par son étude, l'autrice montre que la figure de l'étranger a été historiquement fortement liée à la maitrise de la langue française. Padiou propose ainsi que la *langue* et *l'intégration* soient considérées comme des catégories de pensées d'État qui, par leur association à la définition même de la nation et de la figure de l'étranger, participent à la mise en frontière de la communauté nationale.

Dans son article, " 'Their Greek goes to waste' : Understanding Greek

heritage language teachers' language ideologies and instructional practices," Emmanouela Tisizi présente une étude narrative réalisée dans des écoles grecques primaires et secondaires à Montréal et Toronto à propos des perceptions et attitudes des professeures et professeurs de grec, langue patrimoniale (LP) envers leurs élèves ainsi que leurs collègues. Outre la nécessité d'un changement d'attitude des enseignantes et enseignants, qui devraient passer d'une idéologie monolingue à une idéologie pluraliste pour accepter les diverses origines *linguaculturelles* des élèves, les résultats de la recherche indiquent des besoins plus pragmatiques pour améliorer l'enseignement du grec LP au Canada, comme réduire la taille des classes et assurer la formation des enseignantes et enseignants.

John Wayne N. dela Cruz présente, dans son article intitulé "Plurilingual or not plurilingual ? Plurilingual competence and identity of Canadian EAL peers in a francophone post-secondary context," une recherche menée dans une institution postsecondaire de langue française au Québec dans le cadre de laquelle les identités linguistiques d'étudiantes et d'étudiants de l'anglais, langue additionnelle, impliqués dans une démarche de tutorat étaient examinées. Les résultats de la recherche font ressortir une plus grande adhésion à une identité plurilingue et pluriculturelle chez les tutrices et tuteurs, alors que les participantes et participants ayant reçu du tutorat adoptaient plutôt une identité bilingue ou monolingue. Dela Cruz souligne l'importance pour les enseignantes et enseignants de reconnaitre, de protéger et de soutenir le développement des compétences et des identités plurilingues émergentes de leurs apprenantes et apprenants.

Pratiques innovantes en enseignement et apprentissage des langues secondes

L'article de Josée Le Bouthillier et de Renée Bourgoin, intitulé "Communication orale et évaluation formative pour l'apprentissage dans les centres de littératie en immersion française," explore les pratiques évaluatives lors de tâches orales réalisées dans des centres de littératie en contexte de langue seconde. Les résultats de la recherche démontrent qu'il peut être difficile pour les enseignantes de collecter de manière structurée des traces tangibles permettant d'évaluer les tâches orales. Toutefois, les résultats suggèrent que plusieurs stratégies, dont l'établissement de résultats d'apprentissages concrets, explicites et connus des élèves, facilitent grandement ce travail d'évaluation.

L'article de Farhad Roodi et de Nikolay Slavkov, "Gamification in L2 teaching and learning : Linguistic risk-taking at play," présente leur projet de recherche sur le passeport Prise de risques linguistiques (PRL), un outil d'apprentissage basé sur le jeu qui contient une liste de tâches authentiques développées pour les apprenantes et apprenants de l'anglais et du français sur

le campus bilingue de l'Université d'Ottawa. L'étude analytique compare la version papier du passeport PRL avec l'application numérique, concluant que la version papier a la force de l'interactivité, tandis que l'application peut fournir une rétroaction immédiate, bien que scriptée.

Dans son article, "Investigating the dynamics of change in second language willingness to communicate," Shahin Nematizadeh explore les facteurs qui provoquent des changements dans la volonté de communiquer (VDC) des apprenantes et apprenants de l'anglais qui ont le farsi comme langue d'origine, en contexte universitaire canadien. S'inscrivant dans une vision dynamique de la VDC, l'auteur a conçu une étude à partir d'une tâche d'expression orale monologique et d'un entretien de rappel stimulé. L'analyse met en lumière les modèles fluctuants de la VDC des participantes et participants, ainsi que des facteurs qui influencent leurs changements de VDC pendant la communication dans une langue seconde.

L'intégration des cultures francophones dans les classes de français de base de 9e année en Ontario fait l'objet de l'article de Rochelle Guida intitulé "Approaching French-speaking cultures in the FSL classroom : The *salade niçoise* recipe." Plus précisément, l'article rapporte les résultats d'une étude de cas exploratoire sur la façon dont les enseignantes et enseignants qui ont le français comme langue seconde introduisent les cultures visibles et invisibles dans leurs pratiques afin de susciter l'engagement des élèves. Les résultats de l'étude suggèrent que la manière dont l'interaction culturelle est vécue dans les classes hybrides, en face à face et en ligne devrait être réexaminée dans une perspective pluriculturelle.

Reza Farzi et Olga Fellus ont mené une étude de cas sur un programme linguistique intensif offert à des étudiantes et étudiants d'une institution postsecondaire au Canada. Ceux-ci étaient admis à la condition qu'ils améliorent leurs compétences linguistiques en anglais, jugées insatisfaisantes au moment de l'admission. Les résultats de cette recherche, présentés dans l'article "Mission possible : Incorporating academic literacy and readiness into an English intensive program curriculum," portent plus particulièrement sur le développement de la littératie universitaire en contexte d'internationalisation. L'autrice et l'auteur estiment qu'il est possible, voire essentiel, d'inclure au sein même du programme d'anglais intensif un volet de littératie universitaire, notamment par la mobilisation pédagogique de littératies multiples.

L'article "Plurilinguismes, paysages linguistiques et constructions identitaires : une approche éducative plurisituée et multisites" de Raquel Carinhas, Maria Helena Araújo et Sá et Danièle Moore présente les résultats d'une étude collaborative sur l'utilisation du plurilinguisme comme atout pour la création de nouveaux espaces d'apprentissage expérientiels, à l'école et à l'extérieur de ses murs. Les résultats de l'étude montrent que la participation à des activi-

tés plurilingues basées sur l'interaction sociale et la collaboration encourage les enfants à être des agents actifs dans leur apprentissage et à reconstruire leurs identités plurielles. Les autrices suggèrent de mettre davantage l'accent sur la formation des éducatrices et éducateurs (enseignantes et enseignants, médiatrices et médiateurs de musée) au plurilinguisme et à son utilité pour contextualiser l'apprentissage.

L'article suivant, "Translanguaging in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) : Practices in the classroom of a Chinese university," de Yiran Ding, étudie la manière dont un enseignant utilise le *translangaging* dans des cours de sciences dans un programme EMILE au niveau postsecondaire en Chine. Cette étude à petite échelle analyse les enregistrements audios des interactions en classe entre cet enseignant et cinq étudiantes et étudiants diplômés. Les données permettent d'identifier cinq fonctions du *translangaging* de l'enseignant dans ce contexte : fournir des connaissances de base, approfondir la compréhension des étudiantes et étudiants, améliorer l'efficacité de l'enseignement, faire participer les étudiantes et étudiants, puis assurer les interactions en classe.

Enfin, Beltamiro Selso Patricio aborde dans son article "Enseigner le français au Mozambique : une intervention didactique innovante qui favorise la comparaison des langues en contact" les enjeux du multilinguisme en contexte scolaire au Mozambique. Dans ce pays où des langues à l'histoire et aux statuts fort différents (c.-à-d. le français, les langues bantoues et le portugais) font partie du paysage linguistique quotidien des apprenantes et apprenants, la question du choix de la langue d'enseignement et des approches adéquates en didactique des langues secondes est cruciale. Après avoir mené une étude comparative entre trois démarches didactiques de l'enseignement du français, l'auteur conclut que les approches plurilingues auraient bel et bien des effets positifs sur l'apprentissage du français dans le contexte éducatif du Mozambique.

Comme l'illustrent les thèmes des articles de ce volume, la réalité multilingue implique de nos jours divers enjeux, des théories sur le système cognitif des théories sur le système cognitif des locuteurs bi/plurilingues et la spécificité de leurs populations et communautés aux pédagogies et technologies visant à améliorer l'enseignement et l'apprentissage plurilingues. Il est difficile de saisir avec justesse le dynamisme et les interactions entre les pratiques éphémères des individus plurilingues, les idéologies linguistiques et les normes sociales dans une société multilingue. Les études présentées dans ce volume pourraient ainsi servir de base à de nouvelles recherches dans le domaine du pluri/multilinguisme et de l'enseignement des langues secondes.

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Introduction

Bilingualism and beyond:
Critical thinking and innovative practices to address the complexity of multilingualism

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While bilingualism and multilingualism are neither rare nor new, they are receiving increasing attention in civil society as well as in research (Edwards, 2013). One reason for this growing interest is the emphasis on market globalization, mobility, and communication in today's neoliberal economic context (Beacco & Cherkaoui Messin, 2010; Cenoz & Gorter, 2020; Flores, 2013; Jaspers, 2018; Marshall & Moore, 2018). Questioning monolingual paradigms, so strongly anchored in the societies of the global North since the nineteenth century (Coste & Simon, 2009), foregrounds the value of language practices that already existed, but were often obscured or marginalized (Faltis, 2022; Wei & Kelly-Holmes, 2021).

What has been termed the *Multilingual turn* (May, 2014a) in applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and education began in the late 1990s and gained momentum in the 2000s, in the wake of the manifesto, "A pedagogy of multiliteracies: Designing social futures" by the New London Group (1996), and the publication of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe, 2001). The multilingual turn is a paradigm shift that posits multilingualism as a social norm rather than the exception to the monolingual norm. This movement aims to deconstruct the conception of languages as distinct units to be taught in a vacuum, as well as the idea that plurilingual skills should be compartmentalized and assessed according to idealized monolingual standards (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020; May, 2014a; Meier, 2017). Van Mensel and Hélot (2019) summarize their understanding of the multilingual turn as follows:

Ce tournant multilingue fait référence à des recherches qui envisagent le multilinguisme d'un point de vue différent, qui remettent en question des notions telles que celles de langue maternelle, locuteur natif, langue première et langue seconde, bilinguisme additif, etc., soit une conceptualisation réifiée des langues qui ne prend pas en compte la fluidité des pratiques linguistiques, leur dimension sociale, les questions identitaires et les pratiques translangues si courantes parmi les locuteurs plurilingues. (p. 9)

According to this perspective, multilingual practices, in their many conceptualizations and diverse manifestations, are no longer seen as problems to be managed, as per Ruiz (1984), or signs of linguistic deficiency (Marshall & Moore, 2018; Otheguy, 2016). Rather, they are understood as social practices that reflect the linguistic, social, and identity dynamism and complexity at the heart of human connections (Coste & Simon, 2009; Edwards, 2013; García & Sylvan, 2011; Hawkins, 2018; Marshall & Moore, 2018; Meier, 2017; Sabatier, 2010; Stratilaki-Klein, 2022).

As May (2014a, 2022) explains, this ideological turn certainly undermined the monolingual paradigm, but it did not replace it. The multilingual turn, through its critical approach, has fostered an awareness of the ethnocentrism, the colonial thinking, and the limited historical perspectives that characterize research in applied linguistics, education, and language policy (Edwards, 2013; Flores, 2013; Lotherington, 2011; May, 2014a; Patrick, 2012). Advances have thus been observed, among other examples, in the critical deconstruction of the native speaker ideology (e.g., Chen & Tsou, 2021; Jenks & Lee, 2019; O'Rourke et al., 2015; Ramjattan, 2019; Slavkov et al., 2022), in the theorization and growing adoption of the linguistic repertoire conceptualization (e.g., Busch, 2017; Cenoz & Gorter, 2020; Piccardo & Galante, 2018; Sabatier, 2010), in the development of multiliteracies pedagogy (e.g., King, 2015; Lotherington, 2011; Reyes-Torres et al., 2021; Taylor, 2008; Warriner, 2012), and in further understanding the multimodal nature of communication (e.g., Bezemer & Abdullahi, 2020; Dagenais et al., 2017; Hawkins, 2018; Liu & Lin, 2021).

However, many still believe that research and practice in the fields of language policy, second language acquisition, and second language teaching, remain fundamentally marked by the monolingual paradigm, Anglo-Saxon hegemony, and the maintenance of colonial practices (to name a few, see Beacco & Cherkaoui Messin, 2010; Cenoz & Gorter, 2020; Flores, 2013; Jaspers, 2018; May, 2014b; Meier, 2017; Paulsrud et al., 2020; Stratilaki-Klein, 2022; Van Mensel & Hélot, 2019; Wei & Kelly-Holmes, 2021). It remains difficult to implement the changes brought forth by the multilingual turn in practices and discourses, let alone inform or influence governmental decisions on language and culture (Jaspers, 2018; Sabatier, 2010; Wei & Kelly-Holmes,

2021). Much remains to be done not only to convince people of the merits of this approach but also to recognize its limits, even its drawbacks (Jaspers, 2018; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012; May, 2022). Such limits are exemplified in the resistance to implementing plurilingual approaches in the classroom (e.g., Ballinger et al., 2020; Chen & Tsou, 2021; Chen et al., 2022; Jaspers, 2018; Marshall, 2019; Prasad, 2015) and, when they are implemented, in the difficulty of doing so without reproducing social inequalities (Flores, 2013; Ramjattan, 2019; Stratilaki-Klein, 2022).

Moreover, the multilingual turn will need to move away from the neoliberal values that it is often associated with when it comes to languages and language teaching (Coste & Simon, 2009; Flores, 2013; Jaspers, 2018) as they limit its ability to support social justice, social cohesion, as well as the empowerment of students and teachers who identify themselves as minority, invisibilized, marginalized or discriminated groups (Coste & Simon, 2009; Faltis, 2022; Meier, 2017; Piller, 2012). This will require significant, even radical, changes in ideology, discourse, policy, and practice (Bouamer & Bourdeau, 2022; Faltis, 2022; Flores, 2013; Jaspers, 2018; Liu & Lin, 2021; Ramjattan, 2019); changes that will go *far beyond valuing bilingualism and multilingualism*.

A few words on the Canadian context

In keeping with global trends, Canada has entered a new era in its thinking and actions regarding the role and impact of languages in its complex and diverse social fabric. Indeed, the country has, in addition to its two official languages, more than 70 languages spoken by First Nations, Metis, and Inuit populations (McIvor, 2018; Sarkar & Lavoie, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2017a). Furthermore, the country continues to be enriched with diverse languages by the immigration influx, as close to 23% of Canadians report having a language other than English or French as a mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2017b). In the wake of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of French-English bilingualism, the Government of Canada has launched consultations on modernizing the Official Languages Act and has announced a significant investment to implement a free learning and maintenance program for French and English. Yet, many voices have long been denouncing the country's colonial language policies (Boutouchent et al., 2019; McIvor, 2015), which have grown louder in light of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015). Claims insist on the urgency of a greater recognition and protection of Indigenous languages to foster their revitalization, their transmission, and to counter, if not reverse, the dramatic effects of the residential school system (Boutouchent et al., 2019; McIvor, 2018). These protests finally triggered public consultations and the subsequent

passage of the Indigenous Languages Act (2019).

In the field of education, it is important to highlight the initiatives and progress that have been observed in favour of the inclusion of Indigenous languages and their perspectives in curricula despite several challenges inherent to this process that persist (Boutouchent et al., 2019; Campeau, 2021; Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2021; Kim, 2017; McIvor, 2015; Patrick, 2012; Sarkar & Lavoie, 2014). The fight against linguistic and racial discrimination against Indigenous people, as well as against various racialized groups in the country, is now an unavoidable issue in the Canadian education system (see examples in Madibbo, 2021; Ramjattan, 2019). These claims for greater social justice make it necessary to question official Canadian bilingualism, with all its implications in terms of pedagogical practices and policies.

Research and efforts continue to support the paradigm shift from monolingualism to multilingualism in Canada. Much of the research that addresses linguistic diversity in educational contexts, from the primary to the post-secondary level, calls on educators to revisit practices and policies to foster academic inclusion and success for all students (Armand et al., 2008; Ballinger et al., 2020; Cummins et al., 2015; Dagenais et al., 2017; Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2021; Hamel et al., 2021; Jean-Pierre, 2017; Levasseur, 2020; Lotherington, 2011; Marshall, 2019; Prasad, 2015; Spiliotopoulos, 2018; Taylor, 2008).

However, the multilingual turn has been slow to take hold in Canadian schools, whether at the elementary, secondary, or post-secondary levels, and in both the English and French sectors. There are a number of reasons for this resistance, including: the prevalence of a monolingual ideology; the widely held belief that languages of instruction must remain separate; the minority status of languages other than English; the representations of, and values attached to bilingualism and multilingualism; teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and pedagogical approaches; logistical limitations; the lack of pre and in-service teacher training; and the lack of pedagogical resources (e.g. Ballinger et al., 2017; Ballinger et al., 2020; Cummins, 2019; Dagenais, 2017; Haque, 2012; Lotheringtonm, 2011; Spiliotopoulos, 2018). Therefore, more research is needed in this area and many articles of this volume are addressing these questions.

Introduction to the volume

This volume of the *OLBI Journal* brings together peer-reviewed papers selected from the 2021 Canadian Centre for Studies and Research on Bilingualism and Language Planning (CCERBAL) conference, hosted online in May 2021 at the Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute of the University of Ottawa. Under the broad theme of *Bilingualism and Beyond:*

Advancing the Thinking on Pedagogies, Policies and Practices, over 275 participants gathered to explore bilingualism in all its complexity. The articles selected for this volume illustrate the authors' desires to share critical research and innovative practices, which are crucial to the process of moving the multilingual turn beyond its known limitations.

Jim Cummins's article "Pedagogical translanguaging: Examining the credibility of unitary versus crosslinguistic translanguaging theory" opens the volume. It analyzes the credibility of unitary translanguaging theory (UTT) and crosslinguistic translanguaging theory (CTT), two conceptions of pedagogical translanguaging theory. UTT, as the author explains, holds that the bilingual's cognitive system is unitary and undifferentiated, whereas CTT is based on the premise that there are indeed language-specific features in the bilingual's cognitive system. As a result, UTT rejects theoretical concepts that CTT considers as theoretically credible, including additive bilingualism, academic language, the common underlying proficiency, and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer. Cummins presents evidence to support the credibility of these concepts and concludes that many of UTT's theoretical claims are logically flawed and unsupported by empirical evidence. Consequently, UTT's claims risk undermining important contributions made by pedagogical translanguaging.

The following research articles have been grouped under two broad themes: 1) Challenges and opportunities for pluri/multilingual speakers, and 2) Innovative practices in second language education. The articles will be briefly described below.

Challenges and opportunities for pluri/multilingual speakers

In the article "Centring multilingual learners and countering racism in Canadian teacher education," Antoinette Gagné, Jeff Bale, Julie Kerekes, Shakina Rajendram, Mama Adobea Nii Owoo, Katie Brubacher, Jennifer Burton, Elizabeth Jean Larson, Wales Wong, and Yiran Zhang focus on how mainstream teacher candidates in pre-service programs in Ontario are being prepared to support K-12 multilingual learners. It is argued that to best serve multilingual learners it is vital to identify who they are and the different types of support they require. It is also shown that countering racism and equipping teacher candidates to support multilingual learners is a complex task that can be better addressed through an enhanced collaboration between different education programs and school districts.

Shelley K. Taylor, Kate Paterson, and Yasmeen Hakooz, in their article "Meeting invisibilized needs: Youth refugees' language and literacy development at the tertiary level in Canada," explore the pedagogical challenges and systemic barriers that prevent youth refugees from receiving

the services they need to succeed in their postsecondary studies. The authors point out that benevolent intentions are not enough to bring about meaningful change to better meet the refugees' language needs and to promote their well being. They conclude with a call for coordinated and informed actions to be implemented by governments, post-secondary institutions, and faculty.

In her article "La fabrique de l'étranger au niveau stato-national: la langue comme indice du degré d'altérité," Iris Padiou focuses on the construction of otherness in the French nation-state context. By employing a historical approach and relying on legislative texts on residence permit and naturalization, she shows that the "figure of the foreigner" has historically been inextricably linked to the mastery of the French language. Padiou proposes that *language* and *integration* should be considered as state categories of thought that are closely linked to the definition of the nation and non-national foreigners, thus participating in the gatekeeping of the national community.

In the following article, " 'Their Greek goes to waste': Understanding Greek heritage language teachers' language ideologies and instructional practices," Emmanouela Tisizi presents a narrative study on Greek heritage language (HL) teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards their students and colleagues in primary and secondary Greek schools in Montreal and Toronto. In addition to the necessity of the change in their attitudes from monolingual ideologies to pluralism to accept learners' diverse linguacultural backgrounds, the findings also indicate more practical needs to enhance Greek HL education in Canada, e.g., reducing class size and providing teacher training.

John Wayne N. dela Cruz, in his article entitled "Plurilingual or not plurilingual? Plurilingual competence and identity of Canadian EAL peers in a francophone post-secondary context," presents his research conducted at a French-language post-secondary institution in Quebec, where he examined the linguistic identities of additional English language learners involved in tutoring. The results of the research show that tutors had a greater adherence to a plurilingual and pluricultural identity, while tutees tended to adopt a bilingual or monolingual identity. Dela Cruz emphasizes the importance of teachers recognizing, protecting, and supporting the development of their learners' emerging plurilingual competencies and identities.

Innovative practices in second language education

Josée Le Bouthillier and Renée Bourgoin's article, "Communication orale et évaluation formative pour l'apprentissage dans les centres de littératie en immersion française," explores second language assessment practices during the implementation of oral language tasks in literacy centers. The data show that it can be difficult for teachers to collect tangible evidence in a structured way to assess oral tasks. However, the results suggest that several

strategies, including the establishment of concrete, explicit, and specific learning outcomes, greatly facilitate this evaluation work.

Farhad Roodi and Nikolay Slavkov's article, "Gamification in L2 teaching and learning: Linguistic risk-taking at play," introduces their research project with the Linguistic Risk-Taking (LRT) passport, a game-informed learning tool that contains a list of authentic tasks they developed for English and French learners on the bilingual campus of the University of Ottawa. The analytical study compares the paper version of the LRT passport with the digital app, concluding that the paper version has the strength in interactivity with others, while the app can provide immediate feedback even though it is scripted.

In the article, "Investigating the dynamics of change in second language willingness to communicate," Shahin Nematizadeh explores factors which cause changes in willingness to communicate (WTC) of Farsi learners of English at Canadian universities. In line with the shift from the fixed view of WTC to the dynamic WTC, the author designed a study with a monologic speaking task and a stimulated recall interview. The analysis highlights the fluctuating patterns of the participants' WTC and factors that influence their WTC changes during communication in a second language.

The integration of French-speaking cultures in Grade 9 Core French classrooms in Ontario is the focus of Rochelle Guida's article "Approaching French-speaking cultures in the FSL classroom: The *salade niçoise* recipe." More specifically, the article reports on the results of an exploratory case study investigating how non-native French-speaking educators introduce both visible and invisible cultures in their teaching in order to engage their students. The findings of the study suggest that how cultural interaction is experienced in hybrid, face-to-face, and online classroom settings should be reexamined through a pluricultural perspective.

Reza Farzi and Olga Fellus conducted a case study on an intensive language program offered to students at a postsecondary institution in Canada. Students were admitted on the condition that they improve their English language skills, which were deemed unsatisfactory at the time of admission. The results of this research, presented in the article "Mission possible: Incorporating academic literacy and readiness into an English intensive program curriculum," focus on the development of academic literacy in an internationalized context. The authors argue that it is possible, and indeed essential, to include an academic literacy component within the intensive English program, particularly through the mobilization of multiliteracies pedagogy.

The article "Plurilinguismes, paysages linguistiques et constructions identitaires : une approche éducative pluri-située et multi-sites" by Raquel Carinhas, Maria Helena Araújo et Sá, and Danièle Moore presents the results

of a collaborative study on the use of plurilingualism as an asset for the creation of various new experiential learning sites, both at school and beyond its walls. The results of the study show that the participation in plurilingual activities based on social interaction and collaboration encourages children to be active agents in their learning and to reconstruct their plural identities. The authors suggest that more emphasis needs to be placed on the training of educators (teachers and museum mediators) on plurilingualism and its ability to contextualize learning.

The following article, "Translanguaging in content and language integrated learning (CLIL): Practices in the classroom of a Chinese university" by Yiran Ding, investigates how a teacher uses translanguaging in CLIL science classes at the tertiary level in China. This small-scale study analyses audio-recorded classroom interactions between the teacher and five graduate students. Data suggests the identification of five functions of the teacher's translanguaging in the context: providing background knowledge, deepening students' understandings, improving teaching efficiency, engaging students, and ensuring classroom interactions.

Finally, Beltamiro Selso Patricio's article "Enseigner le français au Mozambique: une intervention didactique innovante qui favorise la comparaison des langues en contact" addresses the issue of multilingualism in the educational system in Mozambique. In a country where languages with very different histories and statuses (i.e., French, Bantu languages, and Portuguese) are part of the daily linguistic landscape of learners, the question of choosing a language of instruction and an appropriate second language pedagogy is crucial. After conducting a comparative study of three pedagogical approaches to teaching French, the author concludes that plurilingual approaches could indeed have positive effects on the learning of French in Mozambique educational settings.

As exemplified by the themes of the articles in this volume, the present-day multilingual reality involves diverse issues from theories on bi/plurilinguals' cognitive system and distinctive populations and communities of plurilingual speakers, to pedagogies and technology to enhance plurilingual teaching and learning. It is challenging to capture the dynamism between plurilingual individuals' transient practice, linguistic ideology, and social norms in a multilingual society. The studies in the current volume could provide a foundation for further research in the fields of multilingualism and second language education.

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Séances plénières | Plenary sessions

Jim Cummins

Pedagogical translanguaging:

Examining the credibility of unitary versus crosslinguistic translanguaging theory

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Abstract

This article analyzes the credibility of two conceptions of pedagogical translanguaging theory, namely, unitary translanguaging theory (UTT) and crosslinguistic translanguaging theory (CTT). I argue that there is no difference in pedagogical implications between UTT and CTT, but there are significant differences in the way UTT and CTT pedagogies are framed theoretically. UTT claims that the bilingual's linguistic system is unitary and undifferentiated and that languages have no cognitive or linguistic reality. Based on this claim, UTT rejects several theoretical concepts including the notion of academic language, additive (approaches to) bilingualism, the common underlying proficiency (CUP) and the pedagogical importance of teaching for transfer across languages. CTT, by contrast, affirms the legitimacy of these theoretical concepts, which are fully consistent with dynamic or heteroglossic orientations to bilingual cognitive processing. Within CTT, bilinguals actually do speak languages, involving multiple registers and fluid boundaries, and teaching for transfer across these boundaries is a prime function of pedagogical translanguaging.

Key words: additive bilingualism, academic language, common underlying proficiency, crosslinguistic translanguaging theory, unitary translanguaging theory, teaching for crosslinguistic transfer

Résumé

Cet article analyse la crédibilité de deux conceptions de la théorie du translanguaging pédagogique, c'est-à-dire, la théorie du translanguaging unitaire (UTT) et la théorie du translanguaging interlinguistique (CTT). Je soutiens qu'il n'y a pas de différence dans les implications pédagogiques entre l'UTT et le CTT, mais qu'il existe des différences significatives dans la façon dont les pédagogies UTT et CTT sont encadrées théoriquement. L'UTT affirme que le système linguistique des bilingues est unitaire et indifférencié et que les langues n'ont aucune réalité cognitive ou linguistique. Basé sur cette affirmation, l'UTT

rejette plusieurs concepts théoriques, notamment la notion de langue académique, les (approches du) bilinguisme additif, la compétence sous-jacente commune (CUP) et l'importance pédagogique de l'enseignement du transfert entre les langues. Le CTT, en revanche, affirme la légitimité de ces concepts théoriques, qui sont pleinement cohérents avec les orientations dynamiques ou hétéroglossiques du traitement cognitif bilingue. Dans le cadre du CTT, les bilingues parlent réellement des langues, ce qui implique des registres multiples et des frontières fluides, et l'enseignement pour le transfert à travers ces frontières est une fonction primordiale du translanguaging pédagogique.

Mots-clés : bilinguisme additif, langue académique, compétence sous-jacente commune, théorie du translanguaging interlinguistique, théorie du translanguaging unitaire, enseigner pour les transferts interlinguistiques

Introduction

In 2009, García's book *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective* launched the construct of *translanguaging* from its origins in the context of Welsh/English bilingual education (Williams, 1994, 1996, 2000) into global prominence in the education of multilingual and minoritized students. As Jaspers has pointed out, the concept of translanguaging has become a "terminological house with many rooms" (2018, p. 2). He noted that translanguaging "can apply to an innate instinct that includes monolinguals; to the performance of fluid language use that mostly pertains to bilinguals; to a bilingual pedagogy; to a theory or approach of language; and to a process of personal and social transformation" (p. 3). Ballinger et al. (2017) similarly pointed to the multiple uses of the term *translanguaging*, which encompasses a theory of cognitive processing, societal use of multiple languages in communicative interactions, classroom language use behaviours among emergent bilingual students, and teaching practices that attempt to harness students' multilingual repertoires to enhance learning.

My focus in this article is on *pedagogical translanguaging*, which I define as *instruction designed to enable students to use their entire multilingual repertoire in carrying out academic tasks and activities*. As noted by Jaspers (2018) and Ballinger et al. (2017), García and colleagues (2021; Otheguy et al., 2015, 2019) go considerably beyond this core pedagogical focus in their conceptualization of translanguaging. García, together with colleagues Flores, Seltzer, Wei, Otheguy, and Rosa (2021), recently synthesized their conception of translanguaging in an article entitled *Rejecting abyssal thinking in the language and education of racialized bilinguals: A manifesto*. They adapt the construct of *abyssal thinking* from the work of Portuguese decolonial philosopher Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2014), who argued that much of

contemporary scholarship both in language education and other spheres of the social sciences has been tainted by a hegemonic orientation that creates a hierarchy between the 'superior' knowledge and lifeways of 'civil society' and the knowledge and lifeways of colonized communities, thereby relegating colonized knowledge and lifeways to an existential abyss. This is clearly an accurate characterization of historical colonization as well as the ongoing reality experienced by what Blauner (1969) has called *internal colonies* — Indigenous and other minoritized communities subjected to coercive relations of power over generations. The issue to be considered in the present article concerns the *criteria* for consigning particular theoretical constructs in language education to the realm of abyssal thinking. Obviously, more than simply assertion is required to make this case (von der Mühlen et al., 2016).

The elaboration of translanguaging theory proposed by García et al. (2021) can be paraphrased as follows:

- Translanguaging offers a way to delink from the logics derived from colonialism and global capitalism. (p. 16)
- Translanguaging places questions of equity for racialized bilinguals and broader societal inequities at the center of the analysis. (p. 16)
- Translanguaging rejects abyssal thinking and enables us to understand the language practices of racialized bilingual communities in all their complexity and heterogeneity without imposing evaluative colonial hierarchies on these practices. (p. 6)
- Translanguaging pedagogy does not require bilingual students to hold their named languages as separate cognitive linguistic entities or to use one of them for the purpose of learning the other. (p. 15)
- Translanguaging theory emboldens teachers to build on their racialized students' linguistic gifts which are often stifled by monoglossic ideologies that conceive of bilingualism as two sharply separate named languages. (p. 17)

In multiple publications, García and colleagues (e.g., García & Li, 2014; García et al., 2021) have characterized as 'monoglossic' theoretical concepts that have long been seen as foundational both to the rationale for bilingual education and our understanding of equitable instructional practices to promote academic achievement for minoritized students. These theoretical concepts include the promotion of additive bilingualism, the notion of the common underlying proficiency (CUP) that support teaching for transfer across languages, and the construct of *academic language* that differs in important respects from the everyday conversational language of social interaction (Cummins, 2000; Wong Fillmore, 2014, 2021). García and colleagues (2021;

Otheguy et al., 2019) argue that these concepts, as well as the concept of *codeswitching*, emanate from a dual correspondence theory that differs only minimally, if at all, from monoglossic conceptions of bi/multilingualism that view languages as separate, autonomous, static, and independent of each other.

In this article, I analyze the theoretical credibility of these claims. In doing so, I distinguish between two versions of translanguaging theory which I label unitary translanguaging theory (UTT) and crosslinguistic translanguaging theory (CTT). UTT incorporates the core theoretical proposition advanced by García and colleagues (2021) that the bilingual's cognitive system or 'mental grammar' is unitary and undifferentiated. By contrast, CTT claims that language-specific features *do exist* in the bilingual's cognitive system and that the concepts of additive bilingualism, academic language, the common underlying proficiency, and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer are theoretically credible and represent effective tools to challenge the operation of coercive power relations in the education of minoritized bilingual students. The theoretical legitimacy of the concept of codeswitching has been debated by MacSwan (2017, 2022), Bhatt and Bolonyai (2019, 2022), García et al. (2021) and Otheguy et al. (2019) and will not be addressed in this article.

The core theoretical division between CTT and UTT is that CTT proposes fluid and porous boundaries between languages in the multilingual's linguistic system, whereas UTT proposes no boundaries and no languages. Within UTT, the verb forms *languaging* and *translanguaging* are legitimate but the noun form *a language/languages* is illegitimate. García and Lin (2017) express this position by claiming that "bilingual people do not speak languages" (p. 126). CTT, by contrast, acknowledges that bilingual people speak, understand, read, and write languages; people also study languages in order to integrate them into their cognitive system, and language teachers across the globe support learners in adding new language skills to their linguistic repertoires.

Despite the different theoretical orientations of UTT and CTT, these frameworks share many commonalities in their approach to the education of multilingual learners. I expressed this commonality as follows:

> The different orientations of UTT and CTT to the legitimacy of the construct of *language* should not obscure the fact that both theoretical perspectives view languages as socially constructed, they reject rigid instructional separation of languages, and they deplore the frequent devaluation of the linguistic practices that many minoritized students bring to school. Both orientations to translanguaging theory also endorse dynamic conceptions of multilingual cognitive functioning. And, finally, UTT and CTT both view translanguaging pedagogy as a central component in the struggle for social justice and equity in education. (Cummins, 2021b, p. 28)

Prior to analyzing the alternative claims of UTT and CTT, I believe that it is important to position myself in relation to the issues under discussion. Many of the theoretical constructs that are intrinsic to CTT, but rejected by UTT, have been incorporated into the theoretical framework for the education of multilingual learners that I have advanced progressively over a period of more than 40 years. These constructs have exerted a significant impact on the education of minoritized students since the early 1980s and have emerged both from collaborative inquiry with educators and analysis of educational data. I strongly reject the claim that notions of academic language, additive bilingualism, the common underlying proficiency and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer reflect monoglossic ideologies, abyssal thinking, discourses of appropriateness, and raciolinguistic ideologies.

I expressed my orientation to academic inquiry as follows in the preface to my book *Rethinking the education of multilingual learners* (2021a):

> My interest starts and ends with what happens between teachers and students in classrooms. The focus of the book on theoretical concepts is, at the same time, intensely *practical*. The purpose of pursuing theoretical ideas is to contribute to changing instructional practices so that they become evidence-based and more effective in promoting equitable outcomes across social groups. (p. xxxiv; emphasis in original)

This orientation is necessarily open to the insights that emerge from multiple disciplines that concern themselves with what happens between teachers and students in classrooms. I suggested that we need to root our inquiry in the lives of educators, students and communities, and extend the dialogue beyond the boundaries of epistemological convictions and what May (2022) has termed *disciplinary orthodoxy*:

> The people we, as researchers, need to listen to and engage with, care nothing about whether we identify as sociolinguists, psycholinguists, sociologists, psychologists, or whether our inspiration comes from critical pedagogy, cultural studies, critical race theory, sociocultural theory, or any of the other myriad fractures that divide the academic world. They also don't care about whether our intellectual efforts are rooted in postmodernism, poststructuralism, positivism, or any other '-ism'. Educators do care passionately, however, about their students and how to engage them in powerful learning. (Cummins, 2021a, p. xli)

In the sections that follow, I outline and critique the foundational claim of UTT that the multilingual's individual cognitive/linguistic system is unitary and undifferentiated. I then examine the credibility of the UTT claims that notions of academic language, additive (approaches to) bilingualism, the common underlying proficiency, and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer are

monoglossic and abyssal/raciolinguistic in nature. In evaluating the credibility of UTT claims, I apply the following three criteria, which are described in more detail in Cummins (2021a):

- *Empirical adequacy*: to what extent is the claim consistent with all the relevant empirical evidence?
- *Logical coherence*: to what extent is the claim internally consistent and non-contradictory?
- *Consequential validity*: to what extent is the claim useful in promoting effective pedagogy and policies?

A critical analysis of UTT claims

Is the bilingual's linguistic system unitary and undifferentiated?

García and colleagues (2021) succinctly articulate their claim that bilinguals *language* with a unitary linguistic system as follows: "Our proposal advocates effacing the line of cognitive demarcation purportedly separating the languages of the bilingual, a line that, born of abyssal thinking, is sustained by hegemonic sociocultural structures and ideologies but not by psycholinguistic reality" (p. 13). The same point was expressed by Otheguy et al. (2019):

> In our view, the myriad lexical and structural features mastered by bilinguals occupy a cognitive terrain that is not fenced off into anything like the two areas suggested by the two socially named languages. ... [The] position that, while allowing for some overlap, the competence of bilinguals involves language specific internal differentiation ... which we have called the dual correspondence theory ... has had pernicious effects in educational practices. (p. 625)

These statements explicitly propose a two-way *causal connection* between the proposition that languages have psycholinguistic reality in our cognitive systems and abyssal (deficit-oriented) thinking that exerts pernicious effects on the educational experiences and opportunities of minoritized students. Specifically, UTT argues that claims of psycholinguistic or neurolinguistic language demarcation are born of, or derive from, colonial-era abyssal thinking but also sustain and perpetuate these racist ideologies. The UTT position can be broken down into the following claims:

- The cognitive organization of bilingual/multilingual students' linguistic repertoire is unitary with no demarcation between named languages.
- Any theorist or educator who claims that languages *do* have psycholinguistic reality is implicated in hegemonic ideologies, variously termed abyssal, colonial, deficit-oriented, and raciolinguistic.

- Theoretical claims (e.g., Cummins, 1981, 2021a; MacSwan, 2017) that the competence of bilinguals reflects both shared and language-specific components (labelled 'dual correspondence theory') are essentially indistinguishable in their pernicious educational effects from monoglossic ideologies that advocate complete instructional separation of languages.

Empirical adequacy of the unitary hypothesis

The empirical adequacy of the UTT claim that the bilingual's linguistic system is unitary and undifferentiated with no language-specific elements has been challenged by Bhatt and Bolonyai (2019, 2022) who review compelling data from studies of aphasia demonstrating that the different languages of bilinguals have specific patterns of neural representation and organization. Bhatt and Bolonyai cite the case of JZ, a Basque-Spanish bilingual individual with aphasia, whose linguistic functioning in each language was affected in markedly different ways by his aphasia:

> JZ's aphasia impacted his languages to different degrees: his first language, Basque, was more impaired than his second language, Spanish. In particular, the Bilingual Aphasia Test revealed deficits in first language production, but intact production in his second language. Such differential language loss does not find an account in translanguaging theory: a unitary linguistic system cannot explain why one language is impacted (more) than another in differential bilingual aphasia. (Bhatt and Bolonyai, 2019, p. 18)

Obviously, Bhatt and Bolonyai's claim that these findings refute translanguaging theory applies to UTT but not to CTT, which allows for both shared and language-specific organization of languages in our cognitive system.

Logical coherence of the unitary hypothesis

The logical coherence of UTT claims regarding the unitary and undifferentiated nature of the bilingual's mental lexicon can also be called into question. For example, García and Kleifgen (2019) argue that "A translanguaging literacies approach also includes strategies such as translation and cross-linguistic study of syntax, vocabulary, word choice, cognates, and discourse structure" (p. 13). In relation to this very reasonable statement, educators might well ask questions such as the following:

- If languages are real only in a social sense but not a linguistic sense, what are we translating between?
- What does *crosslinguistic* mean if languages don't exist within the individual's linguistic system and if there is no transfer between languages?

- If languages have no cognitive or linguistic reality, how should we interpret cognates?

Pedagogical implications of the unitary hypothesis

The claim that bilingual people do not speak languages because languages do not exist in our cognitive system is likely to sow confusion among multilingual teachers and students who *do* believe that they actually speak multiple languages. Within the propositional structure of UTT, it is illegitimate and meaningless to ask the simple question: "How many languages do you speak?" Clearly, teachers also believe that they *are* teaching languages and students believe that they *are* learning languages. The reaction of many teachers when they are informed that the languages they teach exist in the social realm but have no reality within the individual's cognitive apparatus or architecture is likely to be along the lines of "OK, whatever. What are the implications of this for my teaching?" The short answer to this question is that the claim that languages have no linguistic or cognitive reality entails *no implications* for classroom instruction.

UTT theorists have been unable to point to any pedagogical initiative or activity that is implied by UTT but not by CTT. For example, all the translanguaging instructional initiatives described by Celic and Seltzer (2013), García and Kleyn (2016) and García et al. (2016) are totally consistent with translanguaging initiatives described by multiple authors who have not endorsed the claim that languages have no psycholinguistic reality (e.g., Carbonara & Scibetta, 2020a, 2020b; Cenoz & Gorter, 2021; Cummins, 2007, 2021a; Cummins & Early, 2011). Furthermore, many translanguaging instructional initiatives (e.g., Chow & Cummins, 2003; DeFazio, 1997; Williams, 1996, 2000) predated the UTT theorization of translanguaging (e.g., García, 2009) and thus are not in any sense influenced by, or dependent upon, specific UTT claims.

In short, there is no credibility to the UTT assertion that pernicious educational effects result from theoretical positions that posit language specific internal differentiation in the multilingual's cognitive system. UTT theorists have demonstrated no logical or empirical connection between abyssal or raciolinguistic ideologies and the claim that languages have psycho-linguistic reality.

Is the construct of academic language inherently and invariably raciolinguistic?

Flores (2020) articulated this claim as follows: "academic language is a raciolinguistic ideology that frames racialized students as linguistically deficient and in need of remediation" (p. 22). The purported inherent raciolinguistic

character of academic language was elaborated in the *Manifesto* document written by García et al. (2021):

> We argue that raciolinguistic ideologies undergird the notion that racialized bilinguals lack a construct known in schools as "academic language." Efforts to purportedly teach racialized students to use academic language are fundamentally flawed. These efforts emerge from abyssal thinking claiming that there is an inductively established set of features that defines academic language that distinguishes it from non-academic language. But all we have, in fact, is the a priori category of academic language — assumed, not discovered — deductively supported by a meager number of defining shibboleths. (p. 7)

García and colleagues (2021) do not address in any substantive way the empirical issue of the extent to which there are differences in the *relative frequency* with which certain linguistic features (e.g., passive voice, low-frequency vocabulary) are employed in academic contexts as compared to everyday face-to-face interactions. This claim was briefly discussed by García and Solorza (2020) who acknowledged that "formulations such as these often describe the language of written academic texts" (p. 5), but they claimed that this language is not characteristic of typical teacher-student classroom interactions.

Wong Fillmore (2021) has pointed out that this argument ignores the fact that success in school depends on the extent to which students develop expertise in reading increasingly complex *written* texts and learning how to *write* coherently for a variety of audiences and in a variety of genres across the curriculum. May (2022) has similarly argued that it is fundamental for critical educators to equip their students with academic language registers while simultaneously enabling their students to identify the ways in which these academic language registers intersect with societal power relations.

Logical inconsistencies in UTT claims regarding academic language

Claims by UTT theorists that the construct of academic language is a racio-linguistic product of abyssal thinking are undermined by their endorsement of the need to teach minoritized students to understand and use the language registers of schooling. The various translanguaging pedagogical guides (e.g., Celic & Seltzer, 2013) developed by the CUNY–NYSIEB[1] project in collaboration with educators explicitly align translanguaging instructional strategies with the Common Core State Standards, which place strong emphasis on the development of academic language. García (2009) has also

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[1]City University of New York and New York State Initiative on Emergent Bilinguals.

insisted on the need to teach standard academic language to minoritized students:

> Because literacy relies on the standard, the standard language itself is taught explicitly in school, and it *certainly needs to be taught*. … We are not questioning the teaching of a standard language in school; without its acquisition, language minority children will continue to fail and will not have equal access to resources and opportunities. But we have to recognize that an *exclusive* focus on the standard variety keeps out other languaging practices that are children's authentic linguistic identity expression. (p. 36; emphasis in original)

In response to the apparent contradiction between this statement and the subsequent claim by UTT theorists that academic language is inherently racio-linguistic, I posed the question: "what researcher or theorist over the past 60 years has argued that instruction should focus *exclusively* on the standard variety and prohibit minoritised students from using their authentic spoken varieties of L1 and L2?" (Cummins, 2021a, p. 164). I noted that although instructional practice frequently fails to live up to this ideal, there is consensus among researchers that schools should build on the linguistic resources that students bring to school as part of a process of affirming the *funds of knowledge* that exist in minoritized communities.

It is certainly legitimate to be concerned with the inappropriate way schools have frequently attempted to teach academic language skills to students (minoritized and non-minoritized). But these pedagogically problematic practices do not, by themselves, invalidate the construct of academic language, which is rooted in an extensive array of empirical data (e.g., Biber, 1986; DiCerbo et al., 2014). An instructive analogy can be drawn with the concept of *democracy*:

> The concept of democracy is systematically perverted by autocratic regimes around the world and is also undermined in some countries that ostensibly proclaim their commitment to universal suffrage (e.g., through widespread and ongoing attempts to suppress the voting rights of racialised minorities …). However, the operation of these power relations that undermine the democratic process does not invalidate the concept of democracy itself. It is logically invalid to scapegoat or blame *democracy itself* for these perversions of democracy in practice. (Cummins, 2021a, p. 132; emphasis in original)

Empirical support for the construct of academic language

In their critique of the construct of academic language, UTT theorists have not addressed the empirical basis of the construct. Typical is García and Solorza's (2020) dismissal of the construct of *Core Academic Language Skills* (e.g., Uccelli et al., 2015a, 2015b) as little more than a white middle-class

linguistic and cultural norm constructed by processes of colonization and nation-building. The extensive empirical research carried out by Uccelli and colleagues that support the construct is ignored and presumably viewed as irrelevant.

Likewise, the earlier empirical foundation for the construct reviewed by Bailey (2007), Cummins (1984, 2000), DiCerbo et al. (2014) among others has been ignored by UTT theorists. In this regard, it is pertinent to note that the construct initially emerged from the realities of educator-student interactions, specifically a qualitative analysis of teacher referral forms and psychological assessments of more than 400 students of immigrant background (Cummins, 1980, 1984). This analysis documented the ways in which standardized psychological tests were being used inappropriately to label emergent bilingual students as having 'special needs', thereby potentially excluding them from educational opportunity. This research identified and challenged structural characteristics of curriculum and assessment that were reinforcing coercive relations of power.

Empirical support for the conversational/academic language distinction includes clear differences in the acquisition trajectories for these two dimensions of language proficiency among emergent bilingual students (see Cummins, 2021a, for a review). Gándara (1999), for example, concluded on the basis of research carried out in California that "while a student may be able to speak and understand English at fairly high levels of proficiency within the first three years of school, academic skills in English reading and writing take longer for students to develop" (p. 5). She noted the significant implications of these developmental patterns for assessment and instruction:

> While some students are sufficiently fluent in English to participate in many classroom activities, it would be unreasonable to expect these students to perform academic tasks involving reading and writing in English at the same level as native English speakers until they have had sufficient time to develop these skills. (p. 5).

In short, the critique of the construct of academic language by UTT theorists amounts to little more than assertion in light of their dismissal of the extensive empirical evidence supporting the construct and the logical inconsistency of insisting that standard academic language must be taught to minoritized students while at the same time characterizing such language as a product of abyssal thinking and inherently and invariably raciolinguistic.

Is additive bilingualism a raciolinguistic concept?

UTT claims in relation to the constructs of *additive bilingualism* (e.g., García et al., 2021) and *additive approaches to bilingualism* (e.g., Flores & Rosa, 2015) are encapsulated in the following quotations:

The notion of additive bilingualism took root in bilingual education programs all over the world, bolstering the colonial lines that had been established between dominant and non-dominant people and their languages and histories, as well as between native and non-native students. To combat the form of abyssal thinking that continually stigmatizes colonized populations' language practices as deficient based on a static notion of linguistic legitimacy, we conceptualize bilingualism as "dynamic". (García et al., 2021, p. 11)

[S]tandard language and additive bilingualism have been used as instruments to minoritize the language practices of some bilinguals and rendering them as deficient. (García, 2020, p. 16)

discourses of appropriateness ... lie at the core of additive approaches to language education. (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 166)

from a raciolinguistic perspective, the limitation to additive bilingualism is that ... it offers a purely linguistic analysis of a phenomenon that is highly racialized. (Flores, 2019, p. 56)

These claims can be traced to two main sources. While distancing themselves from the claim that 'languages don't exist' on the grounds that languages *do* have social reality, García and colleagues (2021) endorse Makoni and Pennycook's (2005) position that concepts that are premised on a notion of discrete languages, such as language rights, mother tongues, additive bilingualism, multilingualism, and codeswitching are just as problematic as the notion of discrete languages itself. According to this perspective, these concepts reproduce existing oppressive structures derived from colonial ideologies. García et al. (2021) defend their opposition to language rights by arguing that "rather than perceive minoritized *languages* as autonomous entities that are entitled to rights, our work focuses on the rights of racialized *people* to be educated on their own terms and on the basis of their own language practices" (p. 4; emphasis in original).

A second source of the UTT claim that additive bilingualism is inherently monoglossic is the consistent conflating by UTT theorists of additive bilingualism with static, autonomous, non-dynamic conceptions of bilingual cognitive processing. As expressed by García (2020), "The bilingualism of Latinx bilingual students is not simply additive; it is dynamic" (p. 16). I pointed out that UTT theorists have presented no empirical evidence or coherent logical argumentation that additive conceptions of bilingualism are non-dynamic (Cummins, 2021a). The purported oppositional status of *additive* versus *dynamic* ignores the fact that the antonym of additive is *subtractive* and the antonym of dynamic is *static*. The absence of *any* logical connection, let alone oppositional connection, between additive and dynamic hardly constitutes a robust foundation for claiming that additive bilingualism is non-dynamic. Thus, the equivalence between additive and static has simply been

asserted without logical argumentation or empirical justification (Cummins, 2021a). As any baker knows, the addition of two or more substances does not mean that they remain inert and separate from each other. Thus additive in no way implies static, inert, separate, autonomous, or independent. The process of crosslinguistic intersection, interaction, cross-fertilization, and dynamic interdependence within the common underlying proficiency is a core theoretical proposition within CTT and in no way inconsistent with heteroglossic or dynamic conceptions of bilingualism.

Misrepresentation by UTT theorists of the origins and meaning of additive bilingualism

Many researchers over the past 45 years (e.g., May, 2011, 2014; Molyneux et al., 2016) have referenced the construct of additive bilingualism to highlight ways in which educators can challenge coercive relations of power by actively promoting opportunities for minoritized students to develop literacy in both their home language (L1) and the school language (L2). The term was introduced by Lambert (1974, 1975) to highlight educational alternatives to the subtractive experiences of minority groups who were pressured to replace their home languages with the dominant language. He argued that the "important educational task of the future, it seems to me, is to transform the pressures on ethnic groups so that they can profit from an *additive* form of bilingualism" (1975, p. 68; emphasis in original). Thus, the construct of additive bilingualism is rooted, from its origins, in a sociopolitical challenge to the assimilative societal and educational forces, often operating over generations, that denied minoritized students opportunities to develop literacy in their home languages, and, in the process, frequently undermined their language and literacy development in the school language. In the case of many Indigenous communities, the shaming, physical punishment, and sexual abuse experienced by students in residential schools amounted to torture, which the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) characterized as cultural genocide.

In light of the characterization of additive bilingualism by UTT theorists as a *psycholinguistic construct* referencing only the organization of languages in the bilingual's cognitive/linguistic system, it is important to point out that *none* of the many researchers who have used the term additive bilingualism over the past 45 years have made any claims regarding the cognitive or neurolinguistic organization of languages associated with additive bilingualism.[2] This is

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[2]Lambert (1974, 1975) originally proposed the distinction between additive and subtractive bilingualism, and he also advocated strict linguistic separation in the context of French immersion programs. He later expressed this instructional philosophy

illustrated by the description of the construct offered by critical educational theorists Nieto and Bode (2018), who have identified the construct as an important conceptual tool to challenge racism in the educational system:

> *Additive bilingualism* refers to a framework for understanding language acquisition and development that *adds* a new language, rather than *subtracts* an existing one. This perspective is radically different from the traditional expectation in our society that immigrants shed their native language as they learn their new language, English. ... Additive bilingualism supports the notion that two is better than one — that English *plus* other languages can make us stronger individually and as a society. (p. 194; emphasis in original)

Contrast this description with García's (2019) claim that additive bilingualism involves "the enforcement of named languages as wholes to be used separately [which] stigmatizes even further [minoritized speakers'] more dynamic and fluid multilingual practices" (p. 157). This characterization of additive bilingualism is similar to Flores and Rosa's (2015) assertion that additive approaches to bilingualism are permeated by discourses of appropriateness fueled by raciolinguistic ideologies. However, these claims lack credibility because they are backed up by no empirical evidence and no theorist is identified who has endorsed or promoted discourses of appropriateness or enforcement of named languages in association with additive approaches to bilingualism.

Does the construct of additive bilingualism ignore societal power relations?

A common theme running through UTT critiques of the construct of additive bilingualism is that racism and other forms of coercive power relations are ignored, or as expressed by Flores (2019), additive bilingualism offers "a purely linguistic analysis of a phenomenon that is highly racialized" (p. 56). Obviously, the abstract concept of additive bilingualism is not making any

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as follows:

> No bilingual skills are required of the teacher, who plays the role of a monolingual in the target language ... and who never switches languages, reviews materials in the other language, or otherwise uses the child's native language in teacher-pupil interactions. In immersion programs, therefore, bilingualism is developed through two separate monolingual instructional routes. (1984, p. 13)

However, Lambert made no connection between this highly problematic 'two solitudes' orientation and additive bilingualism. For example, in their evaluation of the initial St. Lambert immersion program, Lambert and Tucker (1972) made no reference to the notion of additive bilingualism. Thus, any suggestion that the construct of additive bilingualism implies or promotes linguistic separation in the instructional process is without foundation (Cummins, 2021a).

theoretical claims and so the question becomes: To what extent do proponents of additive bilingualism offer a purely linguistic analysis of underachievement among minoritized students rather than identifying the racialized power structures that undermine students' academic engagement and achievement?

The short answer to this question is that the promotion of additive bilingualism among minoritized students has always been characterized as a repudiation of the subtractive societal and educational forces that have operated in countries around the world to suppress minoritized students' languages and cultural knowledge. In the context of my own work, the construct of additive bilingualism has been closely integrated with a detailed analysis of societal power relations and their impact on student/teacher identity negotiation. The central proposition of this theoretical framework is that underachievement among students from minoritized communities is caused by patterns of power relations operating both in schools and in the broader society. It follows that minoritized students will succeed educationally only to the extent that patterns of teacher-student interaction in school challenge the coercive relations of power that prevail in society at large (Cummins, 1986, 2001, 2021a).

This framework highlighted the role of teacher agency and specified explicitly the ways in which teachers, individually and collectively, could create contexts of empowerment with their students by promoting additive bilingualism, teaching for crosslinguistic transfer, and ensuring that students were enabled to use language powerfully across a range of registers, including the literate registers required for success in school.

Is the notion of crosslinguistic transfer harmful to the education of racialized bilinguals?

In the context of volatile debates regarding the legitimacy and effectiveness of bilingual programs for minoritized students, I also proposed the notion of a *common underlying proficiency* (CUP) to explain the fact that in well-implemented bilingual programs, instruction through minoritized students' home language (L1) entails no adverse effects on the development of literacy in the dominant societal language (L2). I argued that the CUP makes possible transfer of concepts, skills, and learning strategies across languages. This dynamic crosslinguistic interaction implies that teachers in both bilingual and monolingual programs should actively promote productive contact and transfer across languages.

García and Li (2014) critiqued the notion of a common underlying proficiency, because, in their estimation, it still constructs students' L1 and L2 as separate: "Instead, translanguaging validates the fact that bilingual students' language practices are not separated into ... home language and

school language, instead transcending both" (p. 69). They argued that we can now "shed the concept of transfer … [in favour of] a conceptualization of integration of language practices in the person of the learner" (p. 80).

More recently, García and colleagues (2021) expressed their concerns with the concept of teaching for crosslinguistic transfer as follows:

> The two named languages are entities with linguistic features that are viewed as separate, even though language proficiency is common to both languages. But we believe that the notion of cross-linguistic transfer, when both languages are conceived as separate and autonomous entities, has proven harmful to the education of racialized bilinguals. (p. 11)

They elaborate this point by arguing that a focus on teaching for transfer positions the student's L1 as simply a scaffold to facilitate the learning of L2. Thus, teachers are concerned with teaching autonomous languages rather than teaching racialized bilingual students, with the result that these students "are often rendered as inadequate in one language or another, or even in both" (p. 12). By contrast, within the unitary network of meanings proposed by UTT, knowledge of language features is represented as being *accessed* rather than transferred.

Logical inconsistencies in UTT characterization of teaching for crosslinguistic transfer

There are myriad contradictions in these assertions. For example, García et al., (2021) acknowledge that the constructs of the common underlying proficiency and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer conceive of language proficiency as common to both languages. Yet, they simultaneously argue that these constructs conceive of languages as separate and autonomous entities. Which is it — common and shared or separate and autonomous?

They also *believe* that the notion of crosslinguistic transfer has proven harmful to the education of racialized bilinguals. They provide no empirical evidence, documentation, or instructional examples to support this belief. They suggest on the basis of their classroom observations that teachers who think in terms of crosslinguistic transfer focus only on mobilizing students' L1 as a scaffold for learning L2. This is certainly not what we have observed in our collaboration with teachers who have engaged students' multilingual repertoires in activities such as creating dual language identity texts (Cummins & Early, 2011). These activities *were* highly effective in scaffolding students' transfer of conceptual knowledge and literacy skills across languages; but they also exerted a powerful impact on learning by connecting instruction to students' lives, affirming students' identities, reinforcing students' awareness of how academic language works, and expanding their active engagement

with literacy. Furthermore, by incorporating students' multilingualism into the instructional process, these teachers challenged the raciolinguistic exclusion of students' linguistic and cultural capital from curriculum and instruction.

Empirical support for the CUP model

The extensive empirical support for the notion of a common underlying proficiency and crosslinguistic transfer has been noted in multiple studies and reviews of the research literature (e.g., Cummins, 2021a; Dressler & Kamil, 2006; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine [NASEM], 2017). For example, in a study involving 196 sixth graders with Spanish language backgrounds who started learning English in kindergarten and were continuously enrolled in a U.S. school, MacSwan et al. (2017) reported that Spanish literacy accounted for 29% of the variance in English academic achievement (assessed by the Mathematics, Language, and Reading subtests of the Stanford Achievement Test). They concluded that "students would be well served academically by a language program that supports their growth in literacy in L1 while learning L2" (p. 234). The comprehensive review of research on the education of English learners in the United States conducted by NASEM (2017) summarized its findings as follows:

> A growing body of research dating back to the 1960s reveals that the two languages of bilinguals do not exist in isolation and to the contrary, are highly interactive. ... The two languages of bilinguals share a cognitive/conceptual foundation that can facilitate the acquisition and use of more than one language for communication, thinking, and problem solving. (p. 243)

In short, the research evidence overwhelmingly rejects the 'belief' on the part of UTT theorists that the notion of the common underlying proficiency and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer has exerted a *harmful* effect on the education of racialized bilinguals. Unfortunately, this research evidence has been ignored rather than critically examined by UTT theorists.

Consistency of the CUP with dynamic models of bi/multilingualism

The common underlying proficiency construct made no attempt to chart the complexities either of multilingual communication or the cognitive organization of languages in our brains. It was proposed to explain a very different set of educational phenomena (see Cummins, 1981, 2021a). As Jessner (2006) has pointed out, dynamic models of bilingualism go far beyond the notion of a common underlying proficiency in exploring the cognitive organization and interactions among the languages of multilingual people. However, the common underlying proficiency construct is entirely consistent with dynamic systems theory. I made this point in elaborating the

theoretical basis for teaching for crosslinguistic transfer and arguing against 'two solitudes' models of bilingualism and bilingual education:

> The theoretical constructs elaborated by Cook (1995) and Jessner (2006) are not in any way inconsistent with the notion of a common underlying proficiency (CUP). ... What all these constructs share is a recognition that the languages of bi- and multilinguals interact in complex ways that can enhance aspects of overall language and literacy development. They all also call into question the pedagogical basis of monolingual instructional approaches that appear dedicated to minimizing and inhibiting the possibility of two-way transfer across languages. (Cummins, 2007, p. 234)

Conclusion

The central argument of this article is that many theoretical claims associated with UTT are logically flawed and asserted with minimal reference to empirical evidence. Counter-intuitive and empirically unsupported claims such as "bilingual people do not speak languages" (García and Lin, 2017, p. 126) risk undermining the important contributions that pedagogical translanguaging has made, and hopefully will continue to make, to equitable antiracist education for minoritized and multilingual students. The present analysis has affirmed the theoretical credibility of concepts such as academic language, additive bilingualism, the common underlying proficiency and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer which are associated with CTT but rejected as abyssal or raciolinguistic by UTT. These concepts are embedded into and constitute integral components of a broader analysis of how societal power relations intersect with patterns of teacher-student identity negotiation in school. They represent important evidence-based theoretical tools that have operated over the past 40 years to enable researchers and educators to challenge disempowering educational structures and interactions.

Acknowledgement

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Défis et possibilités pour les locuteurs pluri/multilingues

Challenges and opportunities for pluri/multilingual speakers

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Centring multilingual learners and countering racism in Canadian teacher education

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Résumé

This article includes aspects of a larger study in which we critically examine how and what mainstream teacher candidates learn in pre-service programs about supporting multilingual learners (MLs). Since 2015, the province of Ontario has required that all teacher candidates — not just future ESL specialists — be prepared to support MLs. Within this context, we provide a description and discussion of who multilingual learners are imagined to be in policy documents and by various actors in education, along with examples of teacher candidate learning from a mixed-methods case study of teacher-candidate learning in the Master of Teaching at the University of Toronto. Our article reveals the complexity of preparing teachers to support MLs and suggests possibilities for

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centring multilingual learners and countering racism in Canadian teacher education.

Key words: critical teacher education, multilingual learners, education policies

Résumé

Cet article comprend quelques aspects d'une étude plus vaste où nous examinons de manière critique comment les futurs enseignants apprennent à soutenir les apprenants multilingues. Depuis 2015, la province de l'Ontario exige que tous les futurs enseignants — et non seulement les futurs spécialistes de l'ALS — soient préparés à soutenir les apprenants multilingues. Dans ce contexte politique, nous décrivons et discutons comment on imagine les apprenants multilingues dans les politiques et comment divers acteurs dans le milieu de l'éducation et au sein du programme de Maîtrise en Enseignement à l'Université de Toronto imaginent ces apprenants. Finalement, nous suggérons des possibilités pour centrer les apprenants multilingues et contrer le racisme dans la formation des enseignants canadiens.

Mots-clés : formation critique à l'enseignement, apprenants multilingues, politiques éducatives

Introduction

This article includes aspects of a four-year study that aimed to (1) determine whether Ontario's teacher education policy is consistent with the diversity, strengths, and needs of multilingual learners (MLs) and, (2) identify how teacher candidates, teacher educators, and practicing teachers in local boards interpret and enact Ontario's 2015 policy requirement (Ontario College of Teachers, 2017) that all teachers learn how to support K–12 multilingual learners.

Our multi-stranded research project, inspired by a growing body of research on teacher education for diversity, began in 2016. Since then, the local, national, and global contexts of our study have continued to change with an increased focus on the need for equity and inclusion in education. As such, our understanding of the rich and varied data gathered over more than four years has also evolved and new questions have continued to arise.

The main questions guiding the four-year study include:

1. How do teacher candidates make sense of new knowledge about supporting multilingual learners in relation to the racial and linguistic ordering in school that they experienced as students themselves and again as novice teachers?

2. What are the possibilities and limits of required learning about linguistic diversity and supporting multilingual learners in pre-service programs?

3. What are the possibilities and limits of new research on translanguaging in changing teacher candidates' thinking and practice about this racial and linguistic ordering of school?

Overview of the research methods of the four-year study

Although our focus in this article involves the presentation of findings related to one sub-question, we provide an overview of all our research methods because, to answer this sub-question related to how multilingual learners are imagined, we drew from multiple data sources.

To meet the first objective of the larger project, i.e., to determine whether Ontario's teacher education policy is consistent with the diversity, strengths, and needs of multilingual learners (MLs), we created 36 video portraits using the Flipgrid app with MLs ranging in age from 6 to 20 who responded to prompts created by the research team focused on their linguistic repertoire, life milestones, hopes, and aspirations. These portraits, that are termed *Me Maps* (About Me Mapping, 2022), feature a number of MLs of refugee background who were also participants in another SSHRC-funded project led by Gagné and Le Pichon-Vorstman (n.d.). The video portraits were created in participants' homes, at school or in community settings and served as a foil for policy interpretation to determine whether Ontario's teacher education policy is consistent with the diversity, strengths, and needs of MLs. As of 2019, these Me Maps were integrated into the Supporting English Language Learners (ELLs) course as a pedagogical resource for teacher-candidate learning. The way teacher candidates (TCs) were invited to engage with Me Maps is based on Keet et al.'s (2009) notion of mutual vulnerability where TCs were given the opportunity to open themselves up in the same ways that MLs did to create these Me Maps in order to learn with and from MLs as complete humans, not simply *language learners*.

To meet the second objective of the larger study — that is, to identify how teacher candidates, teacher educators, and practicing teachers in local boards interpret and enact Ontario's 2015 policy requirement that all teachers learn how to support K–12 multilingual learners — we designed a multi-stranded ethnographic case study of the Supporting ELLs course at OISE (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education). We conducted observation in 10 sections of the course over three years, collected coursework from over 150 candidates, conducted semi-structured interviews with 52 TCs and 10 members of the instructional team, and have researcher field notes from two members of the research team who are also course instructors. We also designed a professional content knowledge test to understand what TCs learn about multilingualism

and multilingual learners in the Master of Teaching program. It was adapted from a German-language test (Köker et al., 2015) we had permission to work with. We have over 400 responses from TCs over three years. Finally, we conducted semi-structured interviews with English as a second language (ESL) teachers and specialists in Ontario and completed a comparative analysis of how accredited teacher education programs prepare TCs to support MLs in Ontario. Data for this comparison include an analysis of teacher education program websites and semi-structured interviews with teacher educators.

In this article, we begin by providing some information related to the context in which the larger study is embedded as well as a brief overview of key literature and the conceptual framing of the larger study. Then, we attempt to answer this sub-question: Who are multilingual learners in Ontario imagined to be?

Context

In this section, we consider the context in which the larger study is embedded. We focus on the linguistic diversity that exists in Ontario as well as aspects of the Master of Teaching program at the University of Toronto.

Linguistic diversity in Ontario

While Ontario is a very linguistically diverse province, multilingualism in Canada exists in a political and ideological context dominated by English and French, the official languages. In fact, the Ontario Education Act prohibits using any other languages to teach the curriculum, with very few exceptions. There are many *immigrant* languages spoken in Ontario which each have their own history of migration and settlement and are often the target of discrimination and/or racism. Although there is a policy to support the learning of these languages as a subject in Ontario, this policy positions these languages at the margins of school life, and thus subordinate to English and French. Regarding Indigenous languages, there are policies that support learning these languages *as subjects only* in provincially funded schools, not as the medium of instruction. Finally, bilingual provincial schools for the Deaf and hard of hearing use American Sign Language (ASL) or Langue des Signes du Québec (LSQ) as the medium of instruction but neither ASL nor LSQ is available to students as a medium of instruction in mainstream schools.

Overall, language education policies function to establish and sustain what Haque (2012) describes as a hierarchy of minoritized languages in Ontario. These policies also structure social reality and position non-official languages as subordinate to English-French bilingualism. As such, when feasible we use the term *multilingual learners* in ways that are broad, without masking the racialized and colonial logic that organizes the use of multiple languages in

Ontario and of the people who speak them. However, we also use the term *English language learners*, as this is the term used in government policy documents as well as in course titles across Ontario universities.

Master of Teaching at the University of Toronto

The case study component of our research is embedded in the Master of Teaching (MT) Program which is a 20-month graduate teacher education program that combines the study of educational theories, evidence-based teaching practices for equity, opportunities to conduct and use research, four practicum placements in local schools and an optional internship in Canada or abroad at the end of the program.

The MT Program vision statement reflects a commitment to equity, diversity, and accessibility: "As a community, our faculty, students and graduates share a deep commitment to all learners and the building of a more just, equitable and sustainable world" (OISE, n.d.a). The Master of Teaching Admissions Statement is aligned with the MT Mission Statement and flows from *OISE's Guiding Principles on Equity and Diversity* (2018) as this excerpt reveals: "At the University of Toronto, we strive to be an equitable, diverse and inclusive community … OISE is dedicated to admitting qualified candidates who reflect the ethnic, cultural and social diversity of Toronto's schools" (OISE, n.d.b).

The MT program expectations include knowledge, competencies, and values that the MT candidates will develop and display following the successful completion of the MT program. Several of the expectations focus on aspects of equity, diversity, and/or social justice, notably:

1. recognize and investigate their own social locations, biases, (dis)advantages, and predispositions in relationship to their teaching and research;
2. understand that teaching requires ongoing learning and engagement with current issues and the different perspectives and worldviews of local and global communities;
3. demonstrate an understanding of the ways systemic and institutional practices impact learners and groups, and identify ways to address inequities and inequalities (OISE, 2022, pp. 5–6).

The Supporting ELLs course which is the focus of our study exists alongside several mandatory courses where equity, diversity, and social justice are central such as Anti-Discriminatory Education and Indigenous Experiences of Racism and Settler Colonialism in Canada. As such, Supporting ELLs is not the only course where issues related to race, colonialism, and discrimination might come up.

Key literature and conceptual framing of the larger study

Our four-year multi-stranded study grew from a strong base of research on teacher education and evolved as we attempted to be responsive to the changing context of teacher education in Canada as well as new ideas arising from empirical studies and social movements striving for equity and inclusion in education and more broadly.

In connecting our study to the relevant literature, we observed the continued disciplinary siloing of research on teacher education and multilingual learners. In the field of applied linguistics, there is a hesitancy — perhaps a refusal — to consider racism and white-settler colonialism systematically as observed in conceptual models for linguistically responsive teaching (e.g., Köker et al., 2015; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Viesca et al., 2019). In the field of language policy, the complexity of teacher education and teacher learning about MLs is generally flattened when it is proposed that the competencies, beliefs, and/or attitudes of teachers of MLs can be measured (e.g., Köker et al.) or when approaches across contexts are simply described and compared (Wernicke et al. 2021). In teacher education research, there is near silence on the intersection of language, racism, and white-settler colonialism with the recent exception of Picower (2021), who draws on Critical Race Theory and Whiteness Theory to critique teacher education and propose alternatives.

Our research is framed by Critical Race Theory in language teaching (e.g., Von Esch et al. 2020), critical Whiteness studies (e.g., Picower, 2021), and raciolinguistics (e.g., Flores & Rosa, 2015 and Rosa & Flores 2017), which allow us to understand teacher candidates as products and producers of White institutional listening as well as their shifting subjectivities (Britzman, 2013). Daniels and Varghese (2020) explain how often *solutions* to problems in teacher education are actually reinscriptions of raciolinguistic ideologies and practices. In addition, Rösch's notions (2019) of *Linguizismus* as discrimination targeting language and its social function, *Lingualisierung* as discrimination targeting speakers, and *Privilegierung* as privileging users of a standard variety of the dominant language provide important lenses for interpreting our findings.

As we attempt to answer our sub-question related to who MLs are imagined to be, we draw on some of the literature described in this brief overview. However, an in-depth discussion is precluded by space constraints.

Who are multilingual learners in Ontario imagined to be?

Here we provide a description and discussion of who MLs are imagined to be in policy documents, and by various actors in education, along with examples of teacher candidate learning from various data sources in our mixed-methods

case study of teacher-candidate learning in the Master of Teaching at the University of Toronto. All names are pseudonymous to preserve the anonymity of participants.

Policy documents

In the 2007 Ontario Ministry of Education (OME) *ESL and ELD Programs and Services: Policies and Procedures for K–12*, MLs are described as students with a first language other than English, or a variety of English that is significantly different from the English used in Ontario's schools, thus identifying these learners only on the basis of whether or not *Standard* English was their first language. The 2007 policy describes Standard English as "the variety of English that is used as the language of education, law, and government in English-speaking countries" (p. 8).

In 2008, in the *Supporting English Language Learners—A practical guide for Ontario educators—Grades 1 to 8*, the Ministry of Education also provides examples of this diverse group of learners that include both Canadian-born and newcomer MLs such as Canadian-born Indigenous learners, children who were born in an immigrant community in Canada where a language other than English is primarily spoken, children who have come to Canada with their families as part of a planned immigration process, newcomer students with refugee backgrounds, and international students who pay fees to attend school in Ontario. In addition, this document includes sections with titles such as "Understanding what English language learners bring to Ontario classrooms" (OME, 2008, p. 7) and "Understanding the bilingual advantage" (p. 8). While the information in this document leads to a greater awareness of the diverse backgrounds of MLs, they are still identified primarily based on whether English is their main spoken language at home.

To determine the type of programming MLs should receive, the Ministry introduced an assessment tool called the Steps to English Proficiency (STEP) which assesses learners' oral language, reading and writing proficiency using a six-step continuum. The creation of the STEP materials is guided by a vision for the "successful English language learner as a capable and competent student ... who comes with many assets and skills" (OME, 2015, p. 8). The vision specifies that MLs will: "see themselves in the learning environment" and "feel that their culture and language are valued" (p. 8). Based on the results of the STEP assessment, students are placed into an English as a Second Language (ESL) or English Literacy Development (ELD) program. The STEP assessment imagines a proficient Step 6 learner to be someone who can use grade-level academic language, without the use of their L1. According to the descriptors in the STEP tool, any use of the home language would mark a student as a Step 1 or Step 2, or a beginner language learner. As such, the STEP assessment

is not fully aligned with the guiding vision for the successful ML.

The Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) *Accreditation resource guide* (2017) imagines MLs to be students whose first language is not the language of instruction, and it provides recommendations for supporting MLs in English-medium schools. The OCT stipulates that teacher candidates should learn how to support the diverse needs of their MLs in the context of planning instructional and assessment practices for *all* students and learning how to work with *all* students, thus drawing attention away from the unique needs of MLs.

In the Ontario Ministry of Education documents, we see broader definitions of MLs. By specifying other kinds of multilingual groups in Ontario, and the various ways that MLs have arrived in Ontario schools, we see an effort to avoid reducing the category of ML to a monolithic student profile. However, these policy documents and resource guides still function to subordinate these other multilingualisms to English which we see most clearly with the STEP resource for assessing English language proficiency.

Teachers and teacher educators

We asked a pool of experienced teacher educators across 10 of Ontario's teacher education programs as well as several teachers in Ontario's school boards who they imagine MLs to be. Their responses were diverse — for some professionals committed to deep reflection and interrogation of their thinking and practice — they imagine MLs on the basis of their English proficiency but also as a complex category of multilingual learners of English in Ontario. ESL teachers describe multilinguals as resourceful agents of translanguaging with home languages that enrich the classroom and foster the growth of their full language repertoire at school. Some of these teachers easily relate to the MLs as they remember their own experiences as immigrant MLs to Canada who benefitted from specialized instruction and accommodations. In relation to this, the teacher educators interviewed understood MLs as learners in need of teachers with specialized training to support English acquisition especially because they see them with language learning needs beyond what the current policy imagines.

However, some ESL teachers hold somewhat reductionist views of Ontario's MLs as entering Ontario schools with literacy gaps and inadequate first-language literacy skills. MLs are often viewed stereotypically as a collection of abstractions as described in ESL programming tools such as STEP (OME, 2015) rather than as learners with individual circumstances. Other teachers push back against this classification. Sylvia notes:

> I get quite frustrated, you know, one of the challenges I think is just the language we use around ESL and ELD. I hate all that terminology because it's

> such deficit thinking, and it's almost like we're being intentionally siloed by that language, because everything's reduced, is very reductivist thinking, it's all reduced down to the kids' language, and that's all it is.

In terms of teachers and teacher educators, we see greater variation in how they imagine MLs to be in Ontario than the definitions of MLs provided in policy documents. This is likely the case because of their extensive professional experience and in some cases the commitment of some of these individuals to interrogate their own experiences, beliefs, and practices regarding multilingualism. As noted by Daniels and Varghese (2020), one of the most important challenges for teacher education involves knowing how to engage novice, pre-service candidates in this learned wisdom so as not to reproduce stances and practices that further marginalize multilingual children and youth.

Teacher candidates

In one strand of the larger study, we conducted a case study of the mandatory course for supporting MLs and analyzed data from classroom observations, participants' artefacts, interviews, and a pedagogical content knowledge test of competencies in supporting MLs in K–12 Ontario classrooms. What we found is that TCs imagine multilingual learners in different ways. Firstly, they imagine MLs in relation to their own experiences. For example, Mira, a multilingual who learned French and Spanish in school and whose home language is Arabic, describes an ML she met during the practicum. Mira reported that this student was not receiving additional support and thinks the student is hiding her learning difficulties behind a positive attitude. Another example involves Davis, a TC who describes himself as a monoglot and feels that students' home languages are inaccessible like a black box. He says, "They could be saying and doing all kinds of incredible things in that black box, but I can't peer into it." Conversely, we also found that the term English learner masked the TCs own experiences. For example, Vera describes places like Dundas in Southern Ontario as monolithic and not having any MLs, even though her Serbian immigrant family lives there. After describing her parents as fleeing the war in the former Yugoslavia, Vera explained that she grew up speaking "their" language. She does not say much else about her current proficiency in Serbian, but the idea that this language belongs to her parents and not to her can be read as part of organizing small-town spaces in Ontario as not having MLs, perhaps not even recognizing these spaces as multilingual. MLs are to be found elsewhere — despite this candidate's objective status as a multilingual person.

In addition, MLs are imagined as motivated to learn English because of the desire to fit in and to do well academically with families who also expect them

to learn English. TCs imagine MLs as resourceful because they use tools to facilitate their learning, such as translation software and strategies that include working in same-language groups and translanguaging, when taking notes and during activities. Even though MLs are ascribed positive characteristics that include being engaged, hardworking, and resourceful, MLs are mainly viewed in relation to learning and attaining proficiency in English. In the excerpt that follows, Faith, self-identified as monolingual, explains that activities such as Me Maps can help build MLs' self-esteem and connects this to the goal of learning English.

> I think it could be a good self-esteem boosting activity [Me Maps] for them, especially if they're feeling timid about using English and speaking out in class or even about feeling timid about using their home language, but the fact that you're encouraging both is kind of a like a nice thing to do.

TCs' descriptions of who constitutes an ML vary. Many TCs recognize that MLs are somehow "different", and therefore in need of accommodations or modifications, but what that "difference" is, is not always clear to them. Some TCs consider MLs and students with exceptionalities together while others question this grouping. For example, Sherry who grew up speaking Mandarin, is careful to say that a student who does not speak at school could have been a selective mute and not an ELL. The same TC identifies ELLs as students receiving language programming so when students are no longer seen to need language support they are no longer understood as ELLs. Sherry says "the ELL student was basically out of the ESL program. So, she wasn't really an ELL anymore."

Some TCs imagine MLs from a deficit perspective. For example, George, identified as monolingual, talks about MLs as not having self-advocacy skills and struggling with the content of subject-specific courses especially at the advanced levels such as university courses at the secondary level. It is important to note that when teacher candidates assess students using STEP, they move from an assets-based perspective to a deficit description using words such as *limited*, *incorrect usage*, and *not mastered*. In fact, Luciana, a multilingual TC, expressed her concern that using STEP as an assessment tool put her and her classmates into a situation where it was difficult to speak about MLs from an assets-based perspective. Daniels and Varghese (2020) argue that putative solutions, such as the processes embedded in STEP, can work to reinforce dominant structures, beliefs, and practices, in ways, that they caution "might in fact reinscribe Whiteness itself".

Lastly, multilingual learners are imagined as part of a racialized ordering of Ontario. For Hannah, identified as an English-French bilingual, white immigrants don't "count" as English language learners. Instead, MLs are found

in parts of the province with "flipped" populations, which can be read as referring to racialized immigrants, not white immigrants from Western Europe. Hannah says, "Basically like you have a class full of White students who maybe immigrated from Western Europe, a couple like their grandparents came over a couple years ago. So just in terms of English language learners, there are significantly fewer." The results of the analysis show that while teacher candidates in this study generally take into consideration the complexity of multilingual learners' experiences, when they begin to use the term ELL, their thinking undergoes a shift towards focusing on MLs in terms of their English-language proficiency.

Also, we see TCs' construing the languages of MLs as "black boxes", that is, as mysteries that are simply unknowable to English speakers, and in ways that reflect and reinforce the racialized structuring of languages and their speakers in Ontario. Importantly, multilingual TCs also engaged at times in framing MLs in this way. The arguments that Haque and Patrick (2015) make about how Canadian language policies manage racial difference are clearly reflected in our data. We also see evidence in both policy and among individuals to think and act more inclusively and in more nuanced ways. However, it is not the intention that matters, but rather the outcome — by operating or limiting ourselves to the given categories of MLs as well as assessment practices that focus on English only, and by thinking of our practice in relation to English only, the outcome is the hierarchy of minoritized and racialized languages that Haque (2012) describes. An ongoing challenge in teacher education involves the introduction of Rösch's notions (2019) of discrimination targeting language, its social functions and speakers, as well as the notion of privileging users of a standard variety of the dominant language while making connections to a hierarchy of languages associated to race as described by Haque and Patrick (2015).

Me Maps

Kubota and Lin (2006) remind us that "as a social construct, racial representations are always in flux and situated in social and historical processes" (p. 474). In fact, we want to stress the fluidness and opportunity to think and act differently and that raciolinguistic ideologies are not immutable. To demonstrate this, we conclude this section with a description of how teacher candidates took up the Me Maps we created to meet the first objective of the larger study. The TCs access the Me Mapping with Multilingual Learners website (About Me Mapping, 2022).

One way that the teacher candidates in our Supporting ELLs course are learning about who multilingual learners in Ontario are, is by engaging with the Me Maps of K–12 learners where they talk about their linguistic and cultural

repertoires, timelines, home countries, families, friends, interests, skills, and future aspirations. These Me Maps have helped our teacher candidates see the complex nuances in learners' linguistic and cultural identities. Teacher candidates have started to recognize how they themselves may have boxed learners up into categories according to their first language, tokenized their experiences or perpetuated stereotypes. For example, Natalia reflects that "with the students, we kind of box them up, yes they are EL learners, and this is their L1". According to Jaylee, "we talk so much about differentiated learning for ELLs, but never actually get to meet these learners... so it can be easy to tokenize their experiences and funnel them into stereotypes". By hearing the learners talk about themselves in their Me Maps, teacher candidates realize that they can start learning things about their multilingual learners such as their home environment and culture, which adds depth to their identities. For Justin, watching the Me Map videos provide his first exposure to MLs with refugee backgrounds. He says, "they are not defined by their past experiences ... there's so much more to who they are, so many interests, passions and aspirations." The Me Maps also help Justin and other teacher candidates to see MLs as having learned multiple languages in their home country, and continuing to learn English, French, and other languages in Canada.

Although the Me Map videos created in this project do not capture the full extent and types of diversity that exist among MLs in Canada, they provide pedagogical affordances for teacher candidates to learn about their multilingual students beyond the descriptions and categorizations of these learners in various Ministry of Education and Ontario College of Teachers' policy, curriculum, and assessment documents.

Conclusion

Although we have focused on just one sub-question related to our four-year study, an examination of our answer to this question reveals how complex it is to counter racism and ensure that teacher candidates learn to support multilingual learners in elementary and secondary schools in Ontario within the framework of a single course in a two-year post-graduate teacher education program. The course at the heart of our study is taught by a range of instructors who bring varied perspectives on MLs to the way they operationalize the course (Bale et al., 2019). The diverse TCs who also bring varied perspectives on MLs, experience the mandatory Supporting ELLs course in unique ways and make their own connections between what they learn in this course and their diverse practicum placements where they are mentored by host teachers with perspectives on MLs that may diverge from their own and their course instructors' perspectives on MLs. Finally, the curriculum policy documents they learn about in the Supporting ELLs course and the Me Maps of MLs that

are embedded in course activities and assignments also provide a diversity of perspectives on who MLs are.

Our findings from the case study of the Supporting ELLs course at OISE have led to new challenging questions related to our practice as teacher educators including:

- Which theories, teaching practices, and assessment tools should we centre in our instruction related to MLs irrespective of Ministry mandates to ensure that we are not reinforcing dominant structures, beliefs, and practices in our instruction in ways that might reinscribe Whiteness and further colonize teacher education?

- In the context of a crowded teacher education curriculum, how do we make time to help TCs to become aware of their beliefs about MLs and consider pedagogical practices that will support the fullest development of MLs in Ontario classrooms?

- How can we collaborate across teacher education programs to ensure that our instruction related to supporting MLs is sensitive to context while robust enough to prepare TCs for the diversity of MLs?

- How can we build meaningful relationships with practicing teachers so that our critical engagement with topics related to supporting MLs are not relegated to a few class sessions of a single teacher education course, but rather are the topic of consideration, study, and critique in partnership with teacher candidates, practicing teachers, and teacher educators?

Our findings suggest some avenues for moving forward to ensure that every teacher who graduates from a teacher education program in Ontario has the knowledge, skills, and dispositions to work effectively with MLs in elementary and secondary schools and counter racism. However, enhanced collaboration within and across teacher education programs, as well as school districts in terms of understanding who MLs are and what type of support they require, is necessary to counter racism in teacher education and ensure that graduates can work with MLs as more than just learners of English.

In future research, it will be important to explore how Ontario's teacher education curricula focused on supporting MLs influence the teaching behaviours of graduates and, ultimately, how MLs are affected by having teachers who have the knowledge and skills to support them.

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Meeting invisibilized needs:

Youth refugees' language and literacy development at the tertiary level in Canada

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Abstract

Currently, there is a knowledge gap vis-à-vis the educational needs and trajectories of youth refugee students at the tertiary level. Once admitted as domestic *students, they are indistinguishable from other domestic students, invisibilizing them as a group, which impedes identifying their specific language, literacy, and socioemotional needs. Their indiscernibility as a group leads to a knowledge gap and absence of supportive policies. The purpose of this qualitative research study is to shine a spotlight on both these students' language and literacy needs, and their educators' professional development needs. Educators and key stakeholders in three institutions were surveyed and interviewed online to elicit their views and emic perspectives on key issues and challenges involved in youth refugees' language and literacy learning, related policies and services, and their own professional learning needs. These results are first steps towards filling the gap in the literature, informing policy, and supporting educators and youth refugees.*

Key words: youth refugee students, tertiary education, language and literacy, resettlement, ESL/ELD, professional development

Résumé

Il existe des lacunes en matière de connaissances sur les besoins des jeunes étudiants réfugiés dans l'enseignement supérieur au Canada. Une fois admis en tant qu'étudiants nationaux, il est officiellement impossible de les distinguer des autres étudiants nationaux, et d'identifier leurs besoins spécifiques en matière de langue, d'alphabétisation et de développement socio-émotionnel. Leur indiscernabilité se traduit par une méconnaissance de besoins et par une absence de politiques de soutien. L'objectif de cette étude qualitative est de mettre en évidence leurs besoins linguistiques, ainsi que les besoins de développement

professionnel des enseignants. Plusieurs enseignants et intervenants clés ont été interrogés et interviewés afin d'obtenir leurs points de vue sur les problèmes et les défis linguistiques que rencontrent les jeunes réfugiés, sur les politiques et services, et sur leurs propres besoins en matière de formation professionnelle. Ces résultats visent à combler des lacunes et à soutenir les enseignants et les jeunes réfugiés.

Mots-clés : jeunes étudiants réfugiés, enseignement supérieur, langue et alphabétisation, réinstallation, ALF/PANA, développement professionnel

Introduction

In discussing the power governments wield to determine policies and enact laws in the public sphere, the legal system, and public administration domestically, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (2017) emphasize the power held by governments to set educational policy. They also discuss how competing interests determine whether educational policies respect cultural rights and safeguard minority language maintenance, or invisibilize minority language and culture, assimilate linguistic minority groups, and lead to language loss — both domestically and internationally. The invisibilization process may be intentionally enacted through overt or covert policies, but it can also be the inadvertent result of knowledge gaps that occur despite best intentions. This article describes the latter case.

As tertiary institutions in Canada and throughout the world increasingly make equity and anti-racism activities a policy priority, progress is made yet inconsistencies also emerge. Some scholars argue that equity agendas often amount to nothing more than institutional rhetoric or *cosmetic diversity* (Henry et al., 2016; Hoffman & Mitchell, 2016) and attempts to internationalize (e.g., through scholarships, recruiting diverse faculty and students, visiting scholars, etc.) are merely a vehicle for "a fashionable, depoliticized, and comfortable multiculturalism" (Cusicanqui, 2012, p. 104). Others applaud the increased attention to critically responding to equity issues and encourage a recognition of the work that is being done (Tamtik & Guenter, 2019). What remains clear is that addressing long-standing barriers to higher learning is essential. This article attempts to identify and analyze instructional and institutional barriers for one specific tertiary student group: youth refugees.

Beginning with the background of the study, in 2015 the Canadian government recognized that the conflict in Syria was at such a crisis level that it provided *prima facie* refugee status to Syrian refugees. That is, visa officers were to assume that Syrian applicants were fleeing a conflict and met the definition of a refugee, thus bypassing the usual process for refugee claims. Typically, refugee claimants apply for refugee status once they are in

Canada. After applying, they must wait for an Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) hearing. Following their hearing, the IRB decides whether they are *bona fide* refugees that qualify for protection. Given that the Syrians would have applied from outside of Canada, typically the United Nations Refugee Agency, a private group (e.g., a church group), or an organization would have needed to refer them (Government of Canada, 2020). The Syrian refugees were interviewed to meet security, criminality, and medical screening requirements, but their *prima facie* designation simplified the process considerably and they automatically became Permanent Residents (PRs). As a result, 40,000 Syrian refugees resettled in Canada in the 2015–2016 period (Government of Canada, 2019).

With so many refugees from one group settling in Canada at one time, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council issued a call for targeted research regarding how educators could respond to their needs. The broader focus of our research is on:

1. How professors and key stakeholders (i.e., program coordinators, and student services coordinators) identify youth refugees' unique language and literacy learning needs and other challenges at the tertiary level, and

2. gaining a holistic understanding of educational structures that support their learning experiences.

Being granted immediate PR status was invaluable for Syrian youth refugees (aged 18–24). Generally, youth refugees awaiting their hearing results with the IRB are required to pay international student fees for tertiary studies and are ineligible for provincial funding such as the Ontario Student Assistant Plan.[1] These two factors combined make it almost impossible for refugee claimants to enrol in tertiary studies. However, as PRs, these youth were able to access provincial funding and enrol just as any *domestic* student would (e.g., with Canadian citizenship or permanent resident status). Consequently, they were not listed any differently than domestic students in Registrars' Office documents or in any documentation that educators might see. Not being identifiable as youth refugees (i.e., being invisibilized in that respect) represents something of a double-edged sword for Syrian and other youth refugees. On the one hand, they benefit from not encountering any stigmas related to refugee status; on the other, they do not benefit from any specific

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[1]Only Canadian citizens, people holding PR status, and designated refugees and protected persons are eligible for funding (Government of Canada, 2021; Ministry of Colleges and Universities, 2021; Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants [OCASI], 2019).

services that might be provided to refugees identified as having learning and/or socioemotional needs.

This article explains how being invisibilized — inadvertently or intentionally — can disserve Syrian (and other) youth refugees in the tertiary educational system. In the absence of focusing on the needs of recognizable groups, knowledge gaps arise. The problem with such gaps is they constrain the ability of well-intentioned educators to meet youth refugees' needs, inadvertently leading to inequities. In fact, in the wake of the pandemic, Canada has recognized the problems inherent with not distinguishing between groups (Annett, 2020); similarly, recognition of the need to track different ethnolinguistic and racialized groups in educational structures to gain better understanding of gaps in educational outcomes and address inequities is also growing (Robson, 2018).

While elementary school teachers tend to know their students' backgrounds, that is less the case at the secondary level (Dagenais, 2008) and, as is discussed in this article, only rarely do educators know their students' backgrounds, including previous refugee status, at the tertiary level. Yet research speaks to the need to fill such knowledge gaps (Cummins, 2020). Studies show that although youth refugees may have high educational aspirations, they experience significant barriers to accessing and achieving success in secondary and post-secondary education in Canada (Ferede, 2010; Shakya et al., 2012). Complex challenges span across refugees' pre-migration, migration, and post-migration experiences including, but not limited to, an inability to make adequate preparations prior to migrating, a lack of familial or social support, low levels of education and official language fluency upon arrival, and mental health concerns (Bajwa et al., 2017). This lack of support and preparation leaves them vulnerable to informational barriers at the tertiary level (Morrice, 2009). Bajwa et al. (2017) concluded that refugees have limited access to formal supports to help them make decisions about their educational pathway; specifically, there is a need for customized informational support (e.g., to access financial aid, fill out forms, obtain study permits, and other settlement-related needs) as well as tailored emotional support to aid in traversing the many challenges they face.

There is a clear need for improved access to appropriate supports to mitigate barriers at both the institutional and instructional levels. Therefore, this article focuses on educator experiences with, and views of, the needs of youth refugees from Syrian and other backgrounds who are enrolled in Canadian tertiary institutions and any institutional supports available to them. In the following sections, we outline the theoretical framework, provide a brief overview of the literature and contextual information, outline the methodology, salient findings, key points of discussion, and concluding comments.

Theoretical framework

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theoretical work explains various, interrelated environmental influences on a student's development, from immediate contexts of family and school to broader cultural ideologies and customs. Bronfenbrenner viewed an individual's development as a complex set of relationships influenced by multiple levels of the surrounding environment. He visualized these levels as five concentric circles and named them the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macrosystem, and the chronosystem. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory was chosen as a frame for this study because it goes beyond individual development and accounts for wider influences and contexts that have direct implications for educational practice. Placing the youth refugee tertiary student at the centre of these nested structures provides insights into how these students are likely to be shaped by their ecology, which can aid in identifying and improving the supports they require to access and succeed in tertiary education (see Figure 1).

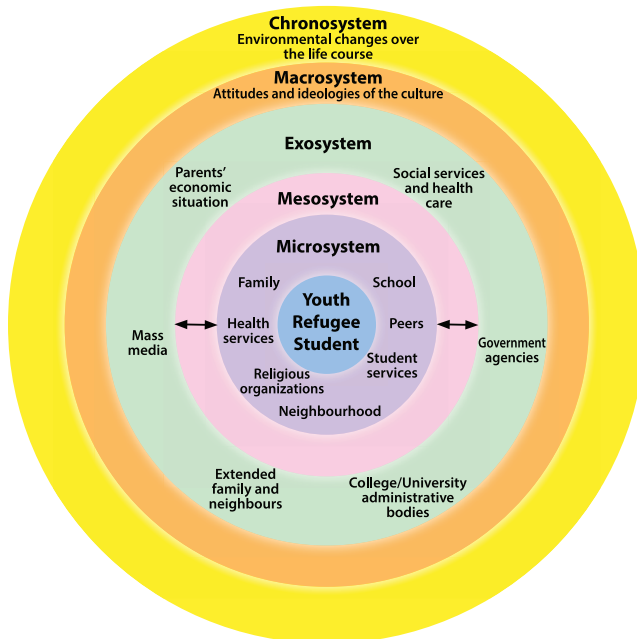The microsystem involves personal relationships with family members,

Figure 1
Bronfenbrenner's Ecological System Theory
(adapted from Guy-Evans, 2020)

classmates, and educators. These relationships are crucial to development and are bi-directional; the individual can both influence and be influenced by others in the microsystem. Interactions between educators and children or older learners (e.g., youth refugees) are shaped by how educators view learners' background knowledge and orchestrate instruction. They may valorize aspects of their students' (cultural/linguistic) background and prior learning experiences or *funds of knowledge* (Moll and González, 2004). Alternatively, they may focus on content matter instruction, and adopt the view that it is the learner's responsibility to master the content.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) stresses the need to view learners *across* multiple contexts. The mesosystem encompasses the interactions between various microsystems in students' immediate orbits; these microsystems do not function separately but are interconnected. For instance, a youth refugee's family, faith organization, school, and peers all interact and exert influence upon one another. These interactions can be empowering or disempowering, depending on whether the youth refugee's personal knowledge is validated and legitimized or disregarded and possibly stigmatized (e.g., by in/exclusionary interactions with peers at school or instructional practices of classroom educators).

Their experiences can also be viewed at the broader, exosystemic level; a level at which government policies shape educational structures and serve to support or constrain youth refugees' language and literacy learning (e.g., which programs do asylum seekers have access to, as opposed to PRs, and are they affordable?). This harkens back to Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas's (2017) view of the power governments wield to enact culturally/linguistically responsive (or sustaining) educational policies or entrench inequitable educational structures. Government policies can also shape workplace experiences (e.g., that provide access to co-op placements, build students' resumés, and make them more employable). The exosystem includes external environmental conditions. The individual does not come into direct contact with these environments but is nonetheless impacted by them. In that sense, the exosystem is very relevant to youth refugees as it can encompass political conflicts that impact learners' microsystems, forcing them to migrate and seek refuge elsewhere. It also accounts for college and university administrative policies and practices (e.g., the provision or lack thereof of institutional supports and services or refugee-specific professional development for educators) that affect a youth refugee's access and/or persistence in tertiary education.

The macrosystem focuses on the cultural elements that affect an individual's development, such as the already established customs, beliefs, and attitudes of the society and culture the person is developing in. This is not the

specific environment of the individual, but rather the society and culture in which the person is immersed. Conflicts between the societal attitudes, norms, and ideologies of a refugee's country of settlement and their home country, for example, can affect their microsystems in profound ways, including in their interactions and outcomes at school. Finally, the chronosystem represents all the environmental changes that happen over an individual's lifetime and affect development. For a youth refugee, this would include many major life transitions such as experiences of war, leaving their home country, and moving to a new country.

Taking an ecological approach and viewing components of, and influences on, learner experiences across a range of environments affords a broader understanding of their linguistic and literacy development. Bronfenbrenner (1979) refers to this ecological environment of language and literacy development as "a nested arrangement of concentric structures, each contained within the next" (p. 22). Seen in this manner, world events can have (in)direct trickle-down effects into student learning and their personal lives. A lack of control over these events and their aftermath can take a toll on youth refugees' socioemotional wellbeing. Related literature on the impact of these influences on youth refugees' language and literacy learning and socioemotional wellbeing follows.

Key literature and contextual information

Conflict at the exosystemic level and seeking refuge

When discussion turns to exosystemic forces leading to people being displaced across borders internationally, the Syrian conflict comes to mind; however, other recent waves of refugees have included Nepali-Bhutanese refugees (Taylor, 2016) and, in the aftermath of the Taliban's sweep to power in Afghanistan, many Afghan refugees will likely be resettled in the West and enter the tertiary system (Seir et al., 2021). In 2021, 82 million people were displaced due to external forces such as persecution, conflict, violence, human rights violations, and events seriously disturbing public order; of these, 68% came from five countries with Syria at the top and Afghanistan in third place even before the Afghan government and army fell to the Taliban (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2021a). Given UNHCR's (2021b) call for a non-return policy (*refoulement*), and re-hearing the cases of Afghan refugee claimants previously rejected, more Afghan youth refugees are likely to begin tertiary studies in Canada. While they, and the Syrian youth refugees before them, are visible in the news media for a while, they are less identifiable in tertiary level classrooms.

Educator and student experiences at the mesosystemic level

Refugee students bring a different set of funds of knowledge to learning than many of their peers. There may be a dissonance between cultural and societal norms, expectations, attitudes, and ideologies. Moreover, educators and service providers may not be prepared to meet the needs of learners who have escaped or been exiled from conflict zones. The recurrent nature of conflict and influx of students from conflict zones warrants provision of professional development (PD) to address the misalignment of educator/youth refugee learner experiences; a misalignment that will continue to pose challenges given the highly militarized times in which we live (Nelson & Appleby, 2015, p. 309). One reason for educator discomfort and inexperience with youth refugee students' language and literacy learning needs at this level is the expectation that students be functionally literate by the time they enter the college or university classroom. Educators may both have difficulty identifying how to address their socioemotional and learning needs; they may also feel doing so is 'not their job;' defining their role as strictly delivering discipline-specific content.

Research suggests that educators ill-prepared to address the needs of students with limited or interrupted formal schooling often lack the self-confidence needed to gain the know-how (e.g., new instructional strategies) to support youth refugee students' English language and literacy development (Clark, 2017; Vidwans, 2016). Furthermore, these educators may lack the background knowledge needed to recognize or support students' physical and mental health-related issues, including those relating to resettlement-related stressors (Beiser et al., 1989). For instance, youth refugee students may be contending with both posttraumatic stress and dashed life dreams (Finn, 2010). As noted by Nelson and Appleby (2015), "even after resettlement, learning can continue to be impeded due to the after-effects of torture and trauma" (p. 321). There have been calls to view and measure resilience within a socioecological framework that captures variation from the microsystem on up through the meso- and exosystemic levels (in individual, relational and external factors) with resilience gained through community supports and mental health supports making all the difference in how individuals manage psychosocial distress and mental health difficulties arising from lived experiences of war, lifetime trauma, and forced displacement (Panter-Brick et al., 2018; Siriwardhana et al., 2014). However, if youth refugee students are invisibilized (i.e., if they are indistinguishable from immigrant background or possibly international students), educators may not even recognize socioemotional needs, negatively impacting their potential for resilience leading to academic success.

Educators may have received insufficient PD in these areas; however, relevant information from bodies ranging from UNESCO to ministries of

education does exist (Hanemann & Scarpino, 2016; Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007, 2008, 2016). A document by the British Columbia Ministry of Education (2015) entitled *Students from refugee backgrounds: A guide for teachers and schools* explicitly addresses students' refugee experiences and outlines three components of the psychological effects of the refugee experience: post-traumatic stress disorder, trauma, and predictable anxiety triggers. The document also has suggestions for positive experiences and anxiety buffers (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2015). Nelson and Appleby (2015), on the other hand, have recommended that teachers make learning participatory, use critical discourse inquiry, and experiment with art-based learning. Therefore, guides exist, but educators need to be aware of their existence, be shown how to adopt (and adapt) them in context specific manners and realize there are youth refugees in their classrooms (Montero, 2018). Moreover, educator guides, such as the British Columbia Ministry of Education document and others in the Canadian context, were developed to help teachers and other school personnel support refugee children and youth in public elementary and secondary classrooms; to the authors' knowledge, there are no equivalent or comparable resources for post-secondary educators to access that specifically address the unique needs of refugees at the tertiary level. This lack of targeted guidance reflects a broader paucity of resources and professional development for college and university educators who are struggling to support refugees in their classrooms.

Youth refugees from Syria have been referred to as a "lost" generation because only 18% of those qualified to enroll in tertiary studies actually do so in their host countries due to a lack of supportive educational structures, including responsive admission requirements (Immerstein & Al-Shaikhly, 2016). Modes of alternative admission assessment are needed to enable youth refugee students to qualify for tertiary level studies. Students that have to flee quickly do not have time to obtain the documentation Registrar's Offices require to evaluate their prior academic achievement. Shapiro et al. (2018) speak to the need for alternative admission criteria, noting that systemic barriers can block youth refugees' access to tertiary education, but supportive *bridges* do also exist. For instance, it is possible to reconstruct youth refugees' academic backgrounds and find alternative ways of corroborating their self-reports (e.g., adopting dynamic assessment techniques to evaluate competencies; Immerstein & Al-Shaikhly, 2016). As Magaziner (2015) points out, universities have the ability to bypass bureaucratic inefficiencies, prioritize refugee applications, waive requirements, and allocate social services; institutions can implement supportive educational policies — if the will is there.

Why does it matter?

The numbers speak for themselves. As noted above, there are 82 million refugees worldwide (UNHCR, 2021a). Prime Minister Trudeau has pledged to resettle Afghan interpreters and their families that assisted the Canadian forces in their Afghan mission over the past two decades (Berthiaume, 2021). With regard to the Syrian refugees resettled in Canada, estimates from the Statistics Canada 2016 census show that:

- 7% of all newcomer children between the ages of zero and 14 come from refugee backgrounds. That figure translates to 1% of all Canadian children in that age group, and
- 14% of immigrant youths between the ages of 15 and 24 come from refugee backgrounds, which accounts for 2.4% of all Canadians in that age group. (Statistics Canada, 2018)

Research involving youth refugees suggests that landing and admission categories can have important effects on integration experiences (with different landing categories impacting youths' acculturation outcomes), but also their educational outcomes. The earlier they leave school, the earlier they transition to adult roles (e.g., marriage and children; Yoshida & Amoyaw, 2020). Less schooling lowers earning potential and heightens chances of poverty; poverty exacerbates mental health issues (Wilson et al., 2010). Youth refugees' landing experiences also affect whether they have disrupted schooling, which is a key difference between refugee children and other immigrant children. While the latter must learn a new language of instruction, they do not have gaps in their literacy and numeracy development due to a lack of access to schooling for extended periods (Panter-Brick et al., 2018). Similarly, youth refugees that experience gaps in schooling take different programs (i.e., ELD and ESL instruction as opposed to ESL instruction alone),[2] delaying their access to subsequent tertiary education.

Not recognizing youth refugees as a distinct group obfuscates their challenges. Invisibilizing them is linked to a lack of educator preparedness to deal with their language, literacy, and socioemotional needs; it can impact their earning potential, which impacts their quality of life. The children of economic immigrants, on the other hand, have higher university completion

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[2]ELD refers to English Literacy Development, a support program for English language learners with a significant gap in formal schooling and do not have age-appropriate academic skills in their first language; ESL refers to English as a Second Language, a support program for ELLs with age-appropriate academic skills in their first language (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007).

rates, transition into adulthood later, and have higher earning potential, which impacts their standard of living. It matters whether youth refugees encounter bridges or barriers to tertiary education. To fill the knowledge gap concerning their educational trajectories, educators must be able to identify them as a group with needs that must be identified and documented. This study sought to fill those knowledge gaps.

Methodology

The purpose of this qualitative study was to gain in-depth understanding of more and less successful educational approaches, and challenges relating to the language and literacy learning of youth refugee students at the tertiary level. The qualitative data collection methods adopted in this three-phase research design included open-ended surveys, interviews, and digital product creation (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

This article focuses on Phase 1 of the study, which involved educators and key stakeholders responsible for academic programs and student support services at the tertiary level. Research was conducted in three Canadian tertiary institutions with sizable numbers of youth refugee students. Thirteen educators and key stakeholders from across the institutions completed online surveys and four participated in interviews. Their pseudonyms were Sam, Jamie, Alex, and Manny, and they were involved in a spectrum of programs — from Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) at the college level, to English for academic purposes (EAP), continuing education, and credit-bearing degree programs.

After completing an open-ended online survey on Qualtrics, participants had the option of participating in a semi-structured interview via Zoom. The purpose of both was to elicit information about their backgrounds, professional contexts, approaches to language and literacy education with youth refugees, and views about these students' issues, challenges, and professional learning and programming needs. Sample questions included: "What are youth refugee students' specific language and literacy learning needs?"; "What instructional strategies are most effective in promoting their communication skills in content area courses?" and "If you are able to draw on youth refugees' prior linguistic, cultural and/or disciplinary knowledge in your teaching, what are some examples of the linkages you make between your teaching and their prior knowledge?"

In Phase 2, youth refugee students who enrolled in the same tertiary institutions as the educators and key stakeholders completed an open-ended online survey and had the option of participating in follow-up Zoom interviews. The purpose of this phase was to elicit the youth refugees' views of their language and literacy education needs, and how Covid-19 was impacting

their learning. In Phase 3, they explored themes and issues relevant to their lives and interests by completing multimodal products such as digital identity texts, video resumes, material memory projects, and personal websites. Their projects will be showcased on a project website (that is currently under development) along with a more general 'toolkit' to support educators teaching youth refugees.

Analysis

Audio recordings of the interviews were anonymized and transcribed. Subsequently, the interview transcripts and survey data were reviewed and aggregated into themes using an open coding technique. The latter involved determining the most important data and organizing them thematically using axial coding (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The themes that emerged included: (lack of) identification, the (in)sufficiency of student services, literacy and language learning and socioemotional needs.

Findings and discussion

Key findings presented and discussed in this article include identifying youth refugees as a group in tertiary level studies, the services they have access to there, their language and literacy learning, and socioemotional needs.

Who are they?

Many educators and key stakeholders in the tertiary institutions involved in this study who were surveyed and/or interviewed claimed they were unsure whether they had taught or dealt with youth refugee students. This theme continued to emerge as the study progressed. Tertiary institutions do not flag youth or older refugee students. That is, when educators receive their class lists, the institution does not indicate whether any students hold (former) refugee status, nor would the Registrar's Office have that information. One professor mentioned that international and domestic students were differentiated on their class lists; however, since refugee students are only categorized as domestic students, their refugee status becomes invisibilized.

Recent trends prioritizing equity, diversity, and inclusion in education have highlighted the need for more data and transparency on the relationship between factors such as race, socioeconomic status, or special education needs and educational outcomes in Canada. By not collecting data on these and other important sociodemographic factors, systemic barriers to success for marginalized students such as youth refugees persist, as there are simply no data to analyze. As Robson (2018) points out, lack of data does not mean lack of a problem: "by conflating immigrant success with a blanket commitment to equality, we blindly assume we are doing OK as we do not have

any evidence to the contrary — because we haven't taken the time to collect it" (para. 27). Although Canada remains a top Programme for International Student Assessment performer with only a narrow achievement gap between immigrant and non-immigrant students, performance disadvantages do exist within specific groups — a fact that gets glossed over by statistics that view *immigrant* as a monolithic category and fail to differentiate between those admitted under the family reunification class, the economic category, or as refugees (Volante et al., 2017).

Not knowing if they have any refugee students presents several challenges for educators because then they cannot adapt their instruction to meet these students' needs. Professors are limited in their ability to circumvent this issue — they do not ask students questions about their backgrounds due to privacy concerns and there is no identification at the administrative level. Educators that participated in our study suggested that the only way to distinguish a refugee student from another immigrant background student is through self-identification. However, this process is informal and occurs infrequently. Sam reflects on what identifying a refugee is like in an educational context:

> We don't really know they are refugees … . Secondly, we have to let them talk. … We can't ask them… but I mean we could … but it would be possibly very insensitive and also not necessarily relevant to the material … . In most of my courses there have been … maybe one … . it's hard to identify who is a refugee and who is not … unless they tell us.

Current data suggest that youth refugees are an invisibilized group at the tertiary level because they are neither tracked by institutions, nor made visible to educators or key stakeholders. Furthermore, their status does not appear to be a priority as professors are more concerned with helping all students learn the academic content of their courses.

Are there sufficient student services?

Student services were examined in the participating institutions. None were specifically tailored to youth refugee students; rather, the students had access to similar services as all other domestic students; namely, peer tutoring, academic advising, and general learning services as well as wellness and counselling services, and career mentoring. The educators and key stakeholders interviewed varied as to whether they felt all students required equal access to counselling services or whether youth refugees may have greater needs. Sam suggested, "If you're having an ongoing conflict in your home country in which your friends and family members may be involved, you absolutely need more psychological support … ; not that immigrant students don't need psychological support, it's just different kinds."

Since youth refugee students are categorized as domestic students, they do not have access to services provided to international students such as immigration advisors, international student coordinators or arrival settlement staff even though those services would be beneficial since they are geared to integration and settlement in Canada. Not tracking youth refugee students (or their needs) at the tertiary level precludes there being a documented reason for them to have dedicated services. Alex makes this connection by stating, "I think we just haven't seen a need for [services]; we provide services to everybody and we either don't have enough [refugees], or they're not coming forward, or they don't have issues specific to refugees." In the absence of tracking who youth refugees are, they would need to self-identify, and in sufficient numbers for service providers to realize that they constitute a sizable enough group with specific needs to warrant dedicated services.

Language and literacy learning needs

From our participants' perspectives, print-based literacy (as opposed to digital literacy, for example) posed one of the biggest challenges for youth refugees in the tertiary classroom. Jamie suggested that these students' biggest obstacles were in the areas of reading and writing. Alex felt that they struggled more with spelling and vocabulary than with other aspects of print-literacy. When asked about youth refugees' successes in the classroom, educators indicated that youth refugee students were often quite orally proficient and had good communication and presentation skills due to their experience dealing with the public in part-time jobs in the service sector (e.g., in fast-food restaurants).

Manny, on the other hand, pointed out that gaps in academic skills can be difficult to differentiate from other challenges:

> if they've got limited or interrupted formal education, those school skills, the learning skills … then that's hard to separate from the motivation and persistence part of it as well; being able to keep going despite being slow or frustrating or not as much fun as they want it to be.

Manny also noted that students in his courses typically had a wide range of past learning experiences, which led to youth refugees with limited or interrupted formal schooling working alongside peers that had the advantage of formal schooling and past tertiary experience. He described the positives and negatives of this dynamic:

> There are benefits and disadvantages to having those [two groups of] students in the same classroom. The benefits are that the ones with more education can model those learning habits and behaviours that are very helpful … . The disadvantage, of course, is that their needs are quite different. The ones with more education are going to move more quickly. The ones with less education,

it's going to take them longer. So, on a day-to-day basis, the class might be moving too fast for [youth refugee students], and then they're also going to see their peers move to higher levels before they do.

The data suggested that youth refugees in tertiary education experience compounded challenges in an education system that measures success for language development against English native-speaker norms, and literacy as narrowly print-based. The data indicated that not only are these students tasked with learning a new language, and potentially acquiring discipline-specific knowledge through that new language (e.g., if they are in a diploma or degree-granting program rather than an English language program—be it LINC for beginners or EAP for more advanced learners), but they must also adapt to the values and habits expected in formal Western tertiary education. Educators also felt that the youth refugee students were sometimes frustrated and discouraged by seeing some peers progress more quickly (e.g., those with stronger English or print-literacy skills). These data, which should be noted are derived from educators' perceptions and not refugee youth themselves, suggest that without acknowledging and addressing students' unique needs, youth refugee students might internalize their lack of progress, feel unsuitable for tertiary education, become alienated, and drop out. Preliminary data from Phase 2 of the study, which involves refugee youth students directly, support these speculative findings as some youth refugee participants expressed analogous feelings of inadequacy, exclusion and being misunderstood.

Educators also suggested that providing youth refugees with culturally/ linguistically responsive instruction could be challenging because the curricula in their respective programs tended to be prescriptive. Some stated that they tried to integrate students' prior knowledge and experiences, but tightly focused curricula and course objectives made it difficult to do so. Sam stated that "within the core [courses], there's not a lot of leeway. We teach grammar, we teach how to write an essay . . .] we teach vocabulary and reading texts, but mostly it is very formulaic."

Jamie, on the other hand, discussed his perceived challenges in orchestrating culturally/linguistically responsive pedagogy on a pragmatic, practical level as follows:

It's very hard to accommodate everyone's cultural background . . . sometimes we have students from about 10 different countries, and that will be very hard . . . usually what we can do is . . . we can draw on their cultures when it's time to celebrate something in their own culture.

Jamie's comments speak to more traditional multicultural educational ap-proaches adopted in heterogenous classrooms where educators feel unprepared to include a variety of backgrounds. In those cases, cultural inclusion tends to

focus on surface level recognition of diversity (e.g., celebrating customs and holidays) rather than allowing space for individual students to draw on their prior knowledge and experiences, and apply it to new learning.

This superficially inclusive *food and festival* approach raises the issue of whether educators receive sufficient targeted PD to be able to orchestrate culturally/linguistically sustaining pedagogy in settings of increasing diversity. Jamie's comments accord with this notion, indicating that he feels PD is lacking, stating: "professional development sessions [could] be held to help professors understand more about these refugee students because their previous learning experiences are very much different from other learners."

These illustrations of the educators' approaches to language and literacy education with youth refugees, and views of programming challenges and PD needs, suggest greater attention must be placed on acknowledging and understanding how to meet the language and literacy needs of youth refugee students with limited and interrupted formal schooling at the tertiary level. The focus should not just be on a deficit view of the challenges they face (i.e., what they lack with regards to what is expected in tertiary education), but on the institutions themselves and the various ways in which their policies and practices may work to impede these students' success and reinforce dominant power structures and ways of knowing and being.

Socioemotional needs

Instructor responses indicated varying perceptions of the socioemotional needs of refugee background students, and both their own and their institution's preparedness to address those needs. Two participants expressed the view that they had not seen any indication that youth refugees had exceptional needs and, generally speaking, did not differentiate between them and other immigrant background students in the classroom. When asked about dealing with past trauma in youth refugees, Alex, an EAP instructor, stated: "Everybody has mental health issues. None of us are perfect, but I didn't see them. I didn't see it manifest ... It's just a language classroom full of non-native English speakers from all over the world." Similarly, Jamie attested to not having seen youth refugees exhibit any notable socioemotional needs. He felt that by the time they enrolled in his course, those needs would have largely abated. As he described: "I think that their first one or two years in Canada kind of help them get over the trauma to some extent. And in my teaching, I don't see very strong emotional needs from this group of students." In contrast, Sam recounted trauma that acted as a barrier to students' success:

> I've had a few students who ... struggle with ongoing events at home. I mean that they have received mail, or they would have received notifications that their family member is now in hospital, or they can't find their family member ...

So, it is not that they wouldn't be successful, it's that this ongoing trauma …
it's just hard for them to succeed.

Manny also mentioned that he has had "some pretty traumatized young people in the class" and discussed how their trauma could "affect their focus and certainly their mental health." Manny framed mental health as a challenge even for those youth refugees who had not experienced trauma per se, stating:

I think mental health in general is a big challenge, even if they've not had trauma because, for many of them, it was their parents' decision to leave their country and emigrate and … even if that decision was forced by danger or persecution, it still feels like they were being ripped out of everything … all those connections that are so important when they're young.

Further, Sam expressed a lack of preparedness to adequately address the potentially complex needs of these students. Sam expressed: "It is a very challenging situation because I don't know how you can really help them … you are just a professor not a psychologist."

Since Manny was a LINC instructor, he spoke to gaps in institutional services for youth refugees specifically in this regard, noting that his students could not access counselling services because they did not pay fees for their language program: "They can access accessible learning services and I've taken that route, and tried to access some services for students [that way]. That hasn't been hugely successful so far … . It's super frustrating … that's a big need."

Beyond potential trauma, youth refugees may also be dealing with other stressors: Specifically, competing educational, social, family, and financial responsibilities. Although youth refugees might have very limited English language proficiency, educators noted that they were nonetheless often the person in the family with the most developed English skills and frequently acted as language brokers for other family members (e.g., by accompanying them to appointments as an interpreter). Additionally, they were often the ones in the family that were the most employable. As Manny noted, many of his students worked in addition to studying, which was stressful for them: "It's really challenging for them to balance those responsibilities with the responsibilities of learning and their need to be young adults with friends and things like that."

There is a need to extend *glocal* mental health supports and recognize psychosocial distress and mental health difficulties arising from lived experiences of war, lifetime trauma and displacement, as well as those arising from everyday stressors (e.g., balancing a social life with school and family responsibilities). As noted above, Ministry of Education supports do exist for K–12 educators (e.g., British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2015; Ontario

Ministry of Education, 2007, 2008, 2016) and a fledgling TESOL literature is developing on the topic (Nelson & Appleby, 2015); however, organized system-wide support is missing at the tertiary level.

Implications and conclusion

While this article only offers a snapshot of the experiences and challenges educators at the tertiary level may encounter with regards to identifying and meeting the needs of youth refugees in their classrooms, it provides insight into some of the challenges and ways forward in difficult times. The findings of this study have implications for youth refugees at the tertiary level across the instructional (microsystem and mesosystem) level and the systemic (exosystem) level.

At the instructional level, PD is needed so educators can gain the knowledge and tools needed to translate their good intentions into concrete outcomes in the classroom. Safe and confidential identification of youth refugees is additionally needed, so instructors can orchestrate learner-centred, trauma-informed pedagogies for students that may benefit from such approaches.

At the systemic (exosystem) level, targeted services, more scholarships, and alternative admissions procedures are needed to address refugee-specific needs. Demographic and needs-based data must be collected to make this growing, yet underserved student population group visible, and begin to fill gaps in student services to support them. In addition, detailed province-specific sociodemographic data need to be collected to get a full picture of how youth refugees are faring and the services they need to enter and traverse tertiary education (Robson, 2018, para. 26). Although immigrant-background students have traditionally fared well in Canadian schools, this must not obscure the fact that refugee students, and those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, *do* experience barriers to academic success (Cummins, 2020). To prevent another *lost generation* of youth refugees, tertiary education should not be viewed as a luxury, but as a right and an investment in Canada's future (Magaziner, 2015).

To reiterate and conclude, larger actors, such as governments, possess the power to dictate, enact, and regulate policies and laws in public domains such as education; those decisions work to either further invisibilize, oppress, and assimilate marginalized groups or legitimize, respect, and protect minoritized languages and cultures (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2017). As previously mentioned, processes of invisibilization may be overt or covert, deliberate, or unintentional, but benevolent intentions do not negate harmful effects. Moving forward, coordinated and informed action is needed across the governmental, institutional, and instructional spheres. Specifically, there is a need for policy and program initiatives that are adequately funded and

responsibly implemented in ways that recognize and address the language, literacy, and socioeconomic needs of youth refugees. At the same time, work is needed to rectify the inherent systemic inequities that disadvantage students with funds of knowledge that differ from what is expected and valued in formal tertiary education.

Acknowledgment

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La fabrique de l'étranger au niveau stato-national : la langue comme indice du degré d'altérité

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Résumé

Ce texte interroge la construction de la figure de l'étranger dans le contexte de l'État-nation français. En adoptant une approche historicisante et à partir de textes législatifs relatifs au droit au séjour et à la naturalisation, il souligne le caractère variable de la figure de l'étranger et le rôle donné à la langue française dans sa définition. Il participe également à dénaturaliser la relation entre « langue » et « intégration », en proposant de les considérer toutes deux comme des catégories de pensée d'État participant, d'un côté, à la mise en frontière de la communauté nationale, de l'autre, à produire l'étranger.

Mots-clés : pensée d'État, langue, intégration, État-nation, étrangéité

Abstract

This article questions the shaping of otherness in the French nation-state context. According to a historical approach and using legislative texts related to residence permit and naturalization, it underlines the variability of the "figure of the foreigner" and the role given to French language in its definition. It also leads to denaturalize the relation between "language" and "integration", by considering them both as state categories of thought, participating in the gatekeeping of the national community and in producing the foreigner.

Key words: State thinking, language, integration, nation-State, otherness

Introduction

En France, comme ailleurs en Europe, le durcissement des politiques migratoires et la restriction des droits des étrangers dès les années 1970, et en particulier depuis les années 2000, font de la définition de l'étranger et de l'hospitalité des questions scientifiques brûlantes. Dans le cadre de notre recherche doctorale en sociolinguistique, nous nous intéressons aux pratiques de l'accueil, en France, des personnes migrantes en milieu associatif. Nous questionnons l'hospitalité dans ses dimensions idéologiques et pratiques, ainsi

que la place faite à l'étranger, *outsider* (Becker, 1985) de la communauté nationale, dans la relation d'accueil. Le terme *étranger* est ici utilisé comme référant à un groupe de personnes ne possédant pas la nationalité du pays où elles se trouvent. Le choix de cette catégorie administrative permet d'éviter d'actualiser l'interdiscours de la distinction entre « bons réfugiés » et « mauvais migrants » (Akoka, 2020 ; Canut, 2016).

L'étude de l'hospitalité en milieu associatif soulève la question du contexte plus large, historique et institutionnel, dans lequel s'inscrivent les actions des associations qui accueillent des étrangers. En France, les politiques dites d'« intégration », en déterminant les conditions d'entrée dans la communauté ou le territoire national, tracent les contours d'une altérité extra-nationale et orientent les parcours de celles et ceux qui s'installent dans le pays. En effet, l'obtention des justificatifs requis lors des procédures de naturalisation ou d'obtention d'un titre de séjour a des répercussions sur les activités mises en place par les étrangers et par les acteurs, notamment associatifs, qui les accompagnent dans leur relation avec l'administration. Il nous est donc apparu essentiel d'examiner la figure de l'étranger produite par la législation française. Cependant, cette entreprise se heurte à un premier obstacle : d'un point de vue législatif, l'étranger est d'abord défini par ce qu'il n'est pas, c'est-à-dire par le fait de *ne pas* posséder la nationalité française. C'est en faisant un pas de côté et en explorant les critères requis, depuis le XIXème siècle, pour entrer dans la nation que nous voyons se dessiner, en creux, la figure de l'étranger.

Parmi ces critères, la maitrise de la langue nationale apparait comme essentielle. De nombreux travaux en sciences du langage ont porté un regard critique sur ce rôle donné à la langue (notamment Castellotti & De Robillard, 2001 ; Hambye & Romainville, 2013 ; Vandermeulen, 2013) et ont souligné le caractère construit de l'équation entre langue, peuple et territoire (parmi d'autres, Auzanneau & Trimaille, 2017 ; Balibar & Laporte, 1974). Nous proposons ici d'adopter une perspective historique et de nous centrer sur les textes de loi régulant l'accès à la communauté et au territoire national, afin de contribuer à dénaturaliser la relation entre langue et intégration en contexte d'immigration et de les faire apparaitre comme des *catégories de pensée d'État* (Bourdieu, 1993 ; Sayad, 1999).

Notre propos est construit à partir d'un ensemble de textes produits par l'appareil législatif français et relatifs à la nationalité et au droit au séjour (articles de loi, circulaires, rapports, etc.). Nous les avons réunis et étudiés en les mettant en perspective avec la littérature scientifique existante en sciences du langage et plus largement en sciences sociales. Après un bref retour sur les concepts de *langue* et d'*intégration*, nous mettrons en lumière le récit construit aujourd'hui par les textes de loi sur *l'intégration républicaine* des étrangers.

Nous interrogerons, ensuite, la façon dont la langue française est devenue, à partir du XIXème siècle, un critère de distinction entre le national et l'étranger. Enfin, nous montrerons comment la langue est instrumentalisée dans les politiques d'immigration et comment elle participe à construire l'étranger dans un contexte européen.

Perspective historique et mise en lumière de la pensée d'État

La présentation de la dynamique historique dans laquelle s'inscrit la situation actuelle et la mise en lumière des (in)variants des politiques mises en place par l'État français en matière d'immigration depuis le XIXème siècle et jusqu'à nos jours, permet de dénaturaliser la figure contemporaine de l'étranger. La contextualisation historique est, en effet, un puissant outil de déconstruction du sens commun :

> Il n'est sans doute pas d'instrument de rupture plus puissant que la reconstruction de la genèse : en faisant resurgir les conflits et les confrontations des premiers commencements et, du même coup, les possibles écartés, elle réactualise la possibilité qu'il en ait été (et qu'il en soit) autrement et, à travers cette utopie pratique, remet en question le possible qui, entre tous les autres, s'est trouvé réalisé. (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 51)

Nous opérons ce retour sur le processus historique de construction de l'étranger en nous focalisant sur les liens opérés entre langue et intégration / assimilation à la nation, et en soulignant la dimension stato-nationale de ces deux catégories. La langue a été qualifiée par de nombreux linguistes comme une construction de l'État-nation (notamment Achard, 1982 ; Calvet, 2001 ; Heller, 2005 ; Rosier & Paveau, 2008). Le modèle stato-national repose, en effet, sur l'identification idéologique entre un territoire, un peuple et une langue, conçus comme homogènes. La distinction entre les nations s'appuie, elle aussi, sur la langue nationale : les membres du groupe national « sont sommés de se reconnaitre en elle, autant qu'ils le sont de se différencier de ceux qui ne la parlent pas » (Canut, 2008, p. 30). Les définitions de la langue et de l'État-nation sont donc entremêlées.

Le concept d'intégration, proposé par Durkheim au début du XXème siècle, peut lui aussi être considéré comme lié au modèle stato-national (Lorcerie, 1994). En effet, comme le rappelle Paugam (2013), l'intégration *de* la société se caractérise chez Durkheim par une *solidarité organique*, qui s'impose aux individus. La société intégrée, dont les membres sont à la fois complémentaires et en coopération, est considérée comme le mode de fonctionnement optimal d'un groupe social ; elle est la face positive de l'organisation sociale des sociétés. C'est dans cette primauté du système sur les individus que l'on peut voir la naissance de l'injonction à l'intégration (Guénif-Souilamas, 2003). L'intégration *de* la société étant présentée à la fois comme

objectif visé et comme réglant les conduites individuelles, ceux qui sont en marge de la solidarité organique — isolés, pauvres ou étrangers — sont perçus comme menaçant la cohésion sociale et sont rendus responsables de son échec. Le fait que le concept d'intégration porte en son sein l'injonction individuelle à l'intégration favorise le glissement du terme du domaine descriptif au domaine prescriptif, du domaine sociologique au domaine politique (Guénif-Souilamas, 2003). Dans sa définition durkheimienne, l'intégration *de* ou *à* la société est donc indissociable du modèle de l'État-nation et de ses institutions : l'État-nation est le cadre non questionné dans lequel s'inscrit la compréhension de la société et la définition du concept d'intégration (Wieviorka, 2001). C'est cet implicite, ainsi que l'enchevêtrement des significations sociologiques et politiques de la notion d'intégration, qui justifient que plusieurs sociologues la qualifient de *fait de culture*, de *croyance* (Laacher, 1991) ou de *mythe* (Wieviorka, 2001).

L'importance du rapport entre les notions de langue et d'intégration, ainsi que leur lien avec le modèle de l'État-nation, conduisent à les considérer comme des catégories de pensée d'État, c'est-à-dire des catégories « constituées en nature par l'action de l'État qui, en les instituant à la fois dans les choses et dans les esprits, confère à un arbitraire culturel toutes les apparences du naturel » (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 50). Lorsque la langue et l'intégration sont mobilisées dans des discours ou des dispositifs liés à l'immigration, ces termes actualisent et participent à produire la délimitation de la nation et la distinction entre nationaux et non-nationaux (Sayad, 1999). C'est pourquoi questionner la mise en lien de ces deux notions dans le cadre de l'immigration permet de porter un regard critique sur « les postulats de la pensée d'État » (Sayad, 1999, p. 7) et, ce qui nous intéresse plus particulièrement ici, sur les postulats de la figure de l'étranger. En effet, la relation entre langue, intégration et immigration structure non seulement la conception nationale de l'étranger, mais aussi les dispositifs et les actions mis en œuvre autour de leur installation sur le territoire français. Les catégories selon lesquelles l'immigration est pensée « sont des produits socialement et historiquement déterminés, mais [sont aussi] structurantes en ce sens qu'elles prédéterminent et qu'elles organisent toute notre représentation du monde et, par suite, ce monde lui-même » (Sayad, 1999, p. 5). Le retour sur le processus historique de la construction de l'étranger à la nation, sous le prisme de la relation entre langue et intégration, conduit à dénaturaliser cette relation et la figure de l'étranger qui en découle.

«Le parcours d'intégration républicaine» : mise en récit d'une transformation

National et étranger : une distinction trouble

L'Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE) (2020, section définitions), définit l'étranger comme « une personne qui réside en France et ne possède pas la nationalité française » et précise : « la qualité d'étranger ne perdure pas toujours tout au long de la vie : on peut, sous réserve que la législation en vigueur le permette, devenir français par acquisition ». Selon cette définition, tout individu résidant en France est ou bien étranger, ou bien français.

Toutefois, c'est une distinction moins nette qui ressort du récit construit par les institutions étatiques autour de l'entrée des étrangers dans la communauté nationale. Ainsi, l'article 21–24 de Code civil, modifié par la Loi relative à l'immigration, à l'intégration et à la nationalité (Loi no. 2011-672 du 16 juin 2011), stipule que :

> Nul ne peut être naturalisé s'il ne justifie de son assimilation à la communauté française, notamment par une connaissance suffisante, selon sa condition, de la langue, de l'histoire, de la culture et de la société françaises … et des droits et devoirs conférés par la nationalité française ainsi que par l'adhésion aux principes et aux valeurs essentiels de la République.

Selon le Code civil, le préalable à la naturalisation est donc l' « assimilation à la communauté française ». Or si la naturalisation est conditionnée par l'*assimilation*, alors « on devient naturalisable dès lors qu'on n'est plus [étranger] » (Hajjat, 2012, p. 7). Notons qu'en France, depuis les années 1990, le terme assimilation a été remplacé par celui d'*insertion* puis d'*intégration* dans les discours publiques et politiques (Lochak, 2006). Le mot assimilation avait, en effet, acquis une connotation péjorative et renvoyait aux discours colonialistes et à un processus de conversion totale du nouvel arrivant au modèle de la société dite d'accueil. Le terme intégration devait permettre de mettre à distance le passé colonial et désigner un double mouvement d'adaptation, entre la société d'accueil et les nouveaux arrivants (Barats, 2018). Cependant, le terme assimilation n'a pas été retiré des textes de loi relatifs à la naturalisation. Ce constat va dans le sens des travaux qui montrent que le sémantisme du mot intégration, particulièrement instable, peut se superposer à celui d'assimilation (Bonnafous, 1992 ; Bouamama, 2005 ; Geisser, 2006). Sur le plan législatif, l'entrée de l'étranger dans la communauté nationale est toujours conçue comme une conversion. La connaissance de *la* langue occupe la première place dans la liste des éléments justifiant l'assimilation à la communauté française, et donc dans les indices de la transformation de l'étranger en membre du groupe national.

Devenir naturalisable : le rôle de la langue

Le *parcours d'intégration républicaine* est la formule utilisée dans les discours politiques et les textes législatifs depuis le début des années 2000 pour désigner le processus d'installation administrative des étrangers sur le territoire français (Gourdeau, 2016 ; Lochak, 2011). Ce parcours est présenté dans ces discours comme la période au cours de laquelle une personne se défait de sa qualité d'étranger pour endosser celle de national, sans en avoir encore le statut juridique. En 2015, dans une note relative à l'acquisition de la nationalité française adressée aux préfets par le ministre de l'Intérieur, celui-ci précise :

> L'acquisition de notre nationalité constitue ainsi dans la vie d'une personne un acte fondamental qui doit demeurer l'aboutissement logique d'un parcours d'intégration puis d'assimilation républicaine réussi et exigeant. Cette décision majeure n'est pas une simple formalité administrative mais une démarche essentielle qui témoigne d'une volonté profonde et réfléchie de faire corps avec notre République, sa langue et ses valeurs. (Ministère de l'intérieur, 2015, p. 1)

Le fait de qualifier la naturalisation d'*acte fondamental dans la vie d'une personne* et de *démarche essentielle* souligne le caractère transformateur de la procédure administrative. La conversion du sujet en membre de la communauté nationale est mise en scène comme le résultat d'un premier parcours d'intégration et d'un second d'assimilation, produisant une distinction entre l'un et l'autre terme fondée sur un degré d'intensité. Le recours à une métaphore physiologique, avec l'expression *faire corps avec notre République*, fait écho à la définition durkheimienne de la société, conçue comme un système d'organes, et de l'intégration, conçue comme solidarité entre ces organes. Il prolonge également les premiers usages du terme assimilation dans les discours sur la société au XVIIIème siècle où l'« on parle d'assimiler des individus comme le corps assimile des aliments » (Hajjat, 2012, p. 29). Selon la mise en scène construite par ce texte législatif, le parcours d'intégration correspond à une transformation progressive de l'essence de l'individu qui le conduit à changer de nature : d'étranger, il devient naturalisable.

La langue française est un critère décisif pour passer d'une étape du parcours d'intégration à la suivante. En témoigne le texte de 2016 du Contrat d'Intégration Républicaine (CIR ; Direction générale des étrangers en France, 2016), document signé par les personnes obtenant un premier titre de séjour en France et qui établit les formations civiques et linguistiques que celles-ci doivent suivre :

> Vous pouvez poursuivre votre parcours personnalisé d'intégration républicaine par un apprentissage approfondi de la langue française. Si vous souhaitez obtenir la carte de résident, vous devrez avoir atteint le niveau de langue A2 du CECRL. (p. 1)

En effet, chaque étape du parcours correspond à l'obtention d'un titre de séjour de plus en plus long et l'augmentation de la durée du titre de séjour est directement liée à l'augmentation du niveau en français, selon les échelons du Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues (CECRL). Le niveau A1 doit être atteint au terme d'une première année de séjour et permet d'obtenir un titre pluriannuel de deux à quatre ans. Le niveau A2 permet d'obtenir une carte de résident de dix ans. Enfin, le niveau B1 permet d'être naturalisé français.

Les textes législatifs qui circulent autour de ce parcours d'intégration républicaine mobilisent le lieu commun de la fonction intégratrice de la langue française. C'est le cas lorsqu'en 2016, le CIR remplace le Contrat d'Accueil et d'Intégration (CAI). Avec le CIR, la formation linguistique vise le niveau A1 du CECRL, et non plus le niveau A1.1, comme c'était le cas dans le CAI. Dans le dossier de presse de la Direction générale des étrangers en France (2016) qui annonce la mise en place du CIR, ce changement est justifié comme « permettant au primo-arrivant de s'intégrer plus sûrement dans la société française » (p. 3). En 2017, le rapport d'information fait au Sénat (Karoutchi, 2017) sur la mise en œuvre du CIR stipule que :

> la maîtrise par les étrangers de la langue française et la connaissance des valeurs fondamentales de la société et de la République françaises sont des *conditions préalables à l'intégration* des étrangers en France et à leur participation à la société et à son développement. (p. 9 ; nous soulignons)

Ces exemples montrent l'effet d'évidence qui entoure le lien de causalité entre maitrise de la langue nationale et intégration à la nation. Dès lors, on peut se demander comment la conception de la langue comme critère de distinction entre le national et l'étranger s'est naturalisée au fil des siècles.

La langue française, critère de distinction entre le national et l'étranger

La langue française, garante de l'étrangéité des peuples colonisés

L'observation des textes de loi relatifs au droit au séjour, à l'attribution de la citoyenneté et à la naturalisation publiés depuis le XIXème siècle met en évidence que les conditions d'admission de nouveaux entrants dans la communauté nationale sont fortement liées aux contextes économique et politique. Cependant, si la figure construite de l'étranger est variable, la maitrise de la langue française est constamment mobilisée pour en définir les contours et distinguer l'étranger du national, l'*autre* du *même*.

Le XIXème siècle correspond à la période de construction du régime républicain et de consolidation du modèle de l'État-nation français. Pour Abdelmalek Sayad (1999), établir une rupture entre les *nationaux* et les *autres* est une fonction constitutive de l'État. Cette fonction est d'autant plus forte

et nécessaire « dans le cas de l'État nationalement républicain, dans l'État qui prétend à une homogénéité nationale totale, c'est-à-dire une homogénéité sur tous les plans, homogénéité politique, sociale, économique, culturelle (notamment linguistique et religieuse), etc. » (p. 6). Or, le rôle donné à la langue nationale dans la *discrimination* entre nationaux et étrangers est loin d'être un rôle second. À la fin du XVIIIème siècle, au moment de la constitution du régime républicain, le député Henri Grégoire (1794) écrit dans son *Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française* :

> on peut uniformer le langage d'une grande nation, de manière que tous les citoyens qui la composent puissent sans obstacle se communiquer leurs pensées. Cette entreprise, qui ne fut pleinement exécutée chez aucun peuple, est digne du peuple français, qui centralise toutes les branches de l'organisation sociale, et qui doit être jaloux de consacrer au plutôt, dans une République une et indivisible, l'usage unique et invariable de la langue de la liberté. (p. 4)

La politique d'uniformisation linguistique soutient donc la politique républicaine. L'homogénéisation des pratiques linguistiques autour de la langue française est présentée comme la garantie de l'unité nationale et républicaine et, par conséquent, de l'assimilabilité des individus à la communauté nationale et républicaine — et cela tant pour la population française en métropole que pour les populations des territoires colonisés.

Car le XIXème siècle est aussi celui de la deuxième vague de l'expansion coloniale française, notamment en Afrique, à Madagascar et en Indochine. Comme le remarque l'historienne Emmanuelle Saada (2003), les mises en place du régime colonial et du régime républicain sont liées. La conquête militaire de nouveaux territoires et leur mode d'administration colonial sont présentés comme la réalisation de la diffusion de l'universalité et de la civilité françaises, comme l'opportunité d'assimiler les populations colonisées à la population nationale. Cependant, avec la stabilisation de la domination coloniale à la fin du XIXème siècle, les discours sur l'assimilation des populations colonisées se transforment. Leur assimilation est progressivement considérée comme impossible à atteindre, leur infériorité étant jugée trop importante (Hajjat, 2012). Leur naturalisation va néanmoins rester possible.

Dans plusieurs colonies, le critère linguistique est alors érigé en principal critère préalable pour entrer dans la communauté nationale française. Le ministre de la Marine et des Colonies l'énonce ainsi en 1881 : on ne peut « donner les droits de citoyen à des hommes incapables de comprendre notre civilisation » (cité dans Hajjat, 2012, p. 67). À partir de cette date, en Cochinchine, les personnes colonisées doivent démontrer leur connaissance de la langue française pour prétendre à la naturalisation ; en Tunisie, c'est à partir de 1910 ; en 1912, la même condition est requise en Afrique Occidentale

Française pour les personnes non originaires de la région (Hajjat, 2012). Or dans l'ensemble des territoires colonisés, seule une partie très restreinte de la population locale a la possibilité d'aller à l'école et donc de parler, comprendre, lire et écrire le français. L'exigence de la maitrise de la langue française dans la procédure de naturalisation permet de préserver son caractère exceptionnel. À la même époque, en France métropolitaine, la connaissance du français ne fait pas partie des conditions requises pour être naturalisé. Un régime spécial est donc mis en place dans les colonies pour soutenir la distinction entre les colons et les colonisés. Le critère linguistique peut, alors, être mobilisé pour garantir cette frontière.

Ne plus être étranger : l'assimilation linguistique en métropole

Au XIXème siècle, en France métropolitaine, l'entrée des étrangers présents sur le territoire — principalement venus des pays voisins — dans la communauté nationale n'est pas considérée comme problématique. La langue nationale ne joue aucun rôle dans la procédure de naturalisation et la maitrise du français n'est pas mentionnée dans les textes de loi. C'est dans les années 1930 que le critère d'assimilation et sa part linguistique apparaissent tous deux dans les questionnaires auxquels sont soumis les requérants, sous la forme « le postulant parle-t-il *notre* langue ? » (Lochak, 2013, p. 4 ; nous soulignons). Le fait de parler la langue française, implicitement présentée comme langue de tous les Français, est alors une opportunité dans la demande de naturalisation ; autrement dit, cela favorise son acceptation (Hajjat, 2010). C'est avec l'ordonnance du 19 octobre 1945 portant sur le code de la nationalité française que parler français va devenir « un critère de *recevabilité* » (Hajjat, 2010, p. 75) de la demande. L'article 69 de cette ordonnance relative au code de la nationalité française stipule, en effet, que « nul ne peut être naturalisé s'il ne justifie de son assimilation à la communauté française, notamment par une connaissance suffisante, selon sa condition, de la langue française » (Ordonnance no. 45-2441 du 19 octobre . . . , 1945, p. 6704). Le fait que la connaissance du français devienne nécessaire à la naturalisation donne une assise institutionnelle à la fonction intégratrice de la langue et à la conception selon laquelle elle garantit l'unité de la nation et distingue l'étranger du national. C'est donc en 1945 que la superposition entre les frontières linguistiques et celles de la communauté nationale entre dans la loi.

La langue française au service de la délimitation des frontières

La frontière de la communauté nationale : une frontière mouvante

Comme vu précédemment, la relation tissée entre langue, peuple et territoire, au niveau du politique et par des mesures législatives, est liée à la consolidation

de l'État nation républicain et à la conquête coloniale. La superposition progressive de la frontière linguistique à la frontière de la communauté nationale crée une représentation doublement homogénéisante de la nation : au-dedans, des nationaux parlant *le* français ; au dehors, des étrangers allophones. Toutefois, l'observation des réformes successives de la nationalité au XXème et XXIème siècles révèle que le degré de maitrise du français qui permet de distinguer l'étranger du national est variable.

Ainsi, en 1947, dans un contexte de déclin démographique et de reconstruction matérielle à la suite de la seconde guerre mondiale, un assouplissement des conditions de naturalisation est mis en place. Une circulaire relative à la naturalisation établit que « ce sont les ouvriers, les cultivateurs, indispensables au relèvement de notre pays qui doivent être naturalisés en premier lieu » (Circulaire du 23 avril . . . , 1947, p. 4029). Pour ce faire, le texte encourage les agents de l'administration à faire preuve de plus d'indulgence dans l'évaluation du niveau de langue nécessaire pour être naturalisé :

> sans tomber dans l'excès opposé et naturaliser un étranger qui ne serait pas capable de se faire comprendre en français, il convient cependant de ne pas refuser la naturalisation à un étranger sous le seul prétexte que sa prononciation et sa syntaxe sont défectueuses. (p. 4030)

Abaisser les exigences dans l'évaluation de la maîtrise de la langue française doit permettre de faire entrer plus de personnes dans la communauté nationale, dont notamment de la main d'œuvre pour les industries et l'agriculture.

À l'inverse, c'est dans un contexte où le chômage et la xénophobie sont en hausse que les conditions d'acquisition de la nationalité se durcissent. La Loi no. 2003-1119 du 26 novembre 2003 relative à la maîtrise de l'immigration, au séjour des étrangers en France et à la nationalité (2003), par son article 65, vient poser « la connaissance suffisante de la langue française » comme nouvelle condition de la naturalisation des conjoints et conjointes de français. À nouveau, *l'assimilation linguistique* est mobilisée comme variable d'ajustement à la situation économique, cette fois pour restreindre les entrées dans la communauté nationale. En 2011, les conditions de naturalisation des étrangers sont de nouveau réformées. Jusqu'alors, les agents de la préfecture avaient la charge d'évaluer le caractère « suffisant » de la connaissance de la langue française. La circulaire du 30 novembre 2011 relative au niveau de connaissance de la langue française requis des postulants à la nationalité française établit que cela correspond au niveau B1 oral du CECRL et que les requérants doivent désormais le justifier par un diplôme ou une attestation (Ministère de l'intérieur, 2011, p. 3). En 2020, le niveau requis est étendu au B1 écrit. Ce durcissement du critère linguistique d'assimilation à la communauté

française participe de la politique de restriction des naturalisations menée par les gouvernements successifs : alors qu'en 2010, 87 033 personnes avaient été naturalisées françaises, elles ne sont plus que 48 358 en 2019 (INSEE, 2022, section statistiques).

Ces réformes consécutives de la procédure de naturalisation montrent que la figure de l'étranger considéré comme naturalisable varie selon la conjoncture politique et économique et que l'assimilation linguistique fait partie des variables d'assouplissement ou de durcissement des conditions d'entrée dans la communauté nationale.

Quand la frontière du territoire national devient linguistique

À partir du début des années 2000, la nécessité de la connaissance de la langue française se diffuse dans les procédures d'installation sur le territoire. La Loi de 2003 relative à la maîtrise de l'immigration, au séjour des étrangers en France et à la nationalité (Loi no. 2003-1119 du 26 novembre, 2003) fait, en effet, apparaitre pour la première fois le critère de la connaissance du français dans les conditions d'obtention d'un titre de séjour. Son article 6 stipule que « la délivrance d'une première carte de résident est subordonnée à l'intégration républicaine de l'étranger dans la société française, appréciée en particulier au regard de sa connaissance suffisante de la langue française et des principes qui régissent la République française ». Selon Leconte (2016b), pour les étrangers non-européens souhaitant s'installer sur le sol français, il y a désormais un « devoir de langue » (p. 21) et non plus un droit à la langue. La même année marque la naissance du CAI, précédemment mentionné. Par la signature de ce contrat, la personne qui fait la demande d'un premier titre de séjour en France s'engage à suivre une formation sur les principes et valeurs de la république et une formation linguistique si son niveau en français est jugé insuffisant. L'État, lui, s'engage à fournir ces formations. Le niveau de langue établi comme objectif de la formation linguistique est le niveau A1.1. C'est le niveau le plus bas du CECRL, pensé pour des personnes non scolarisées et en apprentissage de la langue cible.

Dans les années qui suivent la mise en place du CAI, le niveau en français requis dans les procédures administratives liées au droit au séjour augmente. En 2016, lorsque le CIR remplace le CAI, le niveau visé par la formation linguistique passe de A1.1 à A1. Comme avec le CAI, c'est l'assiduité à la formation linguistique qui peut être sanctionnée par un retrait du titre de séjour et non l'obtention du diplôme final. En ce qui concerne la carte de résident, le niveau requis est, à partir de 2018, le niveau A2 du CECR. Le tableau 1 présente ces changements dans les niveaux de français attendus.

Les conditions d'entrée sur le territoire français sont donc, depuis les années 2000, organisées elles aussi par une vision *civilisatrice* de la langue

Tableau 1

Niveaux de français selon le droit au séjour ou naturalisation

Date	Forme d'entrée dans la nation	Niveau en français
1945	Naturalisation	« connaissance suffisante de la langue »
2003	Droit au séjour (10 ans)	« connaissance suffisante de la langue »
2003	Droit au séjour (premier titre de séjour)	Niveau A1.1 du CECRL
2011	Naturalisation	Niveau B1 oral du CECRL
2016	Droit au séjour (premier titre de séjour)	Niveau A1 du CECRL
2018	Droit au séjour (10 ans)	Niveau A2 du CECRL
2020	Naturalisation	Niveau B1 oral et écrit du CECRL

française et par son *caractère magique* (Bouamama, 2005), selon lequel le partage de la langue française conduirait, *par magie*, à la cohésion des individus et de la nation. Cela témoigne du caractère praxéologique des catégories de pensée d'État. En outre, cette naturalisation de la fonction intégratrice de la langue française permet la dépolitisation de la fermeture des frontières nationales aux étrangers et pourrait expliquer la résistance aux arguments des chercheurs, qui ont démontré l'absence de validité empirique du rapport causal entre maitrise de la langue nationale et intégration (notamment Beacco, 2008 ; Hambye & Romainville, 2014 ; Leconte, 2016a ; Vadot, 2017).

La langue : outil de production d'un étranger extra-européen

La relation étroite et non questionnée entre langue, intégration et nation n'est pas propre à l'État français ; elle est également effective dans les pays membres de l'Union Européenne (UE). Cette similitude s'explique, d'une part, par le fait que les États de l'UE sont aussi des États-nations, d'autre part, par la volonté de ces États d'unifier leurs politiques nationales en matière d'immigration. Or, depuis la création de l'espace Schengen, ces politiques favorisent l'immigration intra-européenne au détriment de l'immigration extra-européenne. Ainsi, les conditions de naturalisation ou de droit au séjour pour les étrangers extra-communautaires ne cessent de se durcir, en utilisant, notamment, la langue nationale comme instrument de contrôle et de sélection. Dans les pays de l'UE, de même qu'en France, les tests linguistiques se sont répandus et ont été utilisés dans de plus en plus de procédures liées au droit au séjour : titre de séjour longue durée et temporaire, voire, comme au Pays-Bas, pour obtenir l'autorisation d'émigrer (Huver, 2016 ; Van Avermaet, 2012). Il y a une progressive convergence entre les politiques d'immigration des pays européens autour de l'instrumentalisation des langues nationales et la France s'inscrit pleinement dans ce mouvement.

Tableau 2

Niveau du CECRL en langue(s) nationale(s) requis pour la résidence permanente dans 13 pays membres de l'UE de 2007 à 2018

(adapté de Rocca et al., 2020)

Pays	Niveau du CECRL requis pour la résidence permanente			
	2007	2009	2013	2018
Allemagne	B1	B1	B1	B1
Autriche	A2	A2	A2	A2
Belgique (Fl.)	—	—	—	A2
Chypre	NC[a]	—	A1/A2	A2
Danemark	B1	B1	A2	B1
France	—	—	A2	A2
Grèce	A2	A2	A2	A2
Italie	NC	—	A2	A2
Luxembourg	NC	A1	A2	A2
Pays-Bas	A2	A2	A2	A2
Portugal	NC	NC	A1	A2
République Tchèque	—	A1	A1	A1
Royaume-Uni	B1	B1	B1	B1

[a]NC signifie Non Communiqué

Le tableau 2 fait apparaitre, d'une part, le caractère généralisé du critère linguistique dans l'obtention d'un titre de séjour permanent dans un pays de l'UE et, d'autre part, la relative homogénéité du niveau du CECRL requis. En effet, la grande majorité des pays s'accordent sur le niveau A2 du CECRL et seuls trois pays demandent un niveau B1.

Or, ces mesures concernent uniquement les personnes originaires de pays non-membres de l'Union européenne, puisque les ressortissants des pays membres de l'Espace Économique Européen (EEE) bénéficient du droit de circulation et d'installation dans l'espace Schengen. Ces derniers ne sont donc pas considérés, du point de vue des politiques migratoires nationales, comme des étrangers de même qualité que les étrangers de nationalité non-européenne. Cette différence entre ressortissants et non ressortissants de l'EEE sur le plan du droit au séjour a pour conséquence d'invisibiliser les étrangers européens dans les procédures de recensement produites par l'INSEE et de conduire à une « dé-européanisation *administrée* du fait migratoire » (Cornuau & Dunezat, 2008, p. 474). Les étrangers européens n'ayant pas immédiatement besoin d'un titre de séjour, il est plus difficile de les compter. De plus, les textes de loi relatifs au droit au séjour, le Contrat d'Intégration Républicaine et les rapports produits par les organes politiques sur l'intégration des immigrés ne les concernent

pas, puisqu'il ne leur est pas nécessaire de suivre le parcours d'intégration républicaine pour s'installer en France. La question de leur assimilation à la société française n'est pas posée et ne fait pas débat public. Nous pouvons donc considérer que les politiques migratoires nationales au sein de l'UE organisent la production d'une étrangéité extra-européenne et d'une mêmeté européenne, en reproduisant la relation entre langue, peuple et territoire à l'échelle de l'UE. L'étranger dessiné sur un plan législatif et administratif est non-européen.

Conclusion

En France, la figure de l'étranger est aujourd'hui liée à la maitrise de la langue française par l'appareil législatif stato-national. Cela résulte d'un processus socio-historique long, qui débute avec la construction de l'État-nation républicain et au fil duquel la relation entre la maitrise de la langue française et l'entrée dans la communauté nationale se sédimente, pour devenir une évidence inscrite dans le sens commun. Ce retour à l'histoire et aux réformes successives de la naturalisation et du droit au séjour permet la mise à jour de la constitution de la langue et de l'intégration en catégories de pensée d'État, constitutives à la fois de la définition de la nation et de l'étranger non-national. Nous avons également mis en évidence leurs effets directs sur les politiques migratoires nationales françaises et plus largement, européennes. En effet, il nous semble que le modèle national de l'étranger est reconduit à l'échelle de la communauté européenne : le partage d'une langue nationale de l'UE produit une mêmeté européenne, l'absence de partage une étrangéité extra-européenne.

 C'est le caractère naturel de cet « arbitraire culturel » (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 50) qui lie langue, intégration et nation qui explique, selon nous, l'invisibilisation de l'instrumentalisation de la langue dans le contrôle migratoire, mais aussi les crispations qui émergent dès lors que l'évidence de la fonction intégratrice de la langue est remise en cause. C'est son caractère magique qui est alors attaqué.

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"Their Greek goes to waste":

Understanding Greek heritage language teachers' language ideologies and instructional practices

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Abstract

Framed within critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics, this narrative study sheds light on the language ideologies and practices of eight Greek heritage language (HL) teachers in Greek schools in Montreal and Toronto. Examining the teachers' ideologies and practices is important, as they can either engage or alienate HL learners. Engaging HL learners is significant, because for many of them the Greek school is their only opportunity to use the language. Language portraits, written tasks, and semi-structured interviews were used to collect data, which were then analyzed narratively and thematically. The findings suggest that the teachers' attitudes towards students and practices are largely shaped by their monolingual ideologies. The need for targeted teacher training is highlighted, to ensure that HL teachers are equipped to accommodate all their students' needs.

Key words: language ideologies, heritage languages, Greek heritage language education

Résumé

Ancrée dans le champ de la sociolinguistique poststructuraliste critique, cette étude narrative met en lumière les idéologies et les pratiques de huit enseignants de langue d'origine (LO) grecque dans les écoles grecques de Montréal et de Toronto. Il est important d'examiner les idéologies et les pratiques des enseignants, car elles peuvent soit engager ou aliéner les apprenants. L'engagement des apprenants est important, car pour beaucoup d'entre eux, l'école grecque est leur seule opportunité d'utiliser la langue. Des portraits linguistiques, des tâches écrites et des entretiens semi-structurés ont été utilisés pour collecter des données, qui ont ensuite été analysées de manière narrative et thématique. Les résultats suggèrent que les attitudes des enseignants envers les apprenants et leurs pratiques sont largement affectées par leurs idéologies monolingues. La nécessité d'une formation ciblée des enseignants est soulignée afin de garantir que les enseignants de LO soient équipés pour répondre à tous les besoins de leurs élèves.

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Introduction

The term *heritage languages* (HL) refers to languages, which in the Canadian context are languages other than the two official languages — French and English — and indigenous languages. Efforts to preserve HLs through heritage language education (HLE) programs are organized and supported primarily by the ethnolinguistic minorities themselves (Haque, 2012). Ethnolinguistic minorities are particularly concerned about preserving their HLs, as research suggests that within three generations HL speakers are likely to fully replace their HL with the dominant societal language(s) (Campbell & Christian, 2003). The fear of losing their HL motivates minority communities to take action and strive for *language maintenance* (Fishman, 1996) through HLE programs where speakers continue to use a non-dominant language in one or several social spheres despite competition with the dominant language(s) (Baker, 2011). Language maintenance is indeed greatly needed, as maintaining a connection with the HL can be beneficial for HL speakers on all personal, social, and cognitive levels, while it is also fundamental for their identity formation and sense of group membership (Cummins et al., 2005; Trifonas & Aravossitas, 2014; Valdés, 2005). Thus, most minorities are willing to undertake the painstaking task of organizing and supporting HLE programs, to ensure the intergenerational transmission of their HLs.

Situating the study

The Greek communities in Montreal and Toronto

In this article, I focus on Greeks in Canada, an ethnolinguistic minority that is particularly concerned about preserving its language and culture. Greek immigration to Canada has been recorded since the early nineteenth century, but increased dramatically in the twentieth century (Constantinides, 2004). Today, there are approximately 250,000 people of Greek origin in Canada, and a staggering 80% of them reside in Quebec and Ontario, and more specifically in or close to Montreal and Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2017a). The linguistic landscapes of Quebec and Ontario present significant differences; Quebec's only official language is French, whereas Ontario has a regionalized language policy, with some areas using English only, and others using both English and French) (Haque, 2012). While some areas in Ontario are bilingual, English is unequivocally the most widely used language in the province (Statistics Canada, 2017b). The dominance of English in all other Canadian provinces renders French speakers in Quebec a 'fragile majority', heavily concerned

about protecting its language (McAndrew, 2013). In turn, this concern is often translated in French-only language policies and practices (Haque, 2012).

While the linguistic context in the two locations differs substantially, the Greek communities in Montreal and Toronto are both well organized and determined to preserve Greek (Aravossitas, 2016). Indeed, Greeks in Canada have formed communities not just in these two locations, but across the country, with Greek churches, schools, institutions, and associations that help preserve the Greek language and culture (Aravossitas, 2016; Constantinides, 2004; Damanakis, 2010). Greek HLE is formally taught in the day, afternoon, and Saturday Greek schools that are founded by the various Greek communities, parishes, and institutions in the two locations (Aravossitas, 2016). Despite the fact that Greek communities across Canada are well organized, finding new ways to enhance Greek HLE is now more important than ever before, because these schools are the only opportunity for many third- and fourth-generation Greek HL learners, who do not use Greek at home, to learn their HL (Aravossitas, 2016; Damanakis, 2010). An important distinction must be made here: HL speakers are individuals who are exposed to the HL in the home and local community and who are able, to a lesser or greater extent, to use and understand their HL (Montrul, 2010). On the contrary, HL *learners* are members of ethnolinguistic minorities who maintain a connection with the HL not only at home and in the local community, but also *through formal instruction* (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). Previous research has identified some challenges that Greek schools in Canada are confronted with, namely the fact that the schools are underfunded, there is a lack of appropriate teaching materials, and the teaching staff is in some cases untrained and has little or no background in pedagogic studies (Aravossitas & Oikonomakou 2017, 2020; Constantinides, 2001; Tisizi 2020a, 2020b). Despite such challenges, Greek schools in Canada remain one of the main places where students of Greek origin can learn and practice their HL. Enhancing Greek HLE in Canada, by examining the HL teachers' ideologies and practices is this study's main focus.

The present study

The findings reported in this article stem from a larger study (Tisizi, 2020b), and pertain to Greek HL teachers' language ideologies and instructional practices. The study focuses on the perceptions and practices of eight Greek HL teachers in primary and secondary Greek private schools founded by the respective Greek community, Greek parishes, or other institutions in the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto.[1] Examining the perceptions of Greek HL

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[1]In the two locations Greek courses are offered in public schools too; for example, Greek is one of the HL languages offered in the PELO (Programme d'enseignement des

teachers is important, as their ideologies, positionality towards students, and instructional practices can either engage or alienate HL learners (Blommaert, 2010; Varghese et al., 2005). Currently, many third-and-fourth generation Greek HL learners with minimal knowledge of their HL are enrolled in Greek schools. To ensure the intergenerational transmission of Greek, it is important to find ways to retain these learners in the Greek schools and improve their learning experiences.

The study examines the following questions:

1. What are the Greek HL teachers' attitudes towards their students?
2. What are their attitudes towards other Greek HL teachers?
3. How do their attitudes and ideologies affect their instructional practices?

Literature review

The research presented here is framed within critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics, according to which language is a social and ideological construction (García et al., 2017; Weber & Horner, 2017). Conceptions of languages as stable and bounded are widely challenged by critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics that views languages and individuals' language practices as fluid and flexible (Byrd Clark, 2010; Lamarre, 2013). Critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics focuses on the ideological processes behind the hierarchization of languages that results in the validation of some linguistic varieties and the depreciation of others (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Pennycook, 2010). It stresses that the power embedded in languages creates social inequalities that individuals either perpetuate or challenge, as they negotiate their own identities (García et al., 2017; O'Rourke et al., 2015). In short, critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics highlights that power is exercised through language, and thus language becomes a *site of struggle*, where power relations are either maintained or resisted (Norton, 2013). The boundaries between languages and the speakers' perceptions about them are important considerations.

Language ideologies and attitudes

Language ideologies are widely adopted overt and covert beliefs about language varieties and their speakers (Blackledge, 2000; McGroarty, 2010). Language attitudes, on the other hand, refer to individuals' *personal* beliefs

langues d'origine) program in Quebec and in the International Language Program in Ontario. As these two programs present substantial differences and the teachers' and students' experiences are not necessarily comparable, the participants selected for this study worked only in schools founded by the two respective Greek communities or other Greek institutions.

about languages and their speakers (Holmes & Wilson, 2017). Language ideologies and attitudes are closely linked to societal power relations, and influence individuals' own language practices as well as the way they perceive others' linguistic choices (O'Rourke et al., 2015). They are influenced by sociopolitical beliefs that associate certain languages — and their speakers — with social prestige and power, and distinguish them from other languages — and their speakers — that are consequently devalued (Heller, 2007).

Language ideologies and attitudes play an important role in language education, as research suggests that the nationalist ideology according to which native speakers constitute a homogeneous group of people who share the same background and language is still prevalent, despite having been heavily criticized (Aneja, 2016; Holliday, 2008). Such ideologies disregard the fact that languages constantly change over time and through people's interactions, and treat any language variety that does not adhere to the so-called standard linguistic norm as less valid. Research has shown that the language ideologies and attitudes of HL speakers and their families have a profound impact on HL maintenance (Guardado, 2018; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). Evidently, it is important to keep a vigilant eye for the ideological assumptions underlying language teachers' actions too, as these can influence the learners' own beliefs.

Different types of language learners

HL learners are members of ethnolinguistic minorities who maintain their HL through formal instruction (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). While there is no general consensus as to an exact definition of HL learners, they are understood as individuals with personal, cultural and/or familial ties to the HL (Carreira, 2004; Valdés, 2005). My understanding of the term is aligned with definitions that place emphasis on the learners' connection with the HL and the respective minority community (Aravossitas, 2016; Hornberger & Wang, 2008), as such definitions foreground the learners' agency, which I consider a key parameter in the conceptualization of HL learners' identities.

A distinction that needs to be made is the one among HL, second language (SL), and foreign language (FL) learners. While they are not synonymous, these three terms can easily be misunderstood, because they all refer to the learning of additional languages. SL learners are individuals who take up an additional language that is widely used outside the classroom. In contrast, FL learners take up an additional language that is not widely used outside the classroom, and therefore the classroom is the only place where they can be exposed to the target language (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). As described previously, HL learners are individuals who receive formal instruction to preserve a non-dominant language with which they have personal connection. The three terms need to be clearly defined and distinguished because research suggests that

each type of learner has different needs, and thus different teaching strategies work best with each of them (Carreira, 2016a; Kagan & Dillon, 2008).

Indeed, HL learners have been found to have stronger aural competence and a more extensive vocabulary than SL and FL learners, and tend to find it easier to understand pragmatic rules in the HL (Kagan & Dillon, 2008; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). On the other hand, SL and FL learners tend to face fewer difficulties with spelling and understanding the metalanguage used to explain grammatical phenomena (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). Research also suggests that macro-based approaches work best with HL learners, because they usually have an already developed HL aural competence (Carreira, 2016a; Kagan & Dillon, 2008). Macro-based approaches start from the learners' background knowledge in the HL and then move to grammar and vocabulary teaching. In contrast, research indicates that micro-based approaches, that is, approaches that start from decontextualized information and gradually move to more complex knowledge, work best with SL and FL learners (Carreira, 2016b). Evidently, language teachers need to be aware of the differences among the different types of learners, and must adjust their teaching strategies accordingly to best accommodate their needs. As this study will show, things are further complicated for teachers when their classes include different types of language learners.

Methodology and methods

Since my aim is to examine the participants' ideologies, I find narrative inquiry to be the ideal fit for this study. Narrative inquiry focuses on how people construct personal accounts of their lived experiences and how they make sense of them (Chase, 2011; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). It is used to gain nuanced insights into the narrators' perceptions and designate the uniqueness of each individual's voice (Huberman & Miles, 2002; Riessman, 2008). These personal accounts are *representations* of the narrators' experiences, and therefore offer plausible ways of understanding these experiences, rather than imposing a singular truth (Butler-Kisber, 2010; Clandinin, 2006). Rather than focusing on generalizability, that is, making generalizable claims about a study's findings, narrative inquiry's aim is *particularizability*, namely, the ability to foreground unique lived experiences that resonate with broad populations in different contexts and allow for critical reflection, by either confirming people's already established perceptions or challenging them (Donmoyer, 2008).

Participants

For the purposes of this study, I purposely selected eight Greek HL teachers (four from the greater area of Montreal and four from the greater area of Toronto), making sure that the participants of the study had different back-

grounds and worked in different educational contexts (day, afternoon, and/or Saturday Greek schools). The average age of the participants was 38; five of them were Greek-born and three were Canadian-born.

Methods

The participants of the study were invited to create the language portrait of a fairly typical Greek HL learner, complete a written activity, and participate in semi-structured interviews. The combination of these methods allowed for a nuanced understanding of the participants' views, and also gave participants the opportunity for critical self-reflection.

Language portraits

Using language portraits to prompt individuals to reflect on their relationship with language allows them to verbalize emotions and thoughts that are otherwise difficult to express (Busch, 2018; Prasad, 2014). For the purposes of this study, I asked the participants to create the language portrait of a fairly typical Greek HL learner. The reason why I asked the participants to create the language portrait of the typical Greek HL learner as opposed to creating the language portrait of a real HL learner was twofold. First and foremost, I was of the opinion that if I asked teachers to use real students as their inspiration for this activity, I would risk revealing the students' identities. Secondly, I found it appropriate to ask teachers to create the portrait of the typical learner, because this would provide insights into the teachers' perceptions of the students; both of those who fit the label of the typical Greek HL student and those who do not. Indeed, as will be shown in more detail in the following sections, the teachers' creations were revealing of their ideologies.

Instead of using a pre-made body silhouette, I gave full freedom to teachers; I provided them with blank sheets and invited them to draw the silhouette of the typical Greek HL student whom they deemed fit, and then map the student's languages onto the silhouette by using one colour for each language. It must be highlighted that the language portraits that the teachers created are not the ones that students would have created for themselves, and therefore should not be considered as true representations of the students' linguistic repertoires. However, the aim of this activity was to examine the teachers' perceptions about the students' profiles.

Written task

The participants of the study were also invited to complete a written task, where they needed to explain how they manage their students' different levels of familiarity with Greek. Having to work with students of different levels is a frequent occurrence in HL classes as the backgrounds of the students and

their exposure to the HL can vary substantially (Aravossitas, 2016). By asking teachers to explain how they manage this discrepancy in the students' levels, I was seeking to understand not only the strategies they use, but also, and most importantly, their attitudes towards students from various backgrounds.

Interviews

After creating the language portrait and completing the written task, the participants were invited to participate in a semi-structured interview. The language portraits and written tasks were used to reveal the participants' first thoughts, whereas the interviews provided participants with an opportunity to elaborate on their responses and critically reflect on their experiences as HL teachers. A sample of the questions that were used during the interviews with the participants can be found in Appendix A.

Data analysis

The different types of data were analyzed in two phases; first, they were analyzed narratively, and then thematically. I began by restructuring the participants' written and oral narratives based on Labov and Waletsky's (1997) narrative framework to get the core information of each narrative. To ensure that the new narratives were accurate representations of the participants' perceptions, I stayed as close to their words as possible. This first phase allowed for a detailed understanding of the participants' perceptions, and helped designate the uniqueness of each teacher's voice (Butler-Kisber, 2010). Next, the data were analyzed thematically; initial patterns of meaning were identified and were then collapsed and expanded to formulate broad themes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). While the narrative analysis helped designate the uniqueness of each teacher's experiences, the thematic analysis helped bring the data together and identify common themes across the teachers' beliefs.

Research ethics

A clear description of the research was provided to the participants in advance. The participants were asked to sign a consent form prior to their participation in the research. It was made clear to them that they could drop out of the study at any point they wanted without notice. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the anonymity of the participants and the confidentiality of the data.

Findings

What are Greek HL teachers' attitudes towards other Greek HL students?

Greek HL learners' linguistic repertoires

When describing the typical student's linguistic profile, the participants agreed that all students have some knowledge of English, French, and Greek. Interestingly, despite the difference in Quebec and Ontario's linguistic landscapes, English was described as the students' preferred language in both locations. In terms of the students' relationship with Greek, the vast majority of teachers agreed that Greek HL learners love the language, irrespective of their ability to use it. When creating the language portraits, most teachers used blue to represent Greek, and elucidated that this colour is not only the color of the Greek flag, but also the colour of the Greek sea and sky, and therefore the most appropriate for representing the students' feelings towards their HL. Many teachers used blue on the silhouette's heart, to indicate the students' love for Greek, while others, such as George (Figure 1), used the same colour on several body parts, to indicate that Greek defines the HL learners' entire worldview.

Figure 1
Student portrait created by George

The following quote by George is indicative of the central place Greece and the Greek language hold for HL learners according to their teachers:

> Blue is linked to Greece; it is the colour of Greece. I could also use white to represent Greek, but there is something neutral about white. By choosing blue, I am adding colour; their existence is coloured through blue, through Greece.

In contrast to most participants who represented the learners' multiple linguistic resources in ways that indicated that each language is separate and used for different purposes, Anna created a very complex representation of the students' linguistic repertoires (Figure 2), with three concentric circles in the silhouette's head, to represent the interrelation of the students' languages.
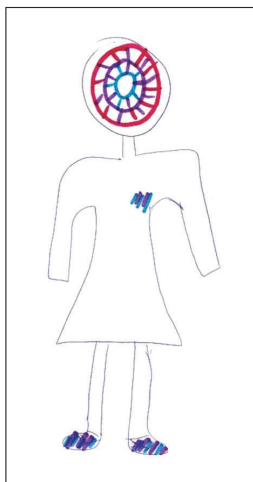

Figure 2
Student portrait created by Anna

When prompted to explain her choice, Anna noted:

> English is the language they think in, the language they choose, the language they are most comfortable using to communicate. French is the language they need to use in the broader society. . . . Greek is linked to Greek values, family values. It is the smallest part, the most central. . . . However, I think that the three circles are interconnected. It's not like this is where the one circle ends and the other one begins.

This quote reveals that, while Anna understood that HL learners use their languages for different purposes, she also realized that these languages are interconnected and cannot be fully separated. As will be shown, language separation in the HL class was an important consideration.

The teachers' attitudes towards learners from diverse backgrounds

When creating the language portraits, some participants stressed that the students' linguistic repertoires are largely influenced by their backgrounds. The student population of some Greek schools in Montreal and Toronto is comprised not only of students with Greek origins, but also students of other

ethnicities who share the same religion as most Greeks. These are students of Russian, Bulgarian, or Ukrainian origin, among others, who are Orthodox Christians. Three teachers, Stella, Sofia, and Kostas, referred to such students, as well as children from so-called mixed marriages (marriages between Greeks and non-Greeks), and argued that their language abilities in Greek are not as strong as those of students whose parents are both Greek. Kostas went as far as to argue that students from mixed unions are "not fully Greek". When creating the language portrait of the typical Greek HL learner (Figure 3), he chose to represent languages other than English, French, and Greek outside the silhouette he had drawn.
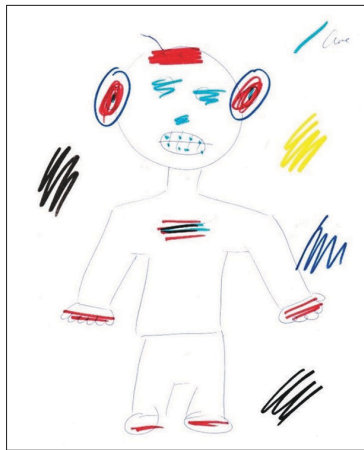

Figure 3
Student portrait created by Kostas

When invited to explain his choice, he stated:

> Sometimes, the students in our school are half Greek and half another culture. . . . ' So, this child is not a full Greek. Since we live in Canada, it is possible to have mixed marriages. . . . The average student may be half and half, it's a possibility, but it is rare. Out of the two hundred students in our school, maybe five students are involved in a mixed marriage.

While Kostas claims that the vast majority of students in Greek schools have similar backgrounds, the number of students from diverse backgrounds will only continue to increase due to globalization and people movement. Rather than denying diversity, teachers should find new ways to accommodate learners' various needs and utilize all their linguistic and cultural resources in the class.

When asked to complete the written task about managing mixed-abilities classrooms, four teachers (Lena, Sofia, Niki, and Kostas) made special reference to first-generation Greek students and their language abilities. The teachers found the discrepancy among Greek-born and Canadian-born students' language abilities in Greek to be irreconcilable. Sofia even argued that Greek-born students' Greek *goes to waste* in Greek schools because of the fact that their peers cannot keep up with them. Sofia wrote:

> Children coming from Greece go to waste in this school. Their Greek goes to waste. Of course, they help other children, because they speak Greek very well, but it's a shame for them.

The participant's strong language echoes her firm belief that being a Greek native speaker in and of itself guarantees that one's abilities in Greek will be superior to those of HL learners. This belief was brought forth by four teachers, indicating the potency of monolingual ideologies among teachers.

What are their attitudes towards other Greek HL teachers?

Aside from examining the Greek HL teachers' attitudes towards their students, I also wanted to understand their perceptions about other Greek HL teachers. As it has been described in previous research studies (Aravossitas & Oikonomakou, 2020; Constantinides, 2001), and as it is also reflected in the participant profiles, there are both Greek-born and Canadian-born teachers teaching in the various Greek programs in Canada. Five participants (Maria, George, Lena, Stella, and Sofia) were adamant that Greek native speakers, and more specifically, newcomers from Greece, are better suited for the position of a Greek HL teacher than Canadian-born Greeks. The teachers elucidated that Greek native speakers have a better grasp of the Greek grammar and vocabulary, and most importantly, they have a "correct Greek accent". Indeed, these five participants seemed to be convinced that the accent of Canadian-born Greek HL teachers, which they described as deviant from the standard Greek accent, is inappropriate for Greek HLE, as it may set the wrong example for students.

An additional reason for preferring Greek native speakers for the role of a Greek HL teacher was presented by Lena, who argued that Canadian-born Greeks make extensive use of English in the Greek HL class, because they find it easier to express themselves in their dominant language. In fact, she speculated that the teachers' use of English in the HL class is so problematic that parents would happily choose inexperienced teachers who are Greek native speakers over teachers with long experience, but poorer language abilities.

The remaining participants held different opinions. Kostas, a Canadian-born Greek HL teacher who admitted feeling insecure about his Greek, was

very conflicted and argued that the two types of teachers present different strengths and weaknesses. He felt that Greek native speakers have a better command of Greek, but argued that Canadian-born teachers find it easier to connect with students, because they share similar backgrounds with them. Anna and Niki maintained that it is indispensable for Greek HL teachers to have a good command of Greek, but stressed that it is not impossible for non-native speakers to be fluent in Greek.

How do Greek HL teachers' attitudes and ideologies affect their instructional practices?

The written task and the interviews provided participants with opportunities to reflect on their instructional practices. Almost all participants agreed that providing sufficient exposure to Greek is important for Greek HL learners' success in learning their HL. They reported trying to use *only Greek* when teaching, but explained that they often have to switch to English for the purposes of instruction-giving, and grammar and vocabulary teaching. The teachers also reported a preference for conventional teaching methods, and approaches that start from decontextualized information (i.e., grammar and vocabulary activities) before moving on to more complex tasks (i.e., reading comprehension activities, revision activities, essays).

The participants also stressed that Greek HL classes are usually mixed-abilities classes, as the learners' backgrounds tend to range considerably. Five teachers admitted that adjusting the course to every student's level is nearly impossible, especially when financial hurdles prevent the administration of Greek schools from breaking down the classes into smaller and more homogeneous ones. For instance, Lena was adamant that having large mixed-abilities classes is a disservice to all students. She commented:

> You need two classes — one for children who don't understand, to have the teacher focusing on them individually, and another class with the rest of the children who do understand, so they can progress faster. The way things are done now is unfair, both to beginners and to advanced students. But there's a financial factor involved here — they don't want to pay for extra teachers.

Most participants explained that given the circumstances, the best strategy for them is to *follow the pace of the majority* when teaching. Niki, for instance, commented:

> I have a girl at Saturday school who's just come from Greece and of course she speaks Greek. She is very good. I have told her mother, 'Look, your daughter's level is very different than other children's. . . . I can't teach strictly on your daughter's level, because I will lose all other students'. So, I follow the majority.

However, the participants also noted that, while following the pace of the majority is a strategy that they widely use in Greek HL classes, it also leaves them with no time for differentiated instruction that could help less advanced students improve their language skills, and also increase advanced students' engagement.

An alternative strategy for teaching in mixed-abilities classes was offered by Stella and Sofia, who reported grouping their students based on their language abilities. They explained that they use different sets of activities and tasks for each group, to ensure that students can follow the pace of the course. Stella was confident in this approach and wrote:

> Now I have found some balance—I ask half of them to copy a text, to keep them busy and quiet, while I explain something to the other half. I have found solutions to manage different levels.

Interestingly, Sofia did not hold the same opinion. Despite having used this strategy herself, she found that grouping students according to their abilities, made less advanced students feel marginalized and discouraged:

> Certainly, the less advanced students feel at a disadvantage. Because they see what we are working on with the others, and they realize the difference. I believe they feel at a great disadvantage.

Discussion

This study showed that the instructional practices and positionality of most Greek HL teachers towards their students and colleagues are affected by their monolingual ideologies. The participants considered the so-called standard variety of Greek as the norm, and the only appropriate for use in the HL classroom. They were also of the opinion that by definition Greek native speakers have the "correct" accent and generally a better grasp of the Greek language, and are therefore better suited for the position of a Greek HL teacher.

Evidently, the standard variety of Greek is not the only linguistic variety that Greek speakers use in the greater areas of Montreal and Toronto (or in Greece), and as critical poststructuralist sociolinguistics highlights, from a linguistic perspective, it is in no way superior to other varieties (Weber & Horner, 2017). Similarly, the assumption that all native speakers use their language in similar ways has been challenged by research that has highlighted that there is great variability in the language practices of native speakers, based on factors such as geographic features, language contact, and the speakers' education and environment, among others (Holliday, 2008). Therefore, the conceptualization of native speakers as an idealized homogeneous group, which was largely adopted by the study's participants, has been shown to be rather inaccurate. The participants of the study did raise an important point:

for many of the students, being in the Greek school and interacting with their Greek HL teachers is their only opportunity to use the HL. This makes the teachers' role all the more important, as they are the students' main models regarding the use of the Greek language. This issue could be addressed by putting the HL learners in online contact with students from Greece or other Greek-speaking areas, thus giving them the opportunity to experience authentic interactions in their HL, while also being exposed to different — and equally valid — uses of the language.

Undoubtedly, Greek HL teachers must have an excellent command of the language they are teaching, whether it is their first language or not. Ideally, they must also have a sound understanding of pedagogic studies. As previous research (Aravossitas & Oikonomakou 2017, 2020; Constantinides, 2001; Tisizi 2020a) suggests however, many Greek HL teachers in Canada either have limited Greek language skills, or no background in educational studies whatsoever. Offering teacher training opportunities targeted at both aspects is thus indispensable for the enhancement of Greek HLE in Canada.

The study shed light on the Greek HL teachers' attitudes towards their students. The teachers believed that the language skills of students who are Greek native speakers are naturally superior and can never be reached by their Canadian-born peers. Some Greek HL teachers also believed that students from different ethnic backgrounds and students from mixed marriages are at an even greater disadvantage, because of their limited exposure to Greek outside the Greek school. It must be acknowledged that the fear that without ample exposure to the target language students will not be able to learn it successfully, is not without merit. Nevertheless, research also indicates that providing opportunities to HL learners to use the language is equally important for their learning (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). By creating safe environments, where all students, irrespective of their language abilities and backgrounds, are invited to take risks and use their linguistic resources freely, Greek HL teachers can increase the HL learners' motivation to learn Greek, and boost their confidence when using the language. While maintaining a close connection to Greek is obviously beneficial for the students' learning, teachers must acknowledge that for many Greek families in Canada, this is not always an option. It is imperative that teachers hold high expectations for all their students and create educational contexts where they can all feel included and valued.

The study also revealed that the Greek HL teachers' language ideologies greatly affect their instructional practices. The teachers reported a preference for micro-based approaches, that is, approaches that start from decontextual-ized information before moving on to more complex tasks. Following the pace of the majority and grouping students according to their language abilities were also mentioned as strategies that, while not ideal, are often employed in mixed-

abilities HL classes. Evidently, following the pace of the majority, is a strategy that is efficient for most but not *all* students. Likewise, grouping students according to their language abilities and using different sets of tasks with each group is a strategy that is practical but can make less advanced learners feel left out and discouraged. At the same time, the teachers' perception that the language abilities of advanced students "go to waste" because their peers cannot keep up with them, can be equally discouraging, leaving students with the idea that they do not have much to gain from attending Greek school.

The coexistence of different types of learners in the same class evidently poses a challenge to Greek HL teachers, as they need to find ways to accommodate the different needs of all their students. As was previously mentioned, research indicates that there are significant differences between the various types of learners, and that different strategies are more effective with each type. With different types of learners in the same class, there are no guaranteed recipes for success. However, it has been shown that linguistically and culturally responsive teaching (García, 2009) where all students' linguistic and cultural resources are leveraged can be very effective. Combining micro-based and macro-based approaches, adopting flexible grouping strategies (pairing SL and HL learners together and assigning them tasks targeted at their strengths and weaknesses), using authentic materials, and connecting new knowledge to the learners' experiences are some of the most powerful weapons in the teachers' arsenals. All these tools and strategies can be the focus of teacher training seminars that will enable Greek HL teachers to enrich their instructional practices.

Conclusion

The analysis presented here demonstrates that Greek HL teachers' language ideologies largely determine their positionality towards their students and their instructional practices. It must be acknowledged, however, that the teachers' language ideologies are not the only factor that affects Greek HL teachers' practices. The teachers have many obstacles to overcome, which further complicate their work. For instance, the participants of the study highlighted that the lack of time and resources, and the large class sizes further reduce their ability to use differentiated instruction, tailored to each student's needs. Addressing these issues would undoubtedly help Greek HL teachers devote more time and attention to each learner and would contribute to the enhancement of their teaching.

The study's findings indicate that Greek HL teachers view the Greek language and culture as an idealized entity that only native speakers can produce and that must be passed down relatively intact from generation to generation. However, to ensure the maintenance of Greek in the Canadian

context, some process of adaptation is likely to be necessary. It is essential that Greek HL teachers recognize that the HL students' Greek voice (such as it is) is one of a possible range of voices that as modern Canadians they *own* and that equip them to participate strongly in Canada's multilingual and multicultural life. Greek HL teachers would therefore benefit greatly from training targeted at working with students from diverse backgrounds. Since in most HL classes — and many would argue, in regular classes too — the students' backgrounds range substantially, teachers are required to accept this pluralism, and find ways to affirm the students' identities and competencies. Evidently, the teachers' training would need to be complemented with new teaching material and curricula, tailored to the students' needs. At the same time, it would also be beneficial if Greek HL classes were broken down into smaller and more manageable ones, as this would arguably make it easier for Greek HL teachers to offer differentiated instruction to their students.

Finally, it needs to be highlighted that this study focused on the beliefs and perspectives of only one stakeholder: the Greek HL teachers. An examination of Greek HLE would not be complete without the perspectives of the Greek HL learners and their families. It is therefore indispensable to build on the foundation laid by this and previous studies, to discover their views about Greek HLE. The suggested steps to enhance Greek HLE, along with others that have previously been identified, will undoubtedly bring additional expenses that Greek schools on their own will not be able to afford. Therefore, the various Greek communities, parishes, and institutions, will need to join forces and attract individuals and organizations willing to invest in Greek HLE.

Acknowledgment

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Appendix A

Sample of questions used during the interviews (presented in more detail in Tisizi, 2020b)

1. What is the Greek school's role in the preservation of Greek language and culture?
2. What is the Greek HL teachers' role?
3. How important is the support that Greek HL teachers receive from the schools, the Greek Church and the Hellenic Community?
4. What are the challenges that Greek HL teachers need to overcome?
5. What are the differences between Greek-born and Canadian-born students?
6. How can a teacher accommodate the needs of all students?
7. Do you think that students are generally motivated to learn Greek?
8. Compared to the other languages they speak, how strong is the students' Greek?
9. How do you feel about using multiple languages in the classroom? Are there any circumstances under which using multiple languages in the classroom is not appropriate?
10. Do you think that the students will use Greek after they graduate?

Plurilingual or not plurilingual?

Plurilingual competence and identity of Canadian EAL peers in a francophone post-secondary context

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Abstract

Despite emergent research on Canadian additional language (AL) learners' plurilingualism in post-secondary and officially monolingual school contexts, challenges persist in implementing plurilingual instruction: learners' plurilingual identities (PI) and plurilingual and pluricultural competence (PPC) are often ignored in favour of the monolingual native speaker model. To help validate learners' PPC and PI in AL classrooms, this article discusses parts of the results of a mixed-methods study pertaining to the self-perceived PPC and self-reported linguistic identities of adult English as AL student tutors and tutees (N = 20) in a francophone Montréal college. Data from a PI questionnaire, a PPC scale, and interviews reveal that: tutors tend to have higher PPC and identify as bi- or plurilingual; tutees tend to have lower PPC and identify as mono- or bilingual; a lower PPC level is directly related to identifying as monolingual; factors including AL competence level influence participants' PI. Implications for AL education are discussed.

Key words: plurilingualism, plurilingual and pluricultural competence, plurilingual identity, English as an additional language, post-secondary

Résumé

Malgré la recherche émergente sur le plurilinguisme des apprenants canadiens de langue additionnelle (LA) dans les contextes postsecondaires et monolingues, des défis de mise en œuvre de la didactique plurilingue persistent : les identités plurilingues (IP) et les compétences plurilingues et pluriculturelles (CPP) des apprenants sont souvent ignorées au profit d'un modèle monolingue. Pour aider relever ces défis, la présente étude a examiné la CPP et l'IP d'étudiants en anglais comme LA qui ont fait des tutorats (N = 20) dans un collège francophone à Montréal. Les résultats révèlent que : les mentors, ou tuteurs, ont tendance à avoir une CPP plus élevée et à s'identifier comme bi- ou plurilingues ; les participants mentorés ont tendance à avoir une CPP plus faible et à s'identifier comme

mono- ou bilingues ; la CPP plus faible est directement lié à s'identifier comme monolingue ; quatre facteurs qui influencent l'IP des participants sont identifiés. Les implications pour l'enseignement des LAs sont discutées.

Mots-clés : plurilinguisme ; compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle ; identité plurilingue ; l'anglais langue additionnelle ; postsecondaire

Introduction

While Canada is officially English–French bilingual, Canadians are increasingly multilingual. Between 2011 and 2016, the number of Canadians who speak more than one language at home grew from 17.5% to 19.4%, and 70% of the latter reported a mother tongue other than the official languages (Statistics Canada, 2016). In cities like Montréal, plurilingualism seems to be the new norm: at least 850,000 residents reportedly speak at least three languages (Statistics Canada, 2019), and research shows that most residents tend to identify as plurilingual (Galante & dela Cruz, 2021). These numbers highlight not only the intricacies of linguistic identities (Kramsch, 2009), but also the potential complex realities of plurilingual speakers who navigate officially mono- or bilingual spaces (Dagenais, 2013; Heller, 2007; Lamarre, 2013).

Yet, mainstream additional language (AL) instruction remains monolingual: learners' plurilingual practices in the classroom — such as using their ALs or mixing languages — are often seen as a problem rather than an asset, and are often discouraged (Cummins, 2007, 2017; Piccardo, 2017). In turn, this monolingual approach disparages students' plurilingual identity (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009; Krasny & Sachar, 2017; Oliveira & Ança, 2009) in favour of an idealized monolingual native speaker model (Cook, 2016), which ignores the role of learners' plurilingualism in fostering AL development (Piccardo, 2019). In Canadian English as an Additional Language (EAL) education, many teachers and students still find it challenging to overcome this 'monolingual disposition' (Gogolin, 1994; Piccardo, 2013) despite research evidence pointing to the benefits of using learners' full repertoires when learning ALs (Lau, 2020; Lau & Van Viegen, 2020; Lightbown & Spada, 2020; Marshall, 2020a) like English (Göbel & Vieluf, 2014). This target-language-only approach persists in EAL education in the officially French-only province of Québec: monolingualism pervades classrooms, and teachers of multilingual adult learners receive little to no training on how to incorporate a plurilingual approach in their practice (Blandford et al., 2019; Boisvert et al., 2020). Ultimately, target-language-only instruction ignores students' plurilingual realities beyond the classroom (Kubota, 2020; Kubota & Bale, 2020; Kubota & Miller, 2017), potentially depriving them of valuable linguistic and non-linguistic re-

sources that could otherwise scaffold their language learning (Piccardo, 2019).

This article reports parts of the results of a mixed-methods study that investigated EAL student tutors' and tutees' plurilingual and pluricultural competence (henceforth PPC) and plurilingual identity (PI), as well as their plurilingual practices during their peer-to-peer pedagogical interactions in a francophone college (also known as *Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel* [CÉGEP]) in Montréal, Québec, Canada. This article focuses on results pertaining to these EAL students' PPC and PI (for results focusing on plurilingual practices, see dela Cruz, 2022).

Plurilingualism, plurilingual and pluricultural competence, and plurilingual identity

The dynamic language use of multilingual, transcultural, and often transnational AL speakers has emergently preoccupied language education research (Block, 2003; May, 2014). Studies have focused on examining learners' fluid linguistic repertoires and identities (Jaspers, 2018; Kubota, 2016; Ortega, 2014), drawing from theoretical lenses including heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981), polylingual languaging (Jørgensen, 2008), translanguaging (García, 2009), metrolingualism (Pennycook, 2010), flexible bilingualism (Creese et al., 2011), code-meshing (Canagarajah, 2011), and lingua franca multilingualism (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). Plurilingualism (Coste et al., 1997/2009; Council of Europe [CoE], 2001), which the current study used as a theoretical framework, emerged as part of this 'multi/pluri' shift in language research.

Plurilingualism highlights the interconnectedness among speakers' languages and cultures, focusing not only on the development of an AL but rather on fostering a communicative competence in all languages and language varieties in speakers' repertoires (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013). While such repertoires might refer to a multilingual's different languages, it also refers to a monolingual's known varieties and registers of their mother tongue, like its non-standard or regional variants (CoE, 2020). Thus, an individual can be plurilingual without being fluent in all of their languages or in any other language aside from their mother tongue (Piccardo, 2019).

Further, plurilingualism posits that the AL learner is the locus of language use (Coste et al., 1997/2009): learners are social actors who possess the agency and competence to draw flexibly from their composite repertoire "to achieve effective communication with a particular interlocutor" (CoE, 2001, p. 4; see also Marshall & Moore, 2018; Moore & Gajo, 2009). This communicative competence refers to a partial and dynamic PPC (CoE, 2020), which shifts along learners' life trajectories (Castelotti & Moore, 2011; Coste, 2001; Coste et al., 1997/2009), as well as their needs, desires, values, and identities (Marshall et al., 2012; Marshall & Moore, 2013, 2018; Moore & Gajo, 2009;

Piccardo, 2013, 2017). Hence, unlike popular additive discourses on bi- and multilingualism, which view languages as discrete entities that can be counted as a list (Lambert, 1973; Piccardo, 2017; Zubrzycki, 2019), plurilingualism recognizes that linguistic identities are in constant flux (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Kramsch, 2009; Norton, 2013; Pavlenko, 2006; Piccardo, 2019) just as AL speakers' repertoires are dynamic (CoE, 2020). A plurilingual pedagogy thus draws from the learners' full linguistic repertoire (Marshall, 2020b; Taylor & Snoddon, 2013) to help heighten their awareness of their shifting PPC and PI, which leads "ultimately to an increased ability to learn languages" (Piccardo, 2019, p. 188).

Plurilingual research has elucidated the intricacies of language learners' PPC and PI across educational contexts. A study investigating the PPC of post-secondary EAL learners in Toronto, Ontario, Canada shows that students who received plurilingual instruction had significantly higher PPC levels after the study's intervention compared to learners who received monolingual instruction (Galante, 2018). These results indicate that plurilingual instruction fosters students' awareness of their PPC. Another study examining factors that contribute to identifying as plurilingual shows that participants who reported knowing more languages tended to have higher PPC levels (Galante & dela Cruz, 2021).

A study (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009) conducted in French–German universities shows that the more advanced AL learners are, the more they recognized and drew from the benefits of their plurilingual competence. However, not all learners who speak multiple languages identified as plurilingual, which was attributed to the disconnect in language use between the learners' educational and social contexts. Similar findings were found in a case study (Oliveira & Ança, 2009) that investigated learners' perceptions of their plurilingual identities. Results show that students positively perceive their plurilingual identities when their AL programs validate their plurilingual repertoires in the classroom.

In Montréal, another study (Galante & dela Cruz, 2021) reveals that 92.9% of 250 adult residents identify as plurilingual when asked to identify as plurilingual or not. Participants, most of whom are local and international undergraduate students, reasoned that they are plurilingual because they have rich linguistic repertoires, but others reasoned that they are plurilingual because they are comfortable being in or adapting to situations involving language-mixing/switching. However, a few Canadian-born participants insisted that they are bilingual but not plurilingual because they are only proficient in English and French, Canada's official languages. Some participants also cited their lack of proficiency in their ALs for not identifying as plurilingual. These results echo findings from other studies

showing that AL proficiency is tied to identifying as bilinguals (Sia & Dewaele, 2006; Zubrzycki, 2019), or that Canadians tend to identify as bilinguals due to the strong influence of the country's official English–French bilingualism on Canadian language education and civic identity (Churchill, 2003). Beyond Québec and its French-only policy, research on EAL students in French immersion or English–French bilingual Canadian post-secondary contexts also shows that institutional discourses within learners' educational settings and learners' language ideologies can foster, disrupt or lead them to negotiate their plurilingual identities (e.g., Marshall et al., 2021; Moore et al., 2015, 2020; Séror & Gentil, 2020; Séror & Weinberg, 2021).

Overall, while past studies show that learners' PPC can be measured and are influenced by certain factors (Galante, 2020; Galante & dela Cruz, 2021), and that PPC and PI can be positively influenced by plurilingual instruction (Galante, 2018), none so far have investigated how exactly these two factors relate to each other. Further, while some trends have been identified regarding how AL learners perceive their PI (e.g., Bono & Stratilaki, 2009; Galante & dela Cruz, 2021; Oliveira & Ança, 2009; Sia & Dewaele, 2006; Zubrzycki, 2019), and despite emergent literature on EAL learners' PI in French immersion and bilingual Canadian higher education, (e.g., Marshall et al., 2021; Moore et al., 2015, 2020; Séror & Gentil, 2020; Séror & Weinberg, 2021), post-secondary EAL learners' PI in officially French-only settings like Québec remain underexplored.

Thus, since learners' awareness of their PPC and PI has been suggested to contribute to overall language learning abilities (Piccardo, 2019) and development (Göbel & Vieluf, 2014), it is paramount to understand how AL learners perceive their PPC and PI to help inform how teachers can effectively include a plurilingual dimension to their pedagogies (Kubota, 2020). This first step is necessary in contexts like Québec where implementation of plurilingual pedagogies remains a challenge (Blandford et al., 2019; Boisvert et al., 2020). Thus, this study aimed to examine the PPC and PI of adult EAL student tutors and tutees in a francophone college, how their PPC and PI relate, and the reasons for their linguistic identities.

The study asked three research questions (RQs):

1. What are adult EAL student tutors' and tutees' PPC levels?

2. Do EAL student tutors and tutees perceive their linguistic identity as mono-, bi- or plurilingual? For what reasons do they identify as mono-/bi-/plurilingual?

3. How do the EAL student tutors' and tutees' PPC levels relate to their linguistic identity?

Method

Context

The study was conducted in a francophone CÉGEP in Montréal. The participants were recruited from the CÉGEP's language help centre, where EAL students can apply to be an English tutor or tutee. Officially, French is the language of communication and instruction in the CÉGEP, except in language courses (e.g., EAL), in which the language of communication and instruction is the target language. The language help centre offered tutoring in English and Spanish, but had a de facto English-only policy for English tutors and tutees, which comprised the majority of students in the centre.

The tutoring centre assigned tutors to tutees based on students' availabilities. As such, pairings were not always exclusive (e.g., Tutor 1 could be working with Tutees 1 and 2, albeit not during the same tutoring sessions). Tutees received at least one one-hour tutoring session per week and they could request up to three tutoring sessions per week with the same or a different tutor. Multiple tutoring sessions could be happening in the centre at any time; however, a tutor-tutee pair typically works independently from other pairs.

Participants

Eleven student tutors and nine tutees between the ages of 18 and 56 participated in the study ($N = 20$); all participants were current students at the CÉGEP. The tutors were enrolled in or had successfully completed an EAL course designed to train them as English tutors. The tutees were taking a beginner EAL course. None of the participants had been trained to deliver, or had previously received plurilingual instruction.

All participants reported speaking at least three languages. The majority spoke French as their mother tongue ($n = 16$), while the rest reported speaking Spanish ($n = 3$) or Pulaar ($n = 1$). English was the most reported AL ($n = 18$), followed by French ($n = 2$); Spanish, German, Italian, and Japanese were also reported as ALs. Most of the participants were born in Québec ($n = 15$), while a few immigrated from Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, Ivory Coast, or Guinea.

Instruments

Three instruments and methods were used to collect the data in English and/or French, depending on the participants' preference. The French instruments were checked by a French mother tongue speaker.

Demographic questionnaire

A demographic questionnaire gathered information including the participants' name, age, country of origin, ethnicity, known languages, language use, and length of residence in Canada.

Plurilingual and pluricultural competence scale

The plurilingual and pluricultural competence (PPC) scale (Galante, 2020) is a valid instrument with 22 items on a 4-point Likert scale, which measures participants' PPC levels. Scores range from "1 = strongly disagree" to "4 = strongly agree". Participants rate items including, "When talking to someone who knows the same language as I do, I feel comfortable switching between one language to another language" or "When talking to someone who knows the same languages as I do, I do not feel comfortable mixing two (or more) languages in conversation".

Plurilingual identity questionnaire

The plurilingual identity questionnaire (PIQ), displayed in Table 1, asked participants to identify themselves as mono-, bi-, or plurilingual based on definitions drawn from the plurilingual framework and from popular discourses on additive bi-/multilingualism. Note that while the study's plurilingual framework recognizes the dynamic nature of linguistic identities, participants were given a choice to identify among three discrete linguistic identities to allow for later quantitative analysis of the PIQ data with the PPC scale data. Additionally, given the limitation of a questionnaire, pre-determined labels and definitions were given to participants to account for their potential lack of familiarity with the term *plurilingualism*. To address such methodological limitations, the PIQ also asked participants to write reasons for their choice, and a follow-up interview was conducted.

Table 1
Plurilingual identity questionnaire

Monolingual:	I know only one language, and I speak it all the time and in all contexts.
Bilingual	I know two languages, and speak them both comfortably.
Plurilingual	I know two or more languages, but I do not necessarily speak them at the same proficiency level or at the same amount. For example, I am better at/use mostly one language than the other. I know variations in the same language, for example, the way a language is used in different regions of a country or in other countries.

Semi-structured interviews

Individual interviews of approximately 20 minutes long were conducted with a smaller sample of participants to probe them about their PIQ responses. A guide was used to pose similar questions to all interviewees, but it allowed for further questions (Mackey & Gass, 2015). Questions included, "You scored high in

the PPC scale, meaning you perceive yourself as having a high plurilingual and pluricultural competence. And you also identified as plurilingual. Could you explain a bit more about this?" or "You scored high in the PPC scale, meaning you perceive yourself as having a high plurilingual and pluricultural competence. But still you indicated you're monolingual. Is there any reason for that?". The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed by the researcher. The French transcriptions were checked by a French mother tongue speaker.

Data collection

The data were collected in Fall 2019. Participants ($N = 20$) filled out the demographic questionnaire, the PPC scale and the PIQ at the same time at the beginning of the semester. On the semester's last week, the semi-structured interviews were conducted with a non-random sample of six participants ($n = 3$ tutors; 3 tutees). Participants were selected for an interview if they scored high in the PPC scale yet chose to identify as mono- or bilingual (or the inverse), or if they scored high in the PPC scale and identified as plurilingual.

Data analysis

The study followed a sequential, convergent mixed methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018): different data types were collected to investigate the same RQs, and qualitative data were collected as a follow-up to initially collected quantitative data. These data sets were then analyzed separately before interpreting them together to look for convergences and divergences in how they address the RQs. To answer RQ1, PPC scale data were coded and analyzed via SPSS v25 (IBM, 2017) using descriptive statistics (e.g., mean, median, standard deviation) and inferential statistics (e.g., Mann-Whitney U test). Negatively worded items in the PPC scale were reverse coded.

To answer RQ2, data from the PIQ's checkboxes were quantified and analyzed in SPSS v25 using descriptive statistics. After, qualitative data from the PIQ's open-ended question and the semi-structured interviews were coded using in vivo coding (Saldaña, 2021) to keep emergent themes rooted in the participants' voices (i.e., codes emerged from participants' own language).

During coding, the qualitative data were broken down into smaller units (e.g., a sentence or a phrase within a sentence), which were assigned a code based on their dominant meanings. For example, the PIQ response

> I speak French, English, and Spanish. However, I do not have the same *level of competence* in Spanish than I do in English or in French

is coded as a unit under "competence level". If a unit could be assigned to more than one code, it was coded according to its most dominant meaning. For example, the interview response

> I really *like to mix* languages but for example, I speak a *little bit* of Japanese, a tiny little bit, and I *like to use* it when I'm speaking with people that understand me

was coded under "language preferences" instead of "amount of language use", another emergent code.

To increase the results' reliability, three rounds of coding were conducted. The first two rounds were conducted to establish an intra-coder agreement, which was 89.66% (26 out of 29 units were coded similarly between rounds) for the PIQ short text responses, and 85.7% for the interview data (12 out 14 units were coded similarly between rounds). The differently coded units were resolved during a third round of coding by assigning them to one code. After coding the qualitative data from the PIQ and interviews, they were analyzed using content analysis (Patton, 2015) to identify emergent patterns in participants' reasons for their linguistic identities. Qualitative data were coded and analyzed using NVivo 1.4.1 (QSR, 2020).

To answer RQ3, quantitative data from the PPC scale and the PIQ were analyzed in SPSS v25 using inferential statistics. Table 2 summarizes the study's design, including the data analyses conducted and data types used to answer the RQs.

Table 2

Study design and data analyses

Research questions		Data source	Data analysis
RQ1:	PPC levels	PPC scale	Quantitative
RQ2:	Linguistic identity	PIQ	Quantitative
	Reasons	PIQ	Qualitative
		Interviews	Qualitative
RQ3:	Relationship between PPC and linguistic identity	PPC scale	Quantitative
		PIQ	Quantitative

Results

RQ1: PPC levels

Overall, participants had a mean PPC score of 3.35 ($SD = 0.35$) and a median of 3.43. The lowest PPC score of 2.77 was from a tutee, and the highest PPC level of 3.97 was from a tutor. On average, tutors scored higher on the PPC scale than the tutees: tutors had a mean score of 3.56 (3.14;3.91, $SD = 0.22$) and a median of 3.59. Tutees had a mean PPC of 3.10 (2.77;3.59, $SD = 0.31$) and a median of 2.95. Table 3 summarizes the PPC scale's results.

Table 3

*Participants' **PPC** levels*

Participants	PPC levels				
	M	*SD*	*Mdn*	*Min*	*Max*
Tutors	3.56	0.22	3.59	3.14	3.91
Tutees	3.10	0.31	2.95	2.77	3.59
Total	3.35	0.35	3.43	2.77	3.91

As per RQ1, these results seem to suggest that tutors have higher PPC levels than their tutees. To further test this finding, a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted. Results show that there is a significant difference between the median PPC scores of tutors (*Mdn* = 3.59) and tutees (*Mdn* = 2.95), *U* = 12, *p* = 0.003. This finding further suggests that tutors are more aware of their PPC than their tutees.

RQ2: Linguistic identities

Overall, seven participants identified as plurilingual, eight identified as bilingual, and five identified as monolingual. Among tutors, seven identified as plurilingual and four identified as bilingual. Among tutees, four identified as bilingual, and five identified as monolingual. Interestingly, no tutors identified as monolingual, and no tutees identified as plurilingual. Table 4 shows the distribution of participants' linguistic identity.

Table 4

Participants' linguistic identities

Participants	Linguistic identity			Totals
	Monolingual	Bilingual	Plurilingual	
Tutors	0	4	7	11
Tutees	5	4	0	8
Total	5	8	7	20

To explore participants' reasons for their chosen linguistic identity, the PIQ's short text responses were analyzed for thematic patterns. Four emergent themes were identified: participants associate their linguistic identities to their (1) *competency levels* in their languages (*n* = 12); (2) *amount of language use* of the languages in their repertoires (*n* = 9); (3) *comfort levels* when using specific languages in their repertoires (*n* = 5); and (4) their *language preferences* (*n* = 3). Table 5 shows the number of coded units for each theme from the PIQ responses, sorted by participant group.

Table 5

Participants' reasons for their linguistic identities from PIQ

Themes	Number of coded units		Totals
	Tutors	Tutees	
Competency levels	9	3	12
Amount of language use	4	5	9
Comfort levels	2	3	5
Language preferences	2	1	3

Participants' PIQ responses suggest that they link their linguistic identity principally to perceived competency levels in their languages. This is particularly true for tutors, none of whom identified as monolingual. This is unsurprising, as most tutors expressed that they perceive themselves as highly proficient in at least two languages in their repertoire, which makes them plurilingual. Tutor 2 for instance shared that

> *Je parle française, anglais et espagnol. Cependant, je n'ai pas le même niveau de compétence en espagnol qu'en anglaise ou en français*
>
> 'I speak French, English, and Spanish. However, I do not have the same level of competence in Spanish than I do in English or in French'

a response that aligns with the PIQ's descriptors. Contrarily, some tutors emphasized that their lack of competence in their AL is what makes them not plurilingual, which was the case for Tutor 6. He wrote that

> I do not think I am comfortable enough to say I am plurilingual. I do speak Spanish a little, but I need to improve my level of Spanish.

On the other hand, none of the tutees identified as plurilingual because they mostly use their French mother tongue over their AL English. For instance, Tutee 6, who reported knowing and using French, English, and Japanese, identified as monolingual because she uses French all the time, unless when required to speak English at school. She clarified that knowing multiple languages does not necessarily make her bilingual:

> *Je parle français en tout temps, hormis lorsque je dois parler en anglais et il n'est pas super. Je connais aussi quelques mots en japonais, mais tout cela ne veut pas dire que je suis bilingue.*
>
> 'I speak French all the time, except when I have to speak in English and it's not good. I know some words in Japanese, but all this is not to say that I am bilingual'. (Tutee 6)

A number of participants also reasoned that they are plurilingual or bilingual because they are comfortable in using their AL English. For instance, Tutee 9 wrote that she is bilingual because

[elle est] autant à l'aise de communiquer en français qu'en anglais

'[she is] as comfortable communicating in French as in English).'

Inversely, Tutee 4 claimed that she is monolingual because she is not even

comfortable enough in English to use it in a conversation.

Overall, fewer participants cited personal language preferences as a basis for their linguistic identity. For example, Tutor 10 highlighted how her preference to learn and speak multiple languages makes her plurilingual:

je parle souvent espagnol pour le fun car je veux toujours m'améliorer. J'adore connaître des nouvelles langues et mes connaissances en 3 langues me permettent de déchiffrer d'autres langues

'I speak Spanish often for fun because I want to always improve myself. I love knowing new languages'

Conversely, Tutee 7 wrote that

je préfère parler en français afin de m'assurer que je ne dis pas n'importe quoi

'I prefer to speak in French to make sure that I don't say whatever'

and she identified as monolingual due to this preference.

Similar emergent patterns were found from the interview responses. Specifically, interviewed participants revealed that they viewed their linguistic identities in light of their (1) *competency levels* in their languages (*n* = 6); (2) *comfort levels* with using their languages (*n* = 4); (3) *amount of language use* (*n* = 2) across languages in their repertoire; (4) and their *language preferences* (*n* = 2). Table 6 shows the number of coded units for each theme from the interview responses, sorted by participant group.

Table 6

Participants' reasons for their linguistic identities from interviews

Themes	Number of coded units		Totals
	Tutors	Tutees	
Competency levels	3	3	6
Amount of language use	1	3	4
Comfort levels	1	1	2
Language preferences	1	2	2

During the interviews, Tutor 4, who identified as bilingual, attributed his linguistic identity to his perceived language competencies. He rationalized that

> I could speak English at a university level, French, same, but Spanish very, very street level. Right? Very limited street level. So no, I would not be plurilingual.

On the other hand, Tutor 2 reasoned that her comfort with her languages played a role in why she perceived herself as plurilingual. She shared:

> I see myself as [plurilingual] because I'm comfortable with speaking in English with someone, kind of, like there's always that little hesitation but it's fine. French, I mean that's my native language so that's fine also. Spanish, at one point, ok, in elementary school I was better in it than English. But then I lost it a bit because I mean I never speak Spanish; I don't have Spanish classes but still I can have a conversation with someone. (Tutor 2).

In comparison, Tutee 7 claimed that she is monolingual because she would use mostly French over her AL English, highlighting how linguistic identity is also attached to participants' amount of language use. Tutee 7 recalled:

> I see me as more monolingual because I always just talk in French. I just never really had the opportunity to see that ok yeah, I can be a plurilingual.

By contrast, Tutee 1 focused on his language preferences, or lack thereof, expressing that he saw himself as bilingual because he knew his mother tongue Spanish and AL French well, while he spoke English only out of necessity as a lingua franca. He first explained that,

> *Personnellement, l'anglais c'est une langue qu'on a ensemble dans la planète, mais pour moi c'est mieux qu'on me reçoit en français parce que moi je suis plus doué dans la langue française.*

> 'Personally, English is a language that we have together in the planet, but for me it's better if people receive me in French because I am better in the French language.' (Tutee 1)

He then added that

> *[Anglais] par contre, je suis obligé d'apprendre l'anglais, tu vois? C'est une nécessité*"

> 'English, on the other hand, I am obligated to learn English, you see? It's a necessity'

emphasizing how his language choices (or lack thereof) also influenced his linguistic identity.

As per RQ1, interview results converge with findings from the PIQ, strongly suggesting that the abovementioned factors influence how the tutors and tutees perceive their linguistic identities. Overall, the interviewed tutors principally linked their plurilingual identity to perceived language competency levels, which converges with PIQ findings. Additionally, interviewed tutees

mainly associated their linguistic identities to their perceived low competency levels in their AL English, as well as their amount of use over the languages in their repertoire; this result diverges slightly from PIQ results, which suggest that tutees mostly ascribed their linguistic identities to how frequently — or in the case of their AL English, how infrequently — they use their languages.

RQ3: Relationship between PPC level and linguistic identity

Table 7 summarizes the results from the PPC scale and PIQ. Participants who identified as monolingual ($n = 5$) had the lowest mean and median PPC scores at 2.94 (2.77; 3.23, $SD = 0.17$) and 2.86, respectively. Participants who identified as bilingual ($n = 8$) had a mean score of 3.47 (2.95; 3.91, $SD = 0.31$) and a median of 3.59, and those who identified as plurilingual ($n = 7$) had a mean PPC score of 3.51 (3.14; 3.82, $SD = 0.23$) and a median of 3.53. As for RQ3, these results seem to suggest a relationship between PPC scores and linguistic identity, which appears to be strongest between a lower PPC score and a monolingual identity. To test this relationship, a Kruskal-Wallis H test and a Mann-Whitney U test were conducted to check for significance in score differences among and between linguistic identities.

Table 7

Summary of results from PPC scale and PIQ

Participants	PPC levels				
	M	*SD*	*Mdn*	*Min*	*Max*
Monolingual ($n = 5$)	2.94	0.17	2.86	2.77	3.23
Bilingual ($n = 8$)	3.47	0.31	3.59	2.95	3.91
Plurilingual ($n = 7$)	3.51	0.23	3.53	3.14	3.82
Total ($N = 20$)	3.35	0.35	3.43	2.77	3.91

To examine if there were significant differences in PPC scores among these groups, a Kruskal-Wallis test was conducted. Results show that there is a significant difference among median PPC scores across linguistic identities ($Mdn_{mono} = 2.86$, $Mdn_{bi} = 3.59$, $Mdn_{pluri} = 3.53$): $H(2) = 8.93$, $p = 0.012$. To examine exactly where this difference lies, a series of Mann-Whitney U tests were conducted. Results show the median PPC score of monolinguals ($Mdn = 2.86$) was significantly different from the median score of non-monolinguals ($Mdn = 3.60$): $U = 3.50$, $p = 0.001$. However, there are no statistically significant differences between the median PPC score of participants who identified as bilingual ($Mdn = 3.59$) and those who did not ($Mdn = 3.27$), $U = 63.00$, $p = 0.271$, nor between those who identified as plurilingual ($Mdn = 3.53$) and those who did not ($Mdn = 3.23$), $U = 64.50$, $p = 0.135$. With

regard to RQ3, these results further suggest that there is a strong relationship between PPC scores and linguistic identity, but only between low PPC scores and a monolingual identity.

Discussion

This study aimed to examine the PPC and PI of adult EAL student tutors and tutees in a francophone college. Findings from the PPC scale suggest that tutors and tutees differ significantly in their PPC levels, with tutors having significantly higher PPC scores overall compared to tutees. This result echoes previous research findings showing that speakers of multiple languages tend to have higher PPC levels (Galante & dela Cruz, 2021), and that more advanced learners (i.e., the tutors), tend to have better awareness of their plurilingualism (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009). Importantly, the present results also confirm that not all AL speakers would necessarily recognize their plurilingual competence (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009).

Analyses of PIQ data and semi-structured interviews reveal that most participants identified as bi- or plurilingual. This result is somewhat expected given that most participants were Canadian-born and raised, a factor that previous research has shown to influence bilingual identity (Galante & dela Cruz, 2021). In this study, it could be that participants who identified as bilingual focused on their AL English proficiency (Sia & Dewaele, 2006; Zubrzycki, 2019), or were influenced by discourses on Canadian bilingualism in their setting (Churchill, 2003). Additionally, these results echo previous research showing that AL speakers' comfort with language-mixing contributes to their plurilingual identity (Galante & dela Cruz, 2021). Moreover, none of the tutors identified as monolingual, and none of the tutees identified as plurilingual. Again, this finding is consistent with existing research showing that less advanced learners have less awareness of their plurilingual selves (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009), especially in settings that are officially monolingual (Oliveira & Ança, 2009), which was the case for this study.

PPC scale and PIQ results show that PPC level is directly related to linguistic identity, but only for lower PPC scores and a monolingual identity. This result is not surprising since less advanced learners can be expected to have less awareness of their plurilingualism (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009), especially if they have never been exposed to plurilingual instruction (Galante, 2018). However, this result is important because this relationship is a novel finding in the quantitative literature, and because it shows that beginner EAL students with lower plurilingual awareness are precisely the ideal targets for plurilingual instruction, which could greatly scaffold not only the development of their emerging plurilingualism (Galante, 2018), but also of their AL (Göbel & Vieluf, 2014; Piccardo, 2019).

These findings have implications for EAL education. In the classroom, results point to the potential need for teachers to consider their learners' emergent plurilingual competences and identities when choosing their teaching materials. As research evidence emphasizes, plurilingual pedagogies that draw from learners' identities and full repertoires are effective in supporting their AL development (Lau, 2020; Lau & Van Viegen, 2020; Lightbown & Spada, 2020; Marshall, 2020a; Piccardo, 2013, 2019). Furthermore, results highlight how native speakerist English-only policies, which enforce a monolingual goal in AL competence, fail to validate and foster learners' plurilingual realities, especially among learners such as the tutees in this study, whose plurilingualism has only begun to emerge.

Nevertheless, the study has limitations. First, the small sample size could have influenced the quantitative results. AL researchers and teachers should exercise caution when generalizing the findings into their contexts. Future studies could investigate larger sample sizes for more robust statistical results. Second, the PPC scale has only been validated in English (Galante, 2020), and while the scale's French version used in this study has been checked by a French speaker, future research could look into validating the PPC scale in French and in additional languages, which could extend the scale's usefulness in plurilingual and other AL contexts. Third, the PIQ was conducted at the study's start, while the interviews were held weeks later. This methodological choice limited the study to investigate linguistic identity as if it were static, whereas a plurilingual framework acknowledges otherwise. Future studies could strengthen their designs by capturing the dynamism of participants' PI over time, something that this study did not examine.

Conclusion

This study sheds light on the plurilingual competence and identity of adult EAL learners in a French-only post-secondary context in Québec. Given the rising plurilingualism of Canadians inside and beyond the AL classroom, teachers are increasingly in need of guidance on the incorporation of plurilingual dimensions into their teaching practice. The first step for effective implementation of plurilingual instruction, however, is for language educators — and the larger AL educational system — to recognize and validate students' complex plurilingual realities.

Acknowledgments

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Pratiques innovantes en enseignement et apprentissage des langues secondes

Innovative practices in second language education

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Communication orale et évaluation formative pour l'apprentissage dans les centres de littératie en immersion française

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Résumé

Dans cette étude, de devis de recherche-développement, nous avons examiné la dimension formative de l'évaluation lors de la participation d'élèves de l'élémentaire à des tâches orales dans des centres de littératie en immersion française (IF). Le programme d'IF visant l'acquisition de la langue seconde, fournir aux élèves des occasions de produire de façon étendue est important. Nous avons observé la façon dont les enseignantes recueillaient des traces d'apprentissage auprès de leurs élèves, alors que ceux-ci travaillaient de façon autonome à des tâches orales. Les données ont été recueillies auprès des enseignantes (n = 5) d'IF et de leurs élèves. Ces données consistaient d'observations en classe, d'enregistrements vidéo, de preuves d'apprentissage et d'entrevues avec les enseignantes (n = 15). Les données ont révélé l'importance d'établir des résultats d'apprentissage précis, de recueillir des preuves d'apprentissage tangibles et de se servir de ces évidences d'apprentissage pour maximiser les apprentissages de l'oral dans les centres de littératie.

Mots-clés : immersion française, communication orale, évaluation formative, langue seconde, centres de littératie

Abstract

Using a Design-Based Research methodology, we examined the role and the use of assessment practices during the implementation of oral language tasks in literacy centers with elementary French immersion students. Since these French Immersion programs are designed to support second language acquisition, providing students with opportunities to produce extended output is important. We studied the ways by which teachers collected evidence of learning when students worked independently on oral language tasks during literacy centers. Five (n = 5)

immersion teachers participated in the study, along with their students. Data collected included classroom observations, video recordings of students working on oral communication tasks, learning artifacts and teacher interviews (n = 15). Findings suggest that specific dimensions of formative assessments including the pedagogical applications of specific learning outcomes, the collection of tangible evidence of learning, and the subsequent reinvestment of students' learning yielded important benefits is supporting oral language acquisition in literacy centers for French immersion students.

Key words: French immersion, oral communication, formative assessment, second language, literacy centers

Introduction

En immersion française (IF), l'importance de l'oralité pour le développement de la littératie et de la langue seconde (L2) est un fait bien établi dans la recherche (ex. Tedick et Wesely, 2015). Un outil important à la disposition des enseignants pour améliorer les apprentissages des élèves est l'évaluation pour l'apprentissage (Black, 2006). Cette forme d'évaluation formative consiste à recueillir de l'information au sujet des apprentissages des élèves afin de guider l'enseignement et la conception des tâches (Chappuis et Stiggins, 2002). Selon Alderson et al. (2017), même si l'évaluation de la langue fait partie d'une longue tradition de recherche en L2 et bien que les effets positifs de l'évaluation pour l'apprentissage soient reconnus, un manque de recherche existe concernant l'évaluation formative dans ce contexte.

L'évaluation de tâches orales dans des centres de littératie représente une difficulté supplémentaire. Les centres de littératie sont un dispositif d'enseignement-apprentissage où les élèves, en petits groupes, mettent en œuvre des concepts et des stratégies nouvellement apprises pour développer leurs habiletés en littératie (Diller, 2005). Ce dispositif permet à l'enseignant d'offrir des interventions à un petit groupe d'élèves pendant que les autres travaillent indépendamment à différents centres d'apprentissage (Fountas & Pinnell, 2017). Cependant, il a été établi que les tâches proposées aux élèves du primaire dans ces centres y sont souvent répétitives et inconséquentes, ce qui est problématique d'autant plus que les élèves passeraient en général deux tiers du temps de leur cours d'arts langagiers à travailler dans ces centres (Ford & Opitz, 2002 ; Kracl, 2012).

Considérant le temps passé dans ces centres d'apprentissage pendant l'absence de l'enseignant, rendre les apprentissages des élèves visibles revêt beaucoup d'importance, d'autant plus que le développement des compétences orales dans les contextes de L2 ne peut être négligé. Des questions demeurent vis-à-vis la mise en œuvre de l'évaluation pour l'apprentissage, surtout quant

aux habiletés orales. Selon Isaacs (2016), la langue orale étant un médium éphémère et intangible, son évaluation est souvent laborieuse et prend du temps (p. 136). En effet, les enseignants semblent avoir plus de facilité à recueillir des preuves d'apprentissage pour les centres de lecture et d'écriture que pour les centres de communication orale où les tâches proposées ciblent les habiletés d'interaction (Le Bouthillier et al., 2021). Étant donné l'importance du développement de l'oralité et du manque d'études portant sur l'évaluation formative dans les contextes de L2, ainsi que le temps substantiel passé par les élèves dans les centres, les enseignants participant à l'étude, en collaboration avec les chercheurs, cherchaient à utiliser davantage l'évaluation formative. Plus précisément, ils s'intéressaient aux façons de recueillir des traces des apprentissages de l'oral des élèves et aux moyens d'offrir de la rétroaction ponctuelle et précise.

Cadre théorique — L'évaluation pour l'apprentissage

Bachman (2004) a décrit l'évaluation comme un processus régi par des procédures systématiques et fondées par lequel les enseignants recueillent des informations au sujet de l'apprentissage. Déjà en 1967, Scriven établissait une distinction entre l'évaluation sommative et l'évaluation formative. Il a expliqué que l'évaluation formative était continuelle pendant l'enseignement et l'apprentissage et que les informations dont en retiraient les enseignants et les élèves leur permettaient de s'ajuster afin d'améliorer leur pédagogie. L'évaluation sommative, elle, est employée à la fin d'une séquence d'enseignement pour porter un jugement final sur l'apprentissage des élèves.

Deux articles publiés par Black et Wiliam (1998a, 1998b) ont marqué le début de la forte importance attribuée à l'évaluation formative en classe. Le premier article apportait des preuves quant aux effets positifs de l'évaluation formative sur l'apprentissage, la motivation et l'auto-efficacité. L'évaluation formative, ancrée dans les activités quotidiennes d'enseignement et d'apprentissage, permet d'expliciter les liens entre l'enseignement, l'apprentissage et l'évaluation. Le rôle crucial d'une rétroaction ponctuelle et continue y est souligné et ce, à partir de résultats d'apprentissage bien définis dans les milieux scolaires, incluant dans les programmes offerts dans la L2 (Black, 2009). Étant donné les effets positifs importants sur l'apprentissage, l'évaluation formative a été adoptée rapidement dans des contextes de L2 variés et des études ayant des participants tant enfants qu'adultes ont démontré les mêmes avantages (Ketabi & Ketabi, 2014).

Recension des écrits

L'apprentissage de la littératie par le biais de centres d'apprentissage

Selon Kern (2003, p. 16) la littératie est l'utilisation de pratiques de création et d'interprétation du sens à travers des textes, qui sont socialement, historiquement et culturellement situées. Narey et Kerry-Moran (2021) témoignent de l'évolution des perspectives quant à la littératie. Auparavant, la littératie se référait uniquement à la lecture et à l'écriture, mais le concept comprend maintenant toutes les habiletés permettant de créer et de donner du sens du monde qui nous entoure.

Les centres de littératie représentent un des outils pédagogiques pour l'apprentissage de la littératie à l'élémentaire. Le temps qui est y consacré devrait favoriser la consolidation et l'élargissement de l'apprentissage en permettant aux élèves de s'exercer à lire, à écrire, à s'exprimer oralement, à écouter et à travailler avec les lettres et les mots (Diller, 2010). Malgré la popularité de ces centres, peu d'écrits scientifiques ont été publiés quant à leur efficacité. Quelques recherches, en contexte de la langue première (L1), menées par rapport aux tâches retrouvées dans les centres de littératie ont démontré que les élèves travaillaient à des tâches répétitives et inconséquentes (ex. : Ford & Opitz, 2002 ; Kracl, 2012).

Pour mieux encadrer et maximiser l'apprentissage autonome des élèves dans les centres de littératie en L1, des chercheurs comme Kracl (2012) et Reutzel et Clark (2011) ont proposé les principes suivants. Les tâches proposées aux centres de littératie devraient :

1. être liées à ce que les élèves apprennent en classe,
2. cibler des résultats d'apprentissage précis,
3. favoriser l'interaction sociale et la collaboration cognitive,
4. encourager l'emploi de plus d'un mode de langage,
5. encourager les élèves à puiser à plus d'un sous-système du langage,
6. encourager les élèves à faire des transferts de sens,
7. permettre des réponses créatives,
8. être adaptées au niveau des élèves et
9. demander une preuve d'apprentissage des élèves.

Le Bouthillier et al. (2021) ont mené une étude exploratoire en IF afin d'observer si ces principes pouvaient servir à encadrer les tâches orales. Dans leur conclusion, ils ont constaté l'importance d'adapter et de modifier ces principes afin de prendre en compte les spécificités du contexte de l'IF et des besoins particuliers des apprenants de L2 en proposant l'ajout des principes

suivants : l'output étendu, l'interrelation entre les habiletés langagières et le réinvestissement des apprentissages. Selon cette étude, les centres de littératie pouvaient servir en L2 si les tâches étaient structurées en fonction des particularités de ce contexte.

La communication orale et les centres de littératie

Soucy (2016) a défini le volet oral de la littératie comme « l'ensemble des interactions ayant lieu en milieu scolaire ou extrascolaire, incluant la production et la compréhension orales, l'interprétation critique de messages, de même que les capacités d'écoute et d'échange ainsi que l'importance de la prise en compte de soi, de l'autre et du contexte » (p. 1). Des chercheurs en L1 (ex. : Dumais, 2016 ; Soucy, 2016, 2019) et en L2 (Goh & Burns, 2012) ont établi une distinction entre l'oral comme médium d'enseignement (outil de communication) et l'oral comme objet d'apprentissage (la construction de savoirs liés à l'oral). Néanmoins, la caractéristique qui distingue les programmes d'IF est que la langue est enseignée par le biais des matières scolaires. Cela n'exclut pas une prise en compte de l'oral comme objet d'apprentissage. Malgré les succès des programmes d'IF, des chercheurs comme Lyster (1987), ont constaté, quant aux capacités de production et d'interaction orales des élèves, que l'accent mis uniquement sur le message en IF favorisait la fluidité au détriment de la précision linguistique. Les habiletés de communication orale sont cruciales pour la littératie, car elles servent d'assises pour la lecture et l'écriture (Tedick & Wesely, 2015).

Les conceptions actuelles de la littératie vont au-delà de la lecture et de l'écriture pour inclure l'oral que ce soit en L1 ou en L2 (Narey & Kerry-Moran, 2021). On y fait mention dans les ouvrages pédagogiques concernant les centres de littératie (Diller, 2005 ; Southall, 2007), mais sans présentation d'exemples. De plus, les recherches empiriques au sujet des centres de littératie en L1 ne traitent pas de l'oralité et ne semblent pas y accorder de l'importance (Ford & Opitz, 2002 ; Kracl, 2012), à l'exception de Soucy (2016, 2019). Dans une première étude, elle a conclu que malgré l'importance octroyée à l'oral, celui-ci se retrouvait comme médium de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage, mais jamais comme objet (Soucy, 2016). Ultérieurement, elle a constaté que les centres de littératie se prêtaient bien à la création d'un centre de communication orale et que les élèves avaient la possibilité de consolider des apprentissages au sujet d'objets de l'oral (Soucy, 2019).

Les preuves d'apprentissage

Selon Hattie (2012), « ce qui est le plus important c'est que l'enseignement soit visible [pour les élèves] et que l'apprentissage soit visible pour l'enseignant » (p. 25). Il préconise l'usage de l'évaluation pour l'apprentissage. En IF,

l'enseignant doit tenir en compte les apprentissages des habiletés orales de la L2 et en raison de leur caractère intangible, cela peut poser problème (Isaacs, 2016). Explorant cette problématique à l'intérieur des centres de littératie, Soucy (2019) a observé que les élèves laissaient des traces de leurs apprentissages de l'oral par le biais de vidéos, mais celles-ci n'étaient pas recueillies par les enseignants pour servir de preuves d'apprentissage ou pour engager leurs élèves dans une réflexion au sujet de leurs apprentissages de l'oral, faute de temps. De même, l'étude de Le Bouthillier et al. (2021) a révélé que les enseignantes proposaient des centres de communication orale à leurs élèves, mais sans cibler de résultats d'apprentissage précis et sans recueillir de preuves d'apprentissages. Comme Soucy (2019) l'a aussi constaté, les enseignantes d'IF n'effectuaient pas de retour sur les apprentissages. L'étude de Pellerin (2018), aussi en IF, s'est surtout attardée sur les possibilités offertes par les technologies mobiles (Ipads et Ipods) comme moyens de favoriser la communication orale. L'étude a démontré un éveil métalinguistique des élèves lors de l'écoute et de la réécoute des documents oraux produits. Pour sa part, Isaacs (2016) a suggéré que même si la technologie pouvait servir de solution au caractère momentané de l'oral, cette solution demeurait laborieuse et couteuse en temps pour les enseignants.

L'évaluation formative et la rétroaction en L2

Dans une étude longitudinale, Oga-Baldwin et al. (2017) ont établi une corrélation positive entre l'évaluation, l'engagement et la motivation. En contexte canadien, les études de Arnott (2013), Faez et al. (2011a, 2011b) et Piccardo (2013) ont traité du Cadre européen commun de référence des langues comme outil indispensable pour l'évaluation formative dans des contextes de L2. En effet, les enseignants de L2 ont rapporté une utilisation authentique de la langue dans la classe, une autonomie accrue de l'apprenant et une amélioration de la motivation et de la confiance des élèves quant à leurs habiletés orales (Faez et al., 2011a).

Tajeddin et Kamali (2020) ont dégagé quatre formes principales d'étayage consistant en rétroactions aux élèves. Dans la catégorie métaétayage, on retrouve les étayages métalinguistiques et gestuels, la contextualisation, les ressources et les organisateurs audiovisuels. Pour l'étayage linguistique, on identifie la reformulation, l'extension, la modélisation, l'élicitation, l'écho, l'usage de la langue maternelle et les tentatives de transformer les interactions dans la classe de L2. L'étayage affectif consiste en l'encouragement et la reconnaissance des idées partagées par l'élève et le suivi des timides. Le sous-étayage est lorsque l'enseignant ne fournit pas une rétroaction adéquate.

Dans notre étude, nous définirons l'étayage linguistique comme *la rétroaction corrective* (Lyster & Ranta, 1997). La rétroaction corrective est

l'acte pédagogique effectué en réponse à une erreur à l'oral de l'élève dans le but d'encourager une prise de conscience linguistique. Deux catégories de rétroaction corrective existent : les reprises, fournissant la bonne forme aux élèves suite à l'erreur, et les incitations, proposant des indices aux élèves pour les diriger vers l'autocorrection. Dans des comparaisons entre des élèves de l'élémentaire et des élèves plus âgés, Lyster et Saito (2010) ont rapporté que les jeunes élèves bénéficiaient tout particulièrement de la rétroaction corrective, spécifiquement par rapport aux reprises. Cela serait dû au fait que les reprises sont similaires à la rétroaction fournie aux enfants dans leur L1 par leurs gardiens.

Questions de recherche

Nous nous intéressons à l'évaluation formative dans les centres de littératie en L2 en lien avec l'enseignement et l'apprentissage des habiletés de communication orale pour les élèves de langue seconde. Afin de mieux comprendre comment les enseignants du primaire en IF pouvaient intégrer davantage l'évaluation formative des habiletés de communication orale dans le dispositif d'enseignement des centres de littératie, nous avons exploré les problématiques et questions suivantes :

1. Trop souvent en IF, l'oral est perçu comme le médium d'enseignement et non comme l'objet d'apprentissage (la construction de savoirs liés à l'oral). Que se produit-il quand les enseignants intègrent le principe *cibler des résultats d'apprentissage (RA) précis de communication orale* dans les centres de litteratie ? Comment le fait de cibler des RA précis de communication orale change la façon dont les enseignants percoivent l'enseignement et l'apprentissage de l'oral ?

2. L'évaluation de tâches orales dans des centres de littératie représente une difficulté puisque la langue orale est un médium éphémère et intangible, son évaluation est souvent laborieuse et prend du temps (Isaacs, 2016, p. 136). Comment peut-on recueillir des traces des apprentissages de l'oral dans les centres de littératie ?

3. Les tâches orales entreprises dans les centres de litteratie sont effectuées de façon autonome par les élèves sans la présence de l'enseignant. Comment l'enseignant peut-il offrir de la rétroaction ponctuelle et précise sur les tâches orales ? Comment les preuves d'apprentissage recueillies lors du travail autonome dans les centres peuvent-elles être utilisées pour améliorer l'enseignement et l'apprentissage ? Quels types d'informations pédagogiques peuvent être tirées des preuves d'apprentissage effectuées lors de tâches orales ?

Méthodologie

Pour explorer ces questions, une méthodologie de recherche-développement (RD) a été utilisée. Dans la recherche en éducation, il y a souvent une déconnexion entre la théorie et la pratique. La RD offre un potentiel à cet égard puisqu'elle est menée dans l'environnement d'apprentissage lui-même, ne détachant donc pas l'objet de l'enquête du contexte (Barab & Squire, 2004). La RD vise à améliorer les pratiques pédagogiques et est conçue pour aider les chercheurs à développer et à tester des hypothèses, des théories,, ainsi que des principes d'enseignement et d'apprentissage (Wang & Hannafin, 2005). Ce type de recherche est de nature pragmatique (Cobb et al., 2003 ; Design-Based Research Collective, 2003), implique des collaborations entre chercheurs et enseignants (Reeves et al., 2005 ; Wang & Hannafin, 2005) et comprend l'analyse de diverses sources de données.

Deux mentors en littératie, deux enseignantes de 1ere année, deux enseignants de 4e année, et une enseignante de 5e année en IF au Nouveau-Brunswick ont participé à cette étude, ainsi que les élèves de ces cinq classes. Nous avons suivi le cycle de recherche propre à la RD, soit la théorisation, la conceptualisation d'interventions ou de principes pédagogiques, leur mises en œuvre, et leur évaluation. Dans un premier temps, des observations ont eu lieu dans les salles de classe afin de formuler des hypothèses sur les principes d'enseignement et d'apprentissage liés à nos questions de recherche. Nous avons défini le contexte, le problème et la théorie. Notre contexte comprenait de centres de communication orale dans les classes de l'élémentaire de l'IF. Quant à la problématique, les enseignantes recherchaient des moyens de recueillir des traces d'apprentissage de l'oral et d'offrir de la rétroaction corrective aux élèves. En ce qui concerne la théorie, nous avons examiné les écrits de recherche pour trouver les points d'intersection entre les domaines suivants : les centres d'apprentissage, l'évaluation formative, et les principes d'acquisition de la L2. À partir de ces observations préliminaires en classe et des écrits scientifiques, nous avons commencé la conceptualisation de notre théorie pour la création de tâches orales pour des centres de littératie en L2 (Le Bouthillier et al., 2021). Cette théorie intègre plusieurs aspects de l'évaluation pour l'apprentissage, incluant un accent sur des résultats d'apprentissage précis à l'oral et des preuves d'apprentissage servant aux réinvestissements des apprentissages afin de valoriser et approfondir les apprentissages ainsi que de fournir de la rétroaction corrective. Ensuite, les chercheuses ont travaillé aux côtés des enseignants de l'IF pour conceptualiser et mettre en œuvre des pédagogies destinées à soutenir les pratiques d'évaluation formative dans les centres de littératie. Les enseignants ont testé ces tâches et ont expérimenté des principes de l'évaluation formative dans leur classe pendant une période de deux mois. Des analyses préliminaires des pratiques et des

principes d'évaluation formative ont été menées, les principes théoriques et pédagogiques ont été affinés, et les processus ont été réimplantés en classe de manière cyclique, en suivant les protocoles de la RD. Grâce à ce cycle, nous avons pu théoriser les pratiques et principes d'évaluation formative en jeu, les mettre en œuvre dans des contextes de classe et évaluer leurs mérites.

Données et analyse

Nous avons effectué 15 observations en classe d'une durée moyenne de 75 minutes chacune. Nous avons filmé les élèves participant aux centres de communication orale et les enseignants effectuant leur retour sur les apprentissages. Nous avons aussi fait des entrevues formelles et informelles avec les enseignants. Les données de triangulation comprenaient les plans de cours, les ressources de la classe et les artefacts visuels. Les séquences vidéo des classes et les entretiens enregistrés ont été transcrits et, avec d'autres sources, ont été analysés sur la base de critères spécifiques par des techniques de codage qualitatif par rapport aux trois principes ayant trait à l'évaluation formative soit l'usage (1) de résultats d'apprentissage précis, (2) de preuves d'apprentissage et (3) de réinvestissements des apprentissages en groupe classe.

Résultats

Nos questions de recherche portaient sur les trois principes liés à l'évaluation formative. Nous présenterons nos résultats en traitant de chacun des principes à tour de rôle. Dans un premier temps, nous répondrons à la question par rapport aux résultats d'apprentissage précis : « Que se produit-il quand les enseignants intègrent le principe *cibler des résultats d'apprentissage (RA) précis de communication orale* dans les centres de litteratie ? ». Dans un deuxième temps, nous présentons les résultats concernant la question 2 liée aux preuves d'apprentissages : « Comment peut-on recueillir des traces des apprentissages de l'oral dans les centres de littératie ? ». Finalement, nous rapportons les résultats de notre troisième question quant aux réinvestissements des apprentissages en groupe classe : « Comment les preuves d'apprentissage recueillies lors du travail autonome dans les centres peuvent-elles être utilisées pour améliorer l'enseignement et l'apprentissage ainsi que pour offrir de la rétroaction corrective ? ».

Cibler des résultats d'apprentissage précis

Avant de commencer l'étude, les enseignants effectuaient des centres de littératie dans leur classe et certains éléments de l'oral y étaient intégrés, mais aucun n'avait de centres de communication orale officiels. Le concept même du centre de communication orale était nouveau, mais tous les enseignants

exprimaient valoriser l'oral et étaient motivés à créer des tâches pour le centre de communication orale. Cédric[1], un enseignant de 4e année, a affirmé : « C'est quelque chose de nouveau pour moi. Je n'ai jamais fait de centres de l'oral auparavant ». Sa collègue Martha, aussi enseignante 4e année a ajouté lors de l'entrevue : « On a tendance à se concentrer sur la lecture guidée avec nos élèves . . . on voulait que les élèves fassent des activités [dans les centres de littératie], mais quand même assez silencieusement ». Le commentaire de Martha renvoie aussi à la perception que se faisaient des centres de littératie les enseignants de notre étude : ces centres étaient plutôt destinés à occuper les élèves pour permettre aux enseignants de faire de la lecture guidée, plutôt qu'à fournir des occasions pour consolider et élargir leurs apprentissages en littératie. Les notes de recherche et les transcriptions ont aussi démontré un manque d'enseignement explicite préalablement aux tâches de communication orales dans les centres. Par exemple, dans le cours de sciences humaines en 4e année, l'unité d'enseignement était intitulée *Les explorateurs*. Même si les enseignants visaient la reconnaissance et l'utilisation des outils utilisés par les explorateurs, il était évident que ces objets de l'oral et le vocabulaire y étant relié n'avaient pas été enseignés.

> Élève 1 :   Oh, ok. Hum.. Le bureau est like, cupboards à gauche et à droit.
> Élève 2 :   Ok.
> Élève 1 :   Sur le table il y a — sur le table il y a un, uh, j'ai oublié le nom mais c'est . . . flashlight.
> Élève 2 :   Ok.
> Élève 1 :   Ok, hum, il y a, je pense un mug de café au uh, gauche de la bureau. Oh, oui. C'est sur un, uh, comment dit-on « map » ?

Les centres de littératie semblaient être perçus comme des espaces non structurés pour de nouveaux apprentissages plutôt que des espaces pour consolider les apprentissages.

Comme l'a affirmé Léanne, enseignante de 5e année, cibler des résultats d'apprentissage précis n'était pas une pratique courante : « Je n'avais peut-être pas autant de résultats d'apprentissage dans mes centres . . . alors, je dois comme toute repenser à mes centres et puis avoir des résultats d'apprentissages très précis ». De façon générale, les enseignants éprouvaient de la difficulté à formuler des RA à cause d'une confusion apparente entre les résultats et les cinq composantes d'organisation des centres de littératie proposées par Boushey et Moser (2015). Ces auteures d'ouvrages pédagogiques suggéraient aux enseignants d'organiser cinq centres : lecture à soi, lecture à un autre, écouter la lecture, travaux d'écriture et études de mots pour favoriser

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[1]Tous les noms sont des pseudonymes.

l'apprentissage de la littératie dans la L1 et l'autonomie des élèves. Les enseignants énonçaient donc leurs RA en utilisant le nom des composantes de Boushey et Moser.

Les enseignants ont suivi un processus d'apprentissage professionnel en plusieurs étapes avant de pouvoir intégrer la formulation de RA précis dans leur pédagogie des centres de communication orale. D'abord s'est produit un éveil quant à ce qu'était un RA, qui a été suivi par une familiarisation. Les chercheurs ont présenté de nombreux exemples en employant les énoncés « Je peux » du CECR (Council of Europe, 2001). Par la suite, les enseignants se sont approprié la formulation des RA en s'exerçant pendant la cocréation des tâches pour leurs centres de communication orale avant de mettre en œuvre les centres de l'oral dans leur salle de classe. La citation suivante de Léanne, enseignante de 5e année, illustre la prise de conscience de l'importance de RA précis pour être en mesure d'intégrer l'évaluation pour l'apprentissage et rendre l'apprentissage visible à la fois pour l'enseignant et les élèves : « des résultats d'apprentissage précis pour que, nous, on puisse voir l'apprentissage et, puis, pour que les enfants puissent savoir aussi où ils s'en vont ». Deux enseignantes de 1ère année ont aussi précisé que cibler des RA leur permettrait de « pousser leurs élèves plus fort ». La réflexion elle-même par rapport à des RA précis en lien avec les besoins des élèves aidait les enseignants à reconceptualiser le rôle des centres de littératie comme des occasions d'apprentissage où les élèves avaient l'occasion d'élargir leurs connaissances de l'oral. Les « Je peux », formulés dans une langue simple et accessible, ont facilité la formulation des RA pour les enseignants et ils permettaient aux élèves de savoir clairement ce qu'étaient les apprentissages visés dans le centre de l'oral. Voici des exemples de RA formulés par les enseignants pour les tâches à l'oral :

1. Je peux utiliser le vocabulaire lié à l'alimentation pour décrire le contenu de mon assiette (1ère année) ;
2. Je peux utiliser *Dans mon assiette, il y a . . .* (1ère année) ;
3. Je peux expliquer les étapes suivies pour me préparer à l'aventure (4e année) ;
4. Je peux utiliser les marqueurs de relation premièrement, deuxièmement, ensuite, après, finalement (4e année).

Être en mesure de cibler des RA précis était essentiel pour être en mesure d'intégrer le deuxième principe lié à l'évaluation des apprentissages oraux des élèves : la production d'une preuve d'apprentissage.

Les preuves d'apprentissage

La preuve d'apprentissage n'était pas étrangère aux enseignants, mais elle ne servait pas à ajuster et à améliorer l'apprentissage. Dans les centres de littératie de lecture, d'écriture et d'étude de mots, les enseignants demandaient parfois une preuve d'apprentissage à leurs élèves. Toutefois, comme Marie-Louise, enseignante de la 1ère année l'a expliqué : « On mettait les feuilles [preuves d'apprentissage] dans la reliure, mais on ne les regardait jamais ». Sa collègue de 1ère année, Corinne, pendant la même entrevue, a expliqué que cela posait parfois un problème en fait d'apprentissage, d'engagement et de motivation : « j'avais quelques élèves qui ne faisaient rien. Je disais : 'Pourquoi ta page est vide ? Qu'est-ce qui s'est passé ?' [Ils répondaient] On n'aime pas ça ». De plus, les enseignants ont souligné le rôle de la preuve d'apprentissage pour valoriser l'apprentissage des élèves dans le centre de l'oral. Ainsi, avec du recul, les enseignants reconnaissaient l'importance de la preuve d'apprentissage. Marie-Louise a renchéri : « Depuis la première fois qu'on s'est rencontrées, c'est toujours dans ma tête. Comment est-ce que je peux évaluer et faire sure qu'ils participent comme il faut, parce que [avec la preuve d'apprentissage] je peux voir et je peux entendre ».

Tout comme pour apprendre à cibler des RA précis, les enseignants ont dû s'engager dans un processus d'apprentissage professionnel en plusieurs étapes pour les preuves d'apprentissage. Après l'étape de l'éveil, ils ont discuté de preuves possibles pour les tâches orales et ont pensé à utiliser des outils technologiques comme des applications disponibles sur les tablettes pour enregistrer. Lors des entrevues, les enseignants ont mentionné l'effet motivateur de l'utilisation des tablettes et de la possibilité offerte aux élèves de s'écouter parler. Pourtant, lors de la création des tâches de l'oral et de la mise en œuvre des centres de communication orale, aucun enseignant n'a opté pour une preuve d'apprentissage consistant en un enregistrement. Les preuves étaient plutôt visuelles, surtout des dessins en 1ère année représentant l'interaction entre les élèves. Par exemple, dans le centre de la pizze ria, les élèves de la 1ère année jouaient le rôle de vendeurs et de clients. Le client commandait une pizza avec ses ingrédients préférés, tandis que le vendeur représentait la commande par un dessin. En plus de mettre en pratique certaines structures de phrase et un certain vocabulaire lié à l'alimentation, les élèves utilisaient des expressions de quantité comme *beaucoup de*, *un peu de* et les nombres. Les quantités étaient aussi représentées dans les dessins. En 4e et 5e années, les élèves avaient plutôt tendance à faire des crochets sur des listes de possibilités. Par exemple, les élèves avaient une liste d'adjectifs qualificatifs pour décrire un suspect et ils faisaient des crochets à côté de chaque adjectif employé.

Élève 1 :   Le teint est blonde, plein, bronzé, et un petit peu fatigué. Les cheveux sont …

Élève 2 :   Non Nelly, tu ne peux pas être blonde et bronzée. Est-ce que tu veux que j'efface blonde ou bronzée ?

Comme le démontre cette citation, la preuve, reflétant clairement les RA, servait d'ancrage aux élèves et centrait leur attention sur l'amélioration de leur apprentissage. Ainsi, les élèves offraient de la rétroaction corrective à l'oral à leurs pairs, y compris en 1ère année.

Réinvestir l'apprentissage en grand groupe

L'une des mentors de littératie a affirmé que « la preuve d'apprentissage et le réinvestissement étaient deux 'ah ah moments' ». Les enseignants ont souligné à la fois l'importance de la preuve d'apprentissage et du réinvestissement ainsi que les liens essentiels entre eux. Néanmoins, dans la pratique, certains enseignants n'effectuaient pas de réinvestissement en grand groupe, même s'ils avaient établi des RA précis et recueillaient des preuves d'apprentissage. D'autres, cependant, se servaient des réinvestissements à la fin de chaque période de travail dans les centres. Les deux enseignantes de la 1ère année réinvestissaient les apprentissages, tandis que ceux de l'élémentaire supérieur le faisaient rarement. Quand les enseignants de la 4e et 5e année effectuaient un retour, ça n'était pas à proprement parler un réinvestissement, mais une description de l'activité comme « Lia et Rina, vous étiez dans le centre de l'oral. Quelle activité avez-vous choisie ? ». Néanmoins, dans le cycle préconisé par la RD, les enseignants et les chercheurs portent un regard critique et évaluatif envers leurs pratiques pendant les différents cycles d'expérimentation de la mise en œuvre des principes liés à l'évaluation formative lors des périodes de centres de communication orale. À deux moments, l'une des chercheuses s'est engagée dans une réflexion avec deux enseignants différents par rapport aux réinvestisements. La chercheuse a partagé avec Cédric, un enseignant de la 4e année, que ses élèves commettaient plusieurs erreurs communes et que ces erreurs se perpétuaient d'une période de centre à l'autre. Cédric et la chercheuse ont discuté de la façon dont les élèves et Cédric pouvaient devenir conscients de ces erreurs communes et ensuite, de la façon dont Cédric pouvait offrir de la rétroaction corrective. À la suite de la période de réflexion, lors d'une autre itération du travail dans les centres de littératie, Cédric a effectué un réinvestissement lors duquel il a fourni de la rétroaction corrective. Il a déclaré que cela lui avait permis d'évaluer les acquis de ses élèves et d'être en mesure d'ajuster son enseignement pour combler les lacunes en offrant de la rétroaction corrective et des explications. Néanmoins, il n'a pas adopté cette pratique comme partie intégrante de la période d'enseignement et d'apprentissage destinée aux

centres. Il incluait le réinvestissement de façon sporadique. La chercheuse s'est engagée dans une réflexion similaire avec une deuxième enseignante de la 4e année et à la suite de la discussion, la chercheuse a modélisé le réinvestissement dans la classe. Cependant, l'enseignante n'a pas adopté cette pratique et n'a effectué aucun réinvestissement. Les apprentissages n'étant que rarement réinvestis à la fin de la période de travail dans les centres de littératie, les enseignants de l'élémentaire supérieur perdaient l'occasion d'évaluer les apprentissages des élèves et d'offrir de la rétroaction ainsi que l'occasion d'ajuster leur enseignement, ne connaissant pas les forces et les faiblesses de leurs élèves.

Dans le cas des réinvestissements en 1ère année, les élèves s'assoyaient en cercle autour de l'enseignante. Dans un cas, chacun des élèves remettait sa preuve d'apprentissage à l'enseignante et, dans l'autre cas, l'enseignante choisissait de façon aléatoire la preuve d'un élève. En se servant de la preuve, les enseignantes invitaient les élèves à parler de leur travail. Cela permettait aux élèves de réutiliser les éléments langagiers oraux à l'étude et aux enseignantes d'offrir une rétroaction corrective à l'oral et de valider les apprentissages des élèves en les encourageant. De plus, c'était une possibilité d'élargir les apprentissages des élèves et de les préparer à une autre ronde de travail dans le centre de l'oral. Par exemple, Marie-Louise a présenté la photo du dessin d'un de ses élèves et elle a invité les élèves à le décrire. Les élèves de 1ère année avaient appris à utiliser les structures « Je vois » et « Il y a » ainsi que les couleurs et du vocabulaire lié au thème. Après avoir fourni de la rétroaction corrective, Marie-Louise a jugé que les élèves étaient capables de produire des phrases de base et qu'il était maintenant temps de commencer à élargir le répertoire syntaxique en utilisant des prépositions et des conjonctions comme *et*, *à côté de*, *derrière*, *aussi*, *parce que*, *dans* et *avec*. Elle a donc étayé la production orale des élèves et les élèves ont réussi à complexifier leurs structures de phrase. Le lendemain, lors de la période de travail dans le centre de l'oral, Marie-Louise avait ajouté un soutien langagier, une affiche avec les prépositions et les conjonctions (appelées les mots *Wow*). Elle avait aussi ajouté comme RA précis : « Je peux faire des phrases plus longues en utilisant les mots *Wow* ».

Discussion

Selon notre devis de recherche de la RD, nous avons effectué un cycle de recherche qui a débuté par la théorisation et la conceptualisation de principes pédagogiques liés à l'évaluation formative dans le contexte précis des centres d'apprentissage de communication orale. Ensuite, en ce qui concerne l'objet de cet article, nous avons examiné leurs mises en œuvre et nous avons évalué la pertinence de nos trois principes dont nous discuterons à tour de rôle :

1. cibler des résultats d'apprentissage de communication orale précis,

2. recueillir des preuves d'apprentissage et

3. proposer des réinvestissements des apprentissages en groupe classe.

Un élément qui est ressorti dans notre étude est l'interdépendance entre les trois principes. Le réinvestissement à la fin de la période de travail a joué un rôle majeur quant à l'enseignement/apprentissage en permettant aux enseignants et aux élèves de prendre en compte des apprentissages, d'y réfléchir et de les accroître. Néanmoins, les enseignants n'auraient pas pu rendre l'apprentissage visible sans les RA précis et les preuves d'apprentissage. Les élèves n'auraient pas pu ajuster leurs apprentissages et donner de la rétroaction à leurs pairs pendant l'absence de l'enseignant sans ces deux principes. Même s'il est difficile de discuter de ces trois principes séparemment, il importe de faire ressortir chacun des principes tout en gardant à l'esprit leur interdépence.

Cibler des résultats d'apprentissage de communication orale précis

Pour être en mesure de fournir une rétroaction lors des réinvestissements, les enseignants doivent partir de RA clairement définis (Black & Wiliam, 1998a, 1998b). La pédagogie des centres de littératie, comme elle est présentée dans les ressources pédagogiques (Boushey & Moser, 2015) et interprétée par les enseignants participants à notre étude, ne favorisait pas l'établissement de RA précis. Le problème était aggravé par l'absence d'information et d'exemples au sujet de centres de communication orale dans les ressources pédagogiques traitant des centres de littératie, ainsi que par la difficulté éprouvée par plusieurs enseignants à évaluer les habiletés orales (Isaacs, 2016). À partir du moment où les enseignants se sont engagés dans une réflexion avec les chercheurs concernant les RA et où ils les ont établis pour chacune des tâches proposées dans leurs centres, la perspective des enseignants par rapport à la pédagogie des centres s'est transformée. Cibler des RA précis a constitué le point de départ entre proposer des tâches répétitives et inconséquentes dans les centres de littératie (Ford & Opitz, 2002 ; Kracl, 2012) et proposer des tâches orales favorisant l'apprentissage. Ce principe était la condition sine qua non à l'enseignement, à l'apprentissage et à l'évaluation dans une pédagogie des centres en IF. Afin de rendre l'apprentissage visible (Hattie, 2012), les enseignants devaient d'abord percevoir les centres comme des endroits d'apprentissage à part entière et non seulement comme des espaces destinés à occuper les élèves. Ensuite, ils devaient clarifier pour eux-mêmes les apprentissages visés.

Par ailleurs, les énoncés « Je peux » (Council of Europe, 2001) pour formuler des RA clairs et bien définis ont grandement contribué à

l'appropriation de ce principe par les enseignants. Ces énoncés ont permis aux enseignants de faire d'une pierre deux coups. Tout d'abord, ils ont pu énoncer clairement les objectifs d'apprentissage qu'ils poursuivaient dans une langue simple et accessible. Ensuite, les enseignants pouvaient communiquer adéquatement les RA aux élèves qui se servaient des mêmes « Je peux » pour les guider lors de leurs apprentissages pendant les périodes de travail autonomes. Les élèves étaient au courant des buts d'apprentissage à atteindre.

Recueillir des preuves d'apprentissage

Le fait de définir clairement les RA amenait les enseignants à réfléchir à la façon dont ils pouvaient recueillir des traces de l'apprentissage des élèves lors des périodes de travail autonome. En percevant les centres comme des espaces d'apprentissage, les enseignants participants à l'étude faisaient le pont plus facilement entre l'apprentissage et l'évaluation dans leur conception de la pédagogie des centres. Dès le début de la réfléxion par rapport à la tâche à proposer dans les centres de communication orale, les enseignants discutaient et formulaient les RA ainsi que les preuves d'apprentissage. Les preuves d'apprentissage, qui auparavant étaient laissées pour compte dans la pédagogie des centres de nos participants, sont devenues des outils importants pour rendre l'apprentissage visible à la fois pour les enseignants participants à l'étude et les élèves. La congruence entre les RA clairement définis sous la forme d'énoncé « Je peux » et la preuve que les élèves fournissaient de leurs apprentissages éclairait les élèves quant aux attentes de l'enseignant et des buts d'apprentissage lors des périodes de travail autonome en l'absence de l'enseignant. Il nous semble probable que la transformation de la conception des enseignants par rapport à la pédagogie des centres comme des espaces favorisant un apprentissage de la communication orale et non plus destinés à occuper les élèves en l'absence de l'enseignant a été perçue par les élèves. Les périodes de travail autonome dans le centre de communication orale étaient devenues intentionnelles.

Comme il a été rapporté dans les écrits de recherche (Le Bouthillier et al., 2021 ; Isaacs, 2016), les enseignants de cette étude avaient aussi de la difficulté à concevoir des moyens de recueillir des traces d'apprentissage de l'oral. Dans les écrits scientifiques, les chercheurs semblent privilégier l'emploi de la technologie pour enregistrer la production orale des élèves (Pellerin, 2018). Pour les enseignants du primaire et de l'élémentaire occupés à intervenir auprès d'un petit groupe d'élèves pendant que le reste des élèves travaillent de façon autonome, recueillir des preuves d'apprentissage par le biais de la technologie semblait intimidant et voué à l'échec. Les résultats de notre étude démontrent l'importance de tenir compte du contexte dans lequel l'enseignement et l'apprentissage se produisent. En adoptant le devis de

recherche de la RD, les enseignants et les chercheurs ont pu choisir les moyens de mettre en œuvre le principe de recueillir des preuves d'apprentissage adaptés à la réalité de la salle de classe des enseignants.

Réinvestir l'apprentissage en grand groupe

Dans les écrits scientifiques concernant l'évaluation formative, on met l'accent sur l'importance de la rétroaction pour l'amélioration des apprentissages (Black, 2009 ; Tajeddin et Kamali, 2020). Le fait que, dans la pédagogie des centres d'apprentissage, les enseignants sont occupés ailleurs et que les élèves travaillent de façon autonome, complexifie l'intégration de l'évaluation formative, d'autant plus pour des apprentissages de l'oral. Néanmoins, le principe du réinvestissement de l'apprentissage à la fin de la période de travail dans les centres de l'oral a permis aux enseignants d'offrir de la rétroaction corrective en plus de valoriser et d'encourager les élèves. Le réinvestissement a aussi offert la possibilité aux enseignants d'élargir les apprentissages des élèves et de mettre en évidence les forces et les faiblesses des élèves pour ajuster ou bonifier les tâches dans les centres. Les résultats de notre étude mettent en lumière le rôle important de la RD pour établir des liens entre la théorie et la pratique en permettant aux enseignants d'appliquer des principes de façon à ce qu'ils soient adaptés à la situation d'apprentissage (la pédagogie des centres) et au contexte d'enseignement. Cela a permis aux enseignants de l'étude de réfléchir autrement à la façon d'offrir de la rétroaction corrective aux élèves.

Néanmoins, pour les 4e et 5e années, nous avons vu les effets du sous-étayage tel que décrit par Tajeddin et Kamali (2020). En ne fournissant pas de rétroaction adéquate, les enseignants ont perdu des occasions d'ajustement et d'amélioration. Dans notre étude, les enseignants, les mentors de littératie et les chercheurs ont collaboré pour créer les tâches orales pour les centres. Pour formuler les RA et choisir une preuve d'apprentissage permettant de refléter l'atteinte des RA, les enseignants ont eu le soutien de leurs pairs, des mentors et des chercheurs. Par contre, même si des discussions ont eu lieu au sujet du réinvestissement, celui-ci est une approche réactive à l'apprentissage et non proactive comme cibler des RA précis et choisir une preuve d'apprentissage. Ainsi, le réinvestissement, ne pouvant se préparer, consistait en une réaction de la part des enseignants à la suite de la période d'apprentissage autonome dans les centres de l'oral. Plusieurs facteurs peuvent expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles les enseignantes de la 1ère année ont intégré de façon plus efficace. Puisque la 1ère année est le point d'entrée pour le programme d'IF, beaucoup d'efforts sont consacrés à l'encadrement et à l'apprentissage professionnel des enseignants de 1ère année. Il est possible que l'enseignement des habiletés orales et le réinvestissement aient été modélisés lors de séances

d'apprentissage professionnel ou qu'on ait traité de l'évaluation formative et de la rétroaction. Il est aussi possible qu'étant donné que les élèves en 1ère année étaient des débutants en langue, les enseignants étaient plus habitués de cibler la communication orale, d'évaluer les élèves de façon formative et de leur offrir une rétroaction abondante. Une autre hypothèse pourrait être l'expertise des enseignants eux-mêmes. Quoiqu'il en soit, nos résultats démontrent le rôle essentiel d'un apprentissage professionnel continu où les enseignants ont l'occasion de collaborer et d'être soutenus par leurs pairs, par des mentors et des chercheurs pendant qu'ils mettent leurs apprentissages professionnels en pratique en classe. Nos résultats correspondent aussi aux résultats de recherche quant au rôle de l'évaluation formative pour favoriser l'engagement, la motivation et l'autonomie des élèves (Faez et al., 2011a ; Oga-Baldwin et al., 2017).

Conclusion

Dans les classes d'IF à l'élémentaire, les enseignants utilisent souvent des dispositifs d'enseignement-apprentissage provenant de la pédagogie de la littératie en L1. Bien qu'il soit possible d'adopter des dispositifs de la L1 dans la L2, il demeure que les élèves en IF ont des besoins particuliers dont il faut tenir compte. Dans notre étude, les enseignants ont pu réfléchir aux besoins précis de leurs élèves et adapter/modifier leurs pratiques concernant leur pédagogie des centres en collaborant avec leurs pairs, des mentors en littératie et des chercheurs en tenant compte de trois principes liés à l'évaluation formative. Ils ont eu l'occasion de s'engager dans des cycles d'évaluation et de réflexion au sujet des effets des tâches orales cocréées avec leurs partenaires pour continuer à peaufiner et à améliorer leur pédagogie. En se penchant sur l'évaluation formative de tâches orales dans des centres de littératie, les enseignants ont réussi à améliorer la qualité des apprentissages, à motiver et à engager les élèves tout en les responsabilisant envers leurs apprentissages. Notre étude contribue au domaine de la pédagogie en immersion, car elle démontre que de jeunes apprenants de L2 sont capables de consolider leurs habiletés en production orale à l'oral de façon autonome, c'est-à-dire en l'absence de l'enseignant, si les enseignants intègrent l'évaluation formative de façon proactive (RA et preuve) et réactive (réinvestissement). Dans le devis de recherche adopté, on souligne l'importance d'effectuer des cycles de design dans des contextes variés afin de tester les principes avancés. Les résultats de notre étude se limitent au contexte d'enseignement et d'apprentissage des cinq enseignants ayant participé à la recherche. Des cycles de design dans d'autres contextes de la L2 avec d'autres enseignants et élèves seront nécessaires pour pouvoir tester la pertinence des trois principes liés à l'évaluation examinés ici et leurs limites. Dans nos recherches futures, nous comptons explorer la

pédagogie des centres pour des élèves de l'intermédiaire (6 à 8e année au Nouveau-Brunswick).

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Gamification in L2 teaching and learning:
Linguistic risk-taking at play

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Abstract

Gamification is increasingly popular in second language acquisition research and has been correlated with higher motivation and engagement. The use of gameplay elements in non-game environments has been shown to be beneficial; however, research on gamification and taking linguistic risks is scant. A linguistic risk is an authentic communicative act that learners take in their second language and that can be considered "risky" due to factors such as making mistakes, etc. In this article, a Linguistic Risk-Taking Initiative (LRTI) implemented at the bilingual campus of the University of Ottawa was analyzed based on a game-informed framework. An analytical tool drawing on existing research in the field was developed to evaluate the initiative. Based on the analysis, the LRTI passport booklet and digital app, which are central to the initiative, were found mostly aligned with gamification parameters but further improvements of the design of the initiative are needed.

Key words: gamification, linguistic risk-taking, second language learning, task-based language teaching

Résumé

La ludification est de plus en plus populaire dans la recherche sur l'acquisition de langue seconde et a été également corrélée avec une motivation et un engagement plus élevé. L'utilisation d'éléments de jeu dans des environnements non ludiques s'est avérée bénéfique ; cependant, les recherches sur la ludification et la prise de risques linguistiques sont peu nombreuses. Un risque linguistique est un acte de communication authentique dans la langue seconde des apprenants qui est susceptible de présenter un défi en raison des facteurs liés notamment à la possibilité de faire des erreurs, etc. Dans cet article, une initiative de prise de risque linguistique (IPRL) mise en œuvre sur le campus bilingue de l'Université d'Ottawa a été analysée sur la base d'un cadre fondé sur le concept de ludification. Un outil d'analyse inspiré des recherches actuelles dans

ce domaine a été développé pour évaluer l'initiative. Selon l'analyse, le passeport et l'application mobile de l'IPRL, qui sont au cœur de l'initiative, ont été jugés conformes aux paramètres de la ludification en principe, mais des améliorations supplémentaires de la conception de l'initiative sont nécessaires.

Mots-clés : ludification, prise de risque linguistique, apprentissage d'une langue seconde, enseignement des langues basé sur les tâches

Introduction

Research on the use of gameplay elements in non-game environments has shown that gameplay elements can be beneficial for language learners (Figueroa Flores, 2015). The incremental availability of language learning apps, websites, and online tools has delineated gamification, among others, as a new educational affordance (Reinhardt & Sykes, 2014). Some studies have proven the advantages of integrating game elements into second and foreign language teaching and learning (L2TL) (Figueroa Flores, 2015; Kapp, 2012; Reinhardt & Sykes, 2012). Overall, gamification elements have been shown to help address low motivation, high anxiety, negative attitude, low self-confidence, and other debilitative psychological variables that intervene in the process of learning and using a second language (L2)[1] (Reinders & Wattana, 2012).

Inspired by such work, the focus of this article is to investigate the extent and effectiveness of integrating game elements in a *Linguistic Risk-Taking Initiative* (LRTI) implemented at the officially bilingual campus of the University of Ottawa. The LRTI draws on an array of factors influencing bilingualism and second language acquisition, such as language anxiety, motivation, and willingness to communicate. The LRTI also considers pedagogical concepts such as learner autonomy, task authenticity, content-based and task-based learning, and gamification. The goal of the article is not to draw on particular data from the LRTI, which have been reported elsewhere (e.g., Slavkov, 2020; Rhéaume et al., 2021). Instead, we position this article as an exploratory conceptual-analytical work aimed at developing a tool based on the definition of gamification provided by Kapp (2012), Koster (2005), and Deterding et al. (2011) in order to evaluate the LRTI from a gamification perspective and offer directions for future development. The tool developed in this study uses, for the first time, the defining elements of game and gamification for such analysis. To our knowledge, no previous

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[1] Second language, or L2, in this article means the second official language (French or English), acknowledging that, in reality, this may be a third, fourth, and so on, language in a learner's repertoire.

rubric or framework has been identified in the literature that directly addresses evaluation of gamification. As such, this article represents an initial step in this direction.

The Linguistic Risk-Taking Initiative

The LRTI was conceived with the aim of encouraging English and French language learners to use their L2 outside the classroom (Griffiths & Slavkov, 2021; Séror & Slavkov, 2019; Slavkov & Séror, 2019), as a supplement to formal classroom learning. A linguistic risk is an authentic communicative act that learners take in their L2 and that can be considered 'risky' due to factors such as fear of making mistakes, being judged, and so on; yet, taking linguistic risks also offers opportunities for having fun, gaining a feeling of accomplishment by overcoming challenges, and ultimately acquiring new knowledge or solidifying knowledge acquired previously in the classroom (Slavkov, 2020). Choices we make throughout life can involve some level of risk (e.g., buying a house, getting married, trying new food, making friends, etc.). The level of risk can increase when, in these situations, an L2 is the medium of interaction because of "the lack of certainty and the prospect of loss or failure" (Kogan & Wallach, 1967, p. 113). One could assume that the greater the risk, the less willing learners to interact and socialize in their L2 would be. Drawing on principles of task-based language teaching, action-oriented approaches, and gamification, the LRTI therefore raises awareness about the importance of conscious and targeted linguistic risk-taking in real-life situations.

At the heart of the LRTI is a Linguistic Risk-Taking Passport and, more recently, a mobile app for English and French language learners at the University of Ottawa. The passport is designed to resemble a real passport and its pages contain a list of authentic situations, called risks, which can be taken by learners outside the classroom (e.g., approach a passer-by for directions in your L2, check out a book from the university library using your L2, order a meal at the cafeteria, submit an assignment, email a professor, attend a social event, etc.). Learners are guided and encouraged to take a selection of such risks, as appropriate for their proficiency level and personal interests, and check them off in their passports (for more details on the passport, see Slavkov 2020; Slavkov & Séror, 2019).

The first two pages of the passport feature a welcome message and a personal details page. The passport was initially developed in 2017 and contained 61 risks but has evolved over several successive cycles and currently contains more than 80 risks. Each time participants take a risk, they are expected to mark that risk as High (H), Medium (M), or Low (L) (depending on how they felt about that particular situation at the time). Most risks can be

repeated up to three times, and learners have the option of adding comments to each risk in the passport. Users can also write suggestions in a 'propose your own risk' section, for risks not already included in the passport. The program runs on a university semester basis and learners who have completed a certain number of risks by the end of the semester can submit their passports in a draw for prizes. The program does not replace classroom language teaching at the university but rather supplements it and bridges classroom learning to real-life usage outside the classroom (Griffiths & Slavkov, 2021).

As a logical sequel to the paper-based passport, the LRTI recently developed a mobile app. The app addresses some of the paper passport shortcomings: as indicated by Griffiths (2019), some participants lose their passports or forget to carry them around, while the likelihood of having their phones with them at all times is much higher. The LRTI mobile app also offers additional features. For instance, users can search for specific risks, or apply filters to choose risks from a skill-based category (Oral Interaction, Listening, Reading, Writing) or theme-based category (Leisure, On Campus, Academic, Daily Life, Technology). Users receive digital stamps after marking a risk as completed. They also progress through levels associated with the total number of risks taken in the app and a trophy with a different colour appears (from green to silver, gold, and platinum, etc.) as users incrementally add completed risks. Pop-up messages encourage further activity in the app, e.g., "Good job! Keep taking more risks", "Take 5 more risks to reach the gold level!" Another feature of the app is the availability of user statistics for the number of risks taken in weekly or monthly intervals. Although a full version of the app has been developed and piloted with learners, it has not been fully launched yet.[2]

Games and gamification

Since the advent of digital games in the 1970s, scholars and educators have examined the potential of using games more directly as learning tools (e.g., Cook, 1997). However, the idea of using games in learning dates back to Plato: "do not keep children to their studies by compulsion but by play" (ca. 370 B.C.E./1943, p. 537a). Although no single definition of gamification has received universal consensus in the literature, a common definition comes from Deterding et al. (2011) as the use of game-design elements in non-game contexts. In order to define gamification meticulously for the purpose of this study, it is important to examine the root *game* and define it. Koster (2005) states that a game is a system in which "players are engaged in an abstract challenge, defined by rules, interactivity, and feedback, that results in

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[2]The beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic affected the launch of the app with a larger pool of learners.

a quantifiable outcome often eliciting an emotional reaction" (p. 34). Taking these elements into account, the key factors of a "gameful" activity or a game can be noted as *system*, *player*, *abstractness*, *challenge*, *rules*, *interactivity*, *feedback*, *quantifiable outcome*, and *emotional reaction*. These game elements were meticulously examined in work by Koster (2005), Deterding et al. (2011), and Kapp (2012) and were used in our methodological approach to evaluate the LRTI (see the section "Study design"). Moving on to the idea of gamification, Kapp (2012) defines gamification as "using game-based mechanics, aesthetics, and game thinking to engage people, motivate action, promote learning, and solve problems" (p. 10). The elements in this definition have also been applied to the analysis of gamification in the LRTI passport and app.

Game categories

A common notion in classifying games is their intended purpose and audience. Thus, educational games can be contrasted with entertainment-based games or those with a primary purpose of advertising or political campaigning (Reinhardt & Sykes, 2014). In the context of this study, the focus of analysis is on educational games using game elements for the purpose of L2TL.

The framework introduced by Reinhardt and Sykes (2014) distinguishes the level and the type of integrating games into a learning process using three categories: *Game-enhanced*, *Game-based*, and *Game-informed*:

Game-enhanced learning involves the use of vernacular games. Vernacular games are commercially made games that are not purposefully designed for learning or teaching.

Game-based learning is described as the implementation of games that are intentionally designed for L2TL (Reinhardt and Sykes, 2014). Unfortunately, the educational technology industry has not invested significantly in developing games, apps, or software, nor has it conducted a great deal of research to investigate the effectiveness of such games (Reinhardt, 2019).

Game-informed learning is the application of game theories and elements in L2 learning environment that does not rely on the use of digital games or technology solely (Reinhardt, 2019). Game-informed learning incorporates game principles and goal-oriented game tasks into L2 learning tasks in order to gamify the learning experience. This is also known as gamification (Kapp, 2012; Reinhardt, 2019).

Study design

The first author of this article developed an analytical tool with the objective of examining the LRTI's passport booklet and mobile app (described in the section "Analysis and discussion") from the perspective of gamification. In essence, the tool represents a synthesis of the literature summarized in the same section and lists factors that are pivotal to gamified learning. It draws specifically on the work of Kapp (2012), Koster (2005), and Deterding et al. (2011) in extracting relevant elements of the definitions of game and gamification and inserting them into a rubric or an analytical checklist presented in Table 1. We loosely relate this tool in its purpose and design principles to the work of Rosell-Aguilar (2016) and Anstey & Watson (2018) though that work focuses more generally on the evaluation of digital tools and not specifically on gamification. As such, we see our tool in Table 1 as an initial contribution to systematic evaluation of gamification, which may, of course, undergo significant additional development and evolution in future work. The two research questions (RQ) formulated for this exploratory study were the following:

RQ1: To what extent are game elements, as defined in this study, present in the LRTI paper passport and digital app?

RQ2: To what extent are gamification elements, as defined in this study, present in the LRTI paper passport and digital app?

To answer the research questions, the analytical tool presented in Table 1 was applied as a framework of analysis to the LRTI passport and mobile app. Evaluating the LRTI passport and mobile app against the categories in this tool allows a systematic review of relevant features and affordances of gamification. A more detailed discussion of each element in the table is presented further in this article. Developing this analytical tool represents a novel contribution to the gamification literature since other evaluation frameworks mostly focus on video games or digital apps but not specifically on gamification, as already indicated. To our knowledge, this exploratory study is the first one to use the defining elements of game and gamification from the literature to actually analyze how gamified an L2 learning activity is. As indicated in Table 1, game elements are placed before gamification elements in the table as game elements are the precursor to making an activity gamified.

Applying the analytical tool to the LRTI was a reflective, recursive, and introspective process. During this process, two researchers independently juxtaposed each element in the tool with the features and affordances of the LRTI and then discussed them until reaching consensus over each item. Both researchers have in-depth experience with and insider knowledge of the LRTI at

Table 1

Analytical tool for evaluating gamification
(adapted from definitions by Kapp [2012] and Koster [2005])

	Factor	Description
Game elements	System	A set of interconnected rules leading learners' actions
	Abstractness	The extent of similarity to real world actions
	Challenge	The level of difficulty in completing tasks in a game
	Rules	Sequential steps that learners follow and the limits in a game
	Interactivity	The interaction among learners and with the game content
	Feedback	Positive or negative responses of the system to learners' actions
	Quantifiable outcome	The winning state; accomplishing tasks in a game
	Emotional reaction	Feelings of learners in and from a game
Gamification elements	Mechanics	Clear rules, levels, reward system, and procedures in a game
	Aesthetics	Presence of graphic and visual design in a game
	Game thinking	Presence of competitiveness or cooperation in a game
	Engagement	Presence of elements arousing and keeping learners' interest in a game
	Motivating action	Giving direction, purpose, and meaning to actions in a game
	Promoting learning	Providing chances for practice to enhance learning
	Solving problems	Opportunities for solving a problem or fulfilling a task in a game

the University of Ottawa; the second author is also the main creator of the LRTI.

Analysis and discussion

Game elements analysis

System, rules, and quantifiable outcome

According to Kapp (2012), having the system element is the most important factor in calling a learning task game-like. The rules of LRTI were explained to the learners when the passports were distributed among them by their teachers or by graduate student presenters who were members of the LRTI team. Additionally, the mission, purpose, and rules of commencing the LRTI

are presented in the beginning pages of the passport (see Figure 1).

In the case of the app, similarly, the rules and system of the game are explained in the sidebar menu (Figure 2) and in class.[3]

Figure 1
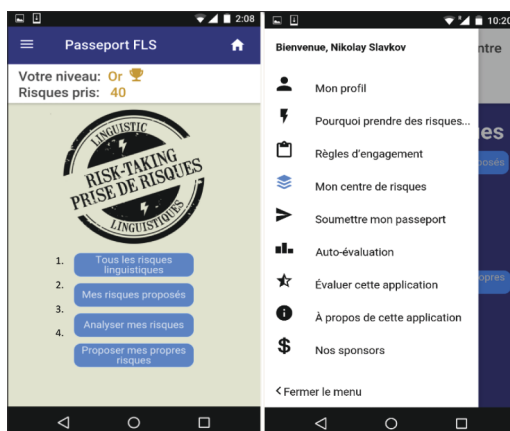*Introductory pages of the LRTI passport*

Figure 2
The menu of the LRTI mobile app

The users of the app can also submit the risks they have taken to try their chances of winning a prize. The type and number of risks in the app match the

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[3] Although a screenshot of the rules of engagement in the app is not included, they are equivalent to the rules in the paper passport displayed in Figure 1.

passport booklet. There are no discrepancies between the paper passport and the app in terms of overall system, rules or quantifiable outcome. Therefore, these three elements are incorporated into both the LRTI passport and app (that the app, however, has some enhanced features that the passport does not have).

In general, the system, rules, and outcome of the initiative were designed on the basis of a mixture of pedagogical, practical, and gamification desiderata that sometimes interacted or even competed with one another. For example, learners are required to complete a minimum of 20 risks over the course of the semester in order to qualify for entering the prize draw at the end. This number was not scientifically or pedagogically determined but was viewed as a feasible practical goal of not too many and not too few risks in the busy lives of our students over the course of one semester. From a gamification point of view, this number can be also viewed as an achievable winning state for every participant; nonetheless, students are also encouraged to take as many risks as possible, based on our pedagogical perspective of increasing the number of authentic domains in which learners engage as well as increasing the frequency of authentic language use outside the classroom. Thus, students were not limited to stop at 20 risks and our data indicate that many of them chose to take a higher number of risks. As reported in Slavkov (2020), based on a pool of participants from the first several iterations of the initiative, 65% of the learners took more than 30 risks. Furthermore, learners are free and encouraged to continue using the passport and the app beyond the end of the semester; this was based on pedagogical considerations related to the promotion of life-long learning.

As another example of the type of consideration that was applied to the system, ordering of risks and levels, or having to take a certain number of risks to unlock the next level of risks, was viewed as attractive from a gamification point of view. However, pedagogically we believed that this would not necessarily fit individual learner profiles; due to the complex linguistic and socio-psychological aspects that play into the notion of risk, a certain item in the passport may be challenging for some learners but easy for others (even if they are formally considered to be at the same level of proficiency and taking the same language class). Therefore, we chose not to categorize risks in the passport booklet and app by level (a categorization that would have also required a very challenging and potentially unreliable validation process from a practical perspective). However, keeping gamification in mind, we incorporated trophies and levels into the digital app based on the number of risks taken to encourage learners to go beyond the basic outcome of 20 risks.

Finally, we let learners choose their own risks, which suited our pedagogical, gamification, and practical objectives, taken as a whole. From a gamification point of view, we did not want to force a prescribed set of risks

onto users because some risks may be less interesting and relevant than others to a given individual. From a practical point of view, this was a simple and straightforward choice that came at no additional cost and, from a pedagogical perspective, this was driven by the concept of autonomy in language learning, where learners are free to set their own pathways at least to a certain degree.

Abstractness

On the one hand, the LRTI focuses on real actions in real life. On the other hand, learners recording the risks they have taken and marking down their level as high, medium or low in a booklet or in a phone app, involves a level of abstractness. Thus, both the passport and app have the same relatively low level of abstractness.

Challenge

The LRTI lists the activities that individuals undertake repeatedly in their lives such as writing an email, talking to a stranger or a friend, listening to music, watching a movie, etc. As these activities occur frequently in real life, they may not seem challenging. However, the challenge is present because of the language of the communication associated with these tasks. While assuming that participants typically use their preferred language in their daily interactions, the LRTI asks them to use their L2, the language in which they feel less comfortable or competent (i.e., not their preferred official language). Overcoming the fear of making mistakes, being judged by others, or appearing as not completely competent while using an L2 is a significant challenge that makes the LRTI engaging — which is similar to a game.

Interactivity

This element refers to communication with the game content and with other learners. The users of the passport can contribute to the content of the passport by adding comments to each risk and by proposing new ones. It has been reported that teachers have encouraged the use of the passport in the classroom by having learners talk about their experiences. Learners have also been paired as *risk buddies* to take linguistic risks outside the classroom (Griffiths, 2019). As a result, interaction with the game content and with other learners is available for the users of the passport.

   The app, on the other hand, does not currently have an option for interaction among users, although interaction with the content happens similarly to the passport. The app can be used individually without sharing one's experiences with other users within the tool itself, but there exists the potential to connect users via the internet (e.g., social media, etc.). Both the

app and the passport encourage interaction with other users in a similar way in the classroom, but the app per se is not yet equipped with the technology that allows interaction among users.

Feedback

The mobile version of the LRTI provides more feedback to users than the passport.[4] After taking each risk, a stamp confirming completion of an attempt and a positive pop-up message encouraging further actions are shown to the users. This form of feedback adds to the interactivity of the app in terms of interaction with game content.

The feedback to the users of the passport, on the other hand, can be provided only in the classroom by teachers and peers. The feedback in the app can be called immediate while delayed feedback is provided to the users of the passport booklet. As a result, the feedback system in the app is more aligned with the definition of game than the paper passport because the app provides the feedback to the learners continuously and consistently; conversely, providing feedback in the passport can be occasional and does not necessarily happen after completing each risk.

Emotional reaction

Finally, learners can experience the feeling of victory when they complete 20 risks and when they enter a draw to win a prize (i.e., the satisfaction of unlocking the opportunity to enter a competition for a prize and potentially additional satisfaction if one does win a prize); even taking a single risk in the app or passport could bring satisfaction (i.e., the novelty of the experience of engaging authentically in the LRTI). Some negative emotional reactions, such as embarrassment or failure, are also possible when learners take risks or when they interact with each other about their personal experiences of taking risks. However, previous data indicate that such incidents are rare (Griffiths, 2019) and in any case feelings of disappointment and even frustration can also be part of playing various other games (both digital and non-digital). As such, both the app and the paper booklet seem to have a similar level of potential emotional reaction. A summary of the game elements analysis is presented in Table 2.

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[4]Feedback here does not mean language feedback by classmates or teachers but the feedback from the system or algorithm of the app.

Table 2

Summary of game elements analysis

	Factor	Passport	App
Game elements	System and rules	Explained in class and available in the beginning pages of the booklet	Explained in class and available on sidebar menu
	Abstractness	Relatively low level of abstractness	Relatively low level of abstractness
	Challenge	Challenging enough to be engaging	Challenging enough to be engaging
	Interactivity	With content: yes With other users: discussion of risk-taking in classroom if teacher plans it; taking risks with a buddy outside of the classroom, if the teacher encourages this	With content: yes With other users: not developed in the app, but present in the same way as in the passport
	Feedback	Delayed and in classroom	Immediate and available in the app
	Quantifiable outcome	Taking 20 risks and chances of winning a prize	Taking 20 risks and chances of winning a prize
	Emotional reaction	A range of different emotions can be evoked	A range of different emotions can be evoked

Gamification elements analysis

As indicated earlier, the presence of game elements is a prerequisite for gamification. We now proceed to the gamification elements analysis based on the respective categories included in the analytical tool (see Table 1).

Mechanics

This aspect includes a system plus the reward mechanism and level description. As described earlier, both the passport and app have the system, rules of engagement, and procedure of participation. However, the reward mechanism is not fully developed in the passport. Although a few of the learners who submit their passports receive a prize, there are no immediate and constant reward mechanisms for the actions of the learners.

The LRTI app, similarly, lacks a highly developed reward system, but nonetheless it shows the level of a user based on the number of risks taken; as the level increases, the colour of the trophy (representing level of achievement) changes through several different colours ultimately reaching silver, gold, and

platinum. As a result, the app has a higher level of gamification in terms of mechanics than the passport.

Aesthetics

The app employs more colours and designs to present a more appealing interface. Different pages and options available in the app create the potential to use more aesthetic elements. The design of the passport resembles a real passport which can appeal to the users; however, compared to the app, the passport utilizes fewer aesthetic elements.[5]

Game thinking

This element brings a sense of competitiveness or cooperation to a game. Competition is the most frequent feature in games that drives players' actions and encourages them to continue playing (Reinhardt, 2019). There is no built-in competition in the passport and app. Cooperation, on the other hand, has been implemented in some of the cases of using the passports when pairs or groups of learners designated as 'risk buddies' took linguistic risks together. As a result, game thinking is present more in the form of cooperation rather than competition in the LRTI. Therefore, it can be argued that the passport and app are not fully gamified in this sense as competition or cooperation are not envisaged in the current LRTI system, and it is only the teacher who may promote game thinking in the classroom.[6]

Engagement

The LRTI capitalizes on the opportunities available at the university and in the city of Ottawa to use English or French. Students have chances to use either language abundantly on the officially bilingual campus and elsewhere, due to the somewhat bilingual character of the city of Ottawa. However, it has been noted that learners naturally tend to fall back on their dominant or preferred language when interacting with others. Helping learners discover new ways of using their L2 in daily life can make the LRTI passport and app engaging. The LRTI acknowledges the presence of risk in using L2 and encourages learners to seek such situations; taking risks is positioned as a positive, exciting, and even thrill-seeking activity. Both the passport and app are similar in terms of

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[5]This is a personal opinion of the first author. Aesthetics are highly subjective in nature and some may like the look and feel of the passport booklet more than the app; the booklet also has a stronger resemblance to a real passport, which some users may appreciate more.

[6]Adding the features of competition or cooperation in the app includes more complex coding, but it is planned for future developments.

engaging learners, although the app may be somewhat more engaging as it awards stamps and offers different levels and trophies based on the number of risks taken.

Motivating action and promoting learning

This element involves giving direction, purpose and meaning to learners' actions in the game. The list of linguistic risks provided in the app and passport booklet directs the actions of learners in the LRTI toward interactions in the L2. Completion of the passport and winning a prize gives them a purpose besides motivating them. In addition, raising awareness about the embedded risk levels in learners' daily interactions makes taking linguistic risks meaningful in the sense that they become meta-cognitively aware when they position themselves in risk situations as described in the passport or app. This awareness helps learners to be conscious of the situation and the meaning they produce via L2, which is in line with the noticing (Schmidt, 1990) and output (Swain, 1985) hypotheses. Learning can happen while taking a linguistic risk as a result of such awareness. Although chances of promoting learning explicitly are not present in the app and passport per se, self-reflection and in-classroom reflection on linguistic risk-taking experiences can promote learning.

Solving a problem

Finally, learners solve problems when they are faced with real-life tasks in their L2. Ordering a coffee at the cafeteria or asking a passerby for directions may be a trivial experience in one's first language but it involves linguistic, social, and cultural problem-solving as soon as the task is performed in the L2. To sum up, both the LRTI app and passport booklet, are gamified in the sense that participants complete real-life tasks in interacting with others in the target language. A summary of the gamification elements analysis is presented in Table 3.

To summarize the analysis addressing RQ1 and RQ2, all game elements are present in the LRTI passport and mobile app and a modest degree of gamification is present. For most items in the analytical tool, these generally apply equally to both the booklet and the app.

Discussion: The LRTI passport booklet

According to the classification of games in L2TL (Reinhardt, 2019), the LRTI passport booklet can be classified under the game-informed category as technology and digital games are not a prerequisite for making a learning task or environment gamified. The LRTI incorporates almost all game elements into the passport. According to Table 2, only two elements of interactivity and

Table 3

Summary of gamification analysis

	Factor	Passport	App
	Mechanics	No immediate and constant reward mechanisms available	Limited rewards system exists; only in the form of stamps and level trophies
	Aesthetics	Observable in the design of the passport; similarity to a real passport	More appealing digital interface than the paper passport
	Game thinking	Not developed; can be planned only by teacher in classroom	Not developed; can be planned by teacher in classroom
	Engagement	Engaging enough	Possibly more engaging due to levels, trophies, and stamps
Game elements	Motivating action	Gives direction, purpose, and meaning to learners' actions	Gives direction, purpose, and meaning to learners' actions
	Promoting learning	Can happen via reflection on LRTI experiences yet not developed in the passport	Can happen via reflection on LRTI experiences yet not developed in the app
	Solving problems	Solving the problem of overcoming the risk of interacting in L2; problem-solving in regular authentic daily life tasks	Solving the problem of overcoming the risk of interacting in L2; problem-solving in regular authentic daily life tasks

feedback do not fully comply with the game definition. Interaction with game content is present in the form of proposing additional risks and commenting on each risk. However, learners can interact only in the classroom if a teacher plans to do so during class hours. Moreover, interaction among learners is minimal in the passport. It can be argued that instant and constant interaction among learners is not feasible via the passport because of its paper-based nature. Taking game-informed learning characteristics into account plus the paper-based type of the game, a delayed form of interactivity in the form of sharing stories and experiences of taking a linguistic risk can align with the definition of gamification.

When it comes to feedback, the paper-based passport does not provide feedback to learners because, as opposed to digital and smart devices, providing instant feedback is inconceivable through a paper-based tool. However, marking down the level of a risk could be viewed as a particular form

of self-feedback that learners give themselves, based on their own perceived feeling of the risk at a given time. This type of self-feedback increases the level of self-awareness in language use, linguistic limitations, and socialization factors involved in an interaction.

Another element that is partially present in the passport is a reward mechanism. There are no immediate and constant reward options available but the cumulative actions of learners in taking risks lead to qualifying for a prize draw (i.e., after taking a minimum of 20 risks); the reward is not present with every risk taken, nor is it guaranteed when learners qualify to enter the draw. Earning and losing points or stars and keeping scores are popular forms of rewarding learners' actions in a game (Reinders, 2017) which are not incorporated in the passport. An argument, similar to the one made earlier for interactivity and feedback, can also be presented here to claim that the reward system is potentially present in a different way. It is a delayed form of reward either in the form of encouragement from a teacher or comments from classmates, besides the prize that some leaners can win after submitting the passport. Yet it seems difficult to qualify such types of reward mechanisms as truly gamified.

One major missing gamification element in the passport is game thinking, which is the inclusion of competition, cooperation, exploration, or story telling in the game. The system and rules of the passport do not develop any of the mentioned features. Game thinking can exist only if a teacher plans to incorporate some of the above features into using the passport and participating in the LRTI. Furthermore, the rules of the LRTI do not engage learners fully in the system of the game. For example, marking a risk as high, medium, or low does not affect the system or how users engage with the rules of the game. In other words, user-generated evaluations of risks are not integrated into the game itself, even though they serve a useful research purpose in providing data about learners' dispositions towards the various risks (see Griffiths & Slavkov, 2021, for more details on how the LRTI is used as a source of research data and cyclical continuous improvement). A more sophisticated plan for users' actions, beyond simply submitting the passport after taking 20 risks, can make the passport more gamified. For example, awarding more points for checking items that are perceived as high risk may be a way of achieving a better integrated gamified experience and may also motivate students to take on more challenging linguistic tasks.[7] Therefore, in order to recognize the LRTI passport as fully gamified, game thinking, one of the pivotal factors in gamification, should be developed to a higher degree.

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[7]We would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting this point.

Discussion: The LRTI mobile app

Almost all the game elements are equally present in the app, yet interaction with other learners is missing (see Table 2). Taking the digital app into consideration, it can be argued that the element of interaction with other users can be unlocked via the use of the internet. One feature of the app as distinct from the passport, which makes it more gamified, is feedback. Though limited and scripted, the app does provide instant feedback when a learner checks a risk off; this feedback comes in the form of pop-up messages such as "Good job! Keep taking more risks" or "Take 5 more risks to reach the gold level!" A completion stamp, a pop-up message and the change in the level of the user are different forms of feedback in the app. As a result of this instantaneous and immediate form of feedback, it can be argued the app is more gamified than the passport in this respect.

Moving to gamification elements, a similar pattern can be seen in Table 3 for the app. Like the passport, game thinking does not exist in the version of the app that was analyzed. Similar to the passport, the rules of the game can be modified to make learners more engaged in the system. However, more aesthetic features are utilized in the design of the app. For instance, more colors are used; adding filters to search for a specific risk makes the experience more streamlined and user-friendly; additionally, charts are available in the app to allow users to view the total number and frequency of risks they have taken as well as the types of risks they have taken (based on skills such as oral interaction, listening, reading, and writing as well as themes such as academic, professional, on campus, leisure, etc.). The other contrasting point between the app and the passport is the reward system discussed earlier.

Regarding the game category, the LRTI app can be classified under game-based L2TL if the app becomes a supplementary part of syllabuses in language courses. According to the definition of game-based L2TL presented earlier, the LRTI app is a type of game designed particularly for educational purposes and for particular context and audience with the help of technology. Therefore, the app can be considered as a digital game developed for educational purposes.

Suggestions for improving gamification in the LRTI

As already indicated, game thinking, one of the most important elements of gamification, is not fully developed in the LRTI passport and app. Game thinking can be described as the art and science of encouraging learners to continue a compelling path to mastery (Kapp, 2012). Creating a sense of competition and/or cooperation among the users of a service or a game drives their action and engagement to continue playing or learning.

It has already been mentioned that cooperation is present in some cases

where risk buddies worked together in taking linguistic risks. However, competition is probably the most recognizable element of a game especially in multiplayer ones (Reinhardt & Thorne, 2016). Therefore, competition should be involved in a way that it does not reduce motivation as reported by Hanus and Fox (2015). One way to add competition to the use of the passport is enabling learners to submit their passport more than once in a semester whenever they complete 20 risks. For instance, a leaner who has completed 60 risks would have three times higher chance of winning a prize. This can create a type of competition among learners to be engaged in the game more but not necessarily competing against each other. This is just one example of how game thinking can be injected into the LRTI.

Regarding interactivity, another minimally present element in the passport, an activity can be added to the passport where learners ask their classmates about their most challenging risk, easiest one, most interesting one, and so on. This activity helps them to exchange more stories and experiences of taking linguistic risks. There are some sections at the end of the passport where learners self-assess their experiences, write comments, and propose risks, but they are designed in a way that presupposes they be filled individually. More, interactive tasks such as filling out sections in pairs or as a group can be added to the passport to make it more gamified.

The app has greater potential for change than the paper passport. The system of rewards can be developed in the app to its full extent. Badges can be given to the users, for example, when they complete a certain number of risks marked as high. Badges can also represent a special theme in the app that tells a story. For instance, the badges can be the landmarks of different cities in the world and the user can be asked to collect all of them by taking more linguistic risks. These types of modifications to the app can also generate more interaction among learners when they share their new achievements. The addition of a leader board would be another feature to enhance the reward mechanism and competition, much as it is done in games.

Personalization of the app is another feature that can make the game more appealing. Using avatars can help the user build an identity in the game. This can lead to establishing purpose and meaning in the use of the LRTI app. Finally, connectivity and networking can unlock numerous other affordances in the app and promote learning by increased socialization (Reinhardt, & Zander, 2011). One of the many affordances of connectivity is the possibility to add the element of game thinking. For example, when learners are notified of a leading user taking a particular risk, or when they can see the most frequently taken risks by others, or risks that are marked as "H" by others, they may be motivated or feel compelled to take these linguistic risks as well. These are some of the many modifications that can be included in the app and tailored to

the needs of the learners to promote L2 learning.

To sum up, the app and the passport employed most elements of game and gamification to a similar extent. As a result, it can be questioned whether it is worth developing the app giving the complexity of coding and time required. The answer to this question is a resounding *yes* because the app has a very high potential in terms of user stats, reward system, connectivity with others, digital interactions, and immediate feedback.

Conclusion

Abundant opportunities of using French or English on campus at the University of Ottawa provide learners of either language with numerous authentic opportunities to practice their language skills. The LRTI passport booklet and digital app serve as potential tools to capture and document the nature of these activities as well as the degree to which learners were engaged and motivated by them. This study examined the extent of gamification utilized in the LRTI and outlined some future directions. The evaluation tool that was developed, based on the work of Kapp (2012) and Koster (2005) and dedicated specifically to gamification, represents one of the contributions of the study; however, the tool is only exploratory and may need future fine-tuning and re-development. To our knowledge, currently there are no other evaluation tools or rubrics in the literature that focus specifically on gamification analysis. Based on the results of the analysis, the LRTI passport and app can be considered gamified enough to encourage French and English learners in taking linguistic risks. The level of gamification is modest at this point but there is a vast potential for future development, especially in the case of the app.

Acknowledgments

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Investigating the dynamics of change in second language willingness to communicate

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Abstract

For years, researchers have viewed willingness to communicate (WTC) as a personality-based, trait-like tendency and employed quantitative measures, seemingly overlooking the WTC changes during communications. A new line of inquiry, however, has taken a dynamic approach to investigating the WTC changes and the factors triggering them during communications. The present mixed-methods study incorporated an idiodynamic method with 20 Farsi-speaking English as a Second Language participants who performed three-minute speaking tasks, rated their WTC changes, and attended stimulated recall interviews. A between-subjects repeated measures analysis of variance showed a statistically significant difference in the participants' WTC from task to task. The WTC variation patterns were also clustered into seven categories that visualized the dynamics of WTC changes. In vivo coding of the stimulated recall interviews produced seven different categories of factors including possession of supporting ideas, individual, contextual, organizational, lexis-related, and grammar-related factors as well as the participants' perceptions of their performance.

Key words: dynamic WTC, idiodynamic, complex dynamic systems

Résumé

Les chercheurs ont considéré la volonté de communiquer (VDC) comme une tendance basée sur la personnalité, semblable à un trait de caractère, et ont utilisé des mesures quantitatives, semblant ignorer les changements de la VDC pendant les communications. Cependant, un nouveau courant de recherche a adopté une approche dynamique pour étudier les changements à la VDC, ainsi que les facteurs qui les déclenchent pendant la communication. La présente étude à méthode mixte a incorporé une méthode idiodynamique avec 20 participants en anglais langue seconde qui parlent farsi. Ils ont effectué des tâches d'expression orale de trois minutes, ils ont évalué leurs changements de VDC et ont participé à des entrevues de rappel stimulé. Une analyse de variance à mesures répétées entre les sujets a montré une différence statistiquement significative

dans la VDC des participants d'une tâche à l'autre. Les tendances de variation de la VDC ont également été regroupées en sept catégories qui ont permis de visualiser la dynamique des changements de la VDC. Le codage in vivo des entrevues de rappel stimulé a produit sept catégories différentes de facteurs allant de la possession d'idées de soutien, à des facteurs individuels, contextuels, organisationnels, liés au lexique et à la grammaire, ainsi qu'à la perception qu'ont les participants de leur performance.

Mots-clés : volonté de communiquer (VDC), méthode idiodynamique, systèmes dynamiques complexes

Introduction

There has been a major shift in the ways willingness to communicate (WTC) is viewed in the past three decades. The personality-based, trait-like notion (McCroskey & Baer, 1985) instigated a large body of research that mainly used quantitative methods. Such correlational and quantitative means would only allow researchers to access "a single snapshot of the processes" (MacIntyre, 2007, p. 572) that can potentially be influenced by over 30 variables (MacIntyre et al., 1998; Nematizadeh, 2019) and thus undergo change. The pyramid-shaped heuristic model of situational WTC proposed by MacIntyre et al. (1998), triggered the shift in the ways researchers viewed WTC and provided new insights into the transient and enduring variables that underlie WTC. Later, the introduction of complex dynamic systems theory (CDST) in fields of second language acquisition (Larsen-Freeman, 1997) and L2 individual differences (IDs) (Dörnyei, 2009) encouraged a growing number of studies that viewed IDs variables, like WTC, motivation, or L2 self, as complex dynamic systems (MacIntyre & Legatto, 2011; MacIntyre & Serroul, 2015; Mercer, 2015).

Heuristic model of variables influencing WTC

The present study partly aims to investigate factors that trigger change to WTC, and the pyramid model of WTC (MacIntyre et al., 1998) provides a comprehensive account of many of these factors, a collective force of which shape WTC. The model (Figure 1) is comprised of six levels, with the three lower levels featuring the enduring and stable factors such as social and individual context (e.g., personality and intergroup climate), affective-cognitive context (e.g., intergroup attitudes, social situation and communicative competence), and motivational propensities (e.g., interpersonal motivation, intergroup and L2 self-confidence). The top three levels involve more transient and situation-specific influences, including:
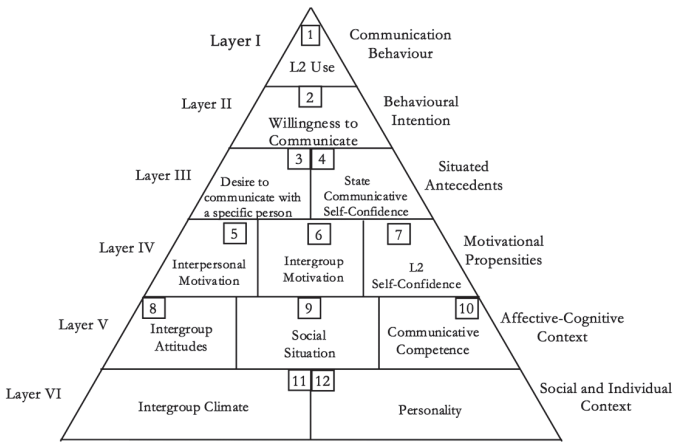
Figure 1
Heuristic models of variables influencing WTC
(Republished with permission of John Wiley & Sons from MacIntyre et al., 1998, p. 547;
permission conveyed through Copyright Clearance Center, Inc.)

1. situated antecedents (e.g., desire to communicate with a specific person and state communicative self-confidence),

2. behavioural intentions (WTC), and

3. communication behaviour (L2 use).

The pyramid shows how multiple variables could serve in shaping WTC and culminate in L2 use. The model, as MacIntyre (2020) stated, led to embracing the theory of complex dynamic systems as a framework to study WTC.

Complex dynamic systems theory

Dynamic systems are open and dynamic, comprise interacting elements and agents, and self-organize to adapt to new environments (Thelen & Smith, 1994). Dynamic systems have typically been associated with concepts such as change, dynamicity, and evolution. van Geert (1994), for instance, conceptualized them as a set of subsystems that interact and influence each other over time. These changes shape the external behaviour of the system when interacting with other systems. On the other hand, the interactions of a system with external influences/systems may also affect the states of its subsystems and alter the system's subsequent behaviour. Such internal and external interactions trigger changes that make dynamic systems nonlinear, which is a behaviour characteristic of L2 systems. The pioneering work of Larsen-Freeman (1997) pointed to the similarities between CDST and SLA,

which were later supported by other studies (de Bot et al., 2007; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008). Later, some empirical studies adopted CDST to examine ID variables, such as approach/avoidance motivation (MacIntyre & Serroul, 2015), L2 self (Irie & Ryan, 2015; Mercer, 2015), motivation, anxiety, and self-efficacy (Piniel & Csizér, 2015), or the developmental patterns of teachers' motivation (Hiver, 2014).

Change in complex dynamic systems

de Bot et al. (2007) proposed CDST as an overall theory to explain SLA, identifying four common characteristics, including:

1. sensitive dependence on initial conditions;

2. variation/change in and among individuals;

3. complete interconnectedness of subsystems; and

4. emergence of attractor states.

The following section will exclusively discuss the change property as the central focus of this article.

Dynamic systems are dynamic due to the interaction between two or more interlinked subsystems that change over time and interact with each other (Waninge et al., 2014). There is no cause-effect relationship between the subsystems and, therefore, "effect is disproportionate to the cause" (Larsen-Freeman, 1997, p. 142). Hence, the magnitude of change that each subsystem undergoes varies as does the size of the effect factors exert upon each other, making the system nonlinear. Overall, change in dynamic systems is not necessarily attributable to one single cause and there is more than one factor at play.

The pyramid model demonstrated the complex — having multiple constituents — nature of L2 WTC and the multiple factors underlying it. Assuming that these factors, subsystems of WTC, undergo change over time and that they are in constant interaction with other subsystems, it is plausible to think that such changes produce further changes in the system. In fact, it has been argued in both CDST (Larsen-Freeman, 1997) and WTC (MacIntyre & Legatto, 2011; Nematizadeh & Wood, 2021) literature that small changes within a system may bring about greater changes elsewhere in the system — what is commonly known as the *butterfly effect* (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008). This effect renders the system nonlinear as the change and its magnitude are unpredictable. As an illustration, the *desire to communicate with a specific person* (in Layer III under situated antecedent) of the pyramid model suggests that one's WTC may rise because of the presence of an interlocutor that an

L2 speaker feels more comfortable communicating with. This could also improve the *state communicative self-confidence* of the speaker, which is another factor within the same layer of the pyramid. By the same token, one may display lower WTC due to the presence of a certain interlocutor. As can be seen, the situated factors may interact and affect each other. The same applies to other factors. For instance, Nematizadeh and Wood (2019) found an interaction between WTC, vocabulary retrieval, and the linguistic performance of L2 participants who performed communicative tasks. They stated that once the participants struggled with retrieving lexical items required to communicate their points, they lost WTC as they perceived their speech as dysfluent. This explains how the interactions between cognitive lexical retrieval, WTC, and perceived linguistic performance bring about change in the WTC system.

Empirical studies such as the above look at per-second changes of WTC and are still in their infancy. Therefore, this study is one further step in that direction to gather more compelling evidence of the nature and patterns of WTC changes as well as the factors triggering them.

Literature review

Conceptualizing dynamic WTC

McCroskey and Baer (1985) conceptualized WTC as a relatively unchanging phenomenon. Later, MacIntyre et al. (1998) defined L2 WTC as "a readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with a specific person or persons, using a L2" (p. 547), focusing on its situational changes. Kang (2005) also studied the situational fluctuations of L2 WTC qualitatively and defined WTC as "an individual's volitional inclination towards actively engaging in the act of communication in a specific situation, which can vary according to interlocutor(s), topic, and conversational context, among other potential situational variables" (p. 291). These definitions show how our understanding of WTC has evolved from a fixed to a changing variable over the past three decades, justifying the use of a dynamically-informed approach to examining WTC. Further to this, MacIntyre (2007) argues that one's motivation to communicate undergoes momentary changes, urging per-second investigations:

> At any moment a learner might feel both motivated to learn and inhibited by anxiety because of the culmination of converging, conflicting processes. Such processes lead to both approach and avoidance tendencies, operating simultaneously, waxing and waning in salience from moment to moment. (p. 572)

Given the above argument and the effect of several factors such as individual, affective, cognitive, contextual, linguistic, or their combinations on WTC (MacIntyre, 2007; Nematizadeh, 2019) as L2 communication unfolds, the

WTC research needs to focus on the nature of change and the factors triggering it.

The dynamic line of WTC research could be categorized based on the timescale used to study the variable. The first category is concerned with the qualitative studies that looked at the changes on longer timescales (class durations, weeks, etc.) and those that adopted smaller ones (seconds, minutes, etc.).

Studies adopting long timescales

One of the very first attempts to observe change in WTC was a qualitative study by Kang (2005), who collected data over an eight-week period and attributed the changes to the interactions between situational (topic, interlocutor, and context) and psychological (excitement, responsibility, and security) variables. This, from a CDST perspective, resembles the way subsystems interact with each other. Kang further argued that the situational WTC, which emerged from a given context, could interact with trait WTC and display unpredictable or nonlinear behaviour, which is also characteristic of dynamic systems. Cao and Philp's (2006) qualitative study, which examined classroom WTC using self-reported questionnaires and actual WTC behaviour using observations and interviews for a month, found that factors like group size, topic and interlocutor familiarity, medium of communication, and cultural background triggered fluctuations in WTC. In another study, Cao (2011) studied WTC in two phases for a total of 23 weeks and found that topic and task familiarity, linguistic proficiency, group size, perceived communication opportunities, personality and self-confidence, emotions, and reliance on L1 were the main factors triggering WTC changes. MacIntyre et al. (2011) focused on high school students' WTC and UnWTC using a focused essay technique for six weeks and revealed that students' WTC or UnWTC was stimulated by an interaction of linguistic development, L2 self-development, and non-linguistic factors. They also reported that factors of interlocutor and context influenced WTC. Additionally, the students were most willing to communicate within immersion classroom settings and least willing when they were unsure of the answer, afraid of making mistakes or being corrected by a friend. Other similar studies, which have observed evidence of change in WTC on long timescales (e.g., semester, months), have attributed the changes to cognitive, affective, linguistic factors, and classroom environment (Peng, 2012), individual and environmental (Cao, 2014), confidence, motivation, and personality (Cameron, 2015), and personal and group-related factors (Mystkowska-Wiertelak, 2021).

Studies adopting short timescales

Short-timescale studies of WTC have been recently making headway, pioneered by MacIntyre and Legatto (2011) who developed an idiodynamic methodology (MacIntyre, 2012) that incorporated both qualitative and quantitative data. The idiodynamic method involves video-recording a participant as he/she is completing a communicative task. The participant then views the recordings using a Windows-based application to help him/her with recalling his/her thoughts and rating a variable like WTC moment by moment by clicking 'increase' or 'decrease' on the computer screen. The application then outputs a bitmap graph illustrating per-second changes and an Excel sheet containing the corresponding numerical values of the ratings, which are used in a stimulated recall procedure to delve deep into the changes recorded by the participants. MacIntyre and Legatto (2011) had their participants complete short speaking tasks consecutively on eight topics and observed varying levels of WTC that emerged as the participants moved from one topic to another. Some participants abandoned an oral task early on upon finding the topic/task unfavorable, despite their ability to carry through when presented with different topics. The study also found that lexical retrieval failures lowered WTC. Another idiodynamic study by Mulvaney (2015), who incorporated semi-structured interviews, found evidence of WTC fluctuations and reported that WTC emerged situationally as a dynamic system that is part of "a larger context of interacting elements and systems which include micro-scale and macro-scale temporal, psychological, and socio-cultural components" (p. 71). Other studies using the idiodynamic method have observed and attributed WTC changes to cognitive, affective, and linguistic factors (Wood, 2016) and self-perceived fluency and cognitive factors like struggling with lexical retrieval and sentence constructions (Nematizadeh & Wood, 2019).

There have been a few mainly qualitative studies, mostly in Polish contexts, which adopted shorter timescales to monitor WTC changes. For instance, a study by Pawlak and Mystkowska-Wiertelak (2015), that monitored advanced learners' WTC in paired communicative tasks every thirty seconds, found that WTC was "affected by a multitude of influences that are intricately interwoven, interact in unpredictable ways, and are often themselves in a state of flux" (p. 8). Further, they reported the effect of factors like topic, speech planning time, freedom to express one's opinion, interlocutor, linguistic resources, generating appropriate ideas as well as individual differences. A partly qualitative study by Pawlak et al. (2015) investigated WTC using grids that the participants completed every five minutes in a classroom context. Through other data collection tools, like questionnaires and observations during conversation classes, the researchers found that WTC behaved like dynamic systems, mainly due to unpredictable, multi-level interactions

between the contextual and individual variables, including topic, task, and learner-related variables.

Almost all the above studies are qualitative and thus based on a small number of participants and limited data. Therefore, there is a need for larger-scale qualitative data to collect substantial evidence concerning the factors that contribute to WTC changes. It is believed that the bulk of qualitative data will not only inform pedagogical practices that will contribute to classroom WTC and student engagement but will also provide a clearer picture of what goes on inside the L2 speakers' minds when engaging in speaking tasks. In addition, there is very little to learn about the patterns of change in WTC literature, and this study sets out to bridge this gap. To this end, the present study aims to address the following research questions:

1. To what extent does WTC vary across four mainly monologic speaking tasks? What do the during-tasks WTC variations look like?

2. To what factors do the participants attribute their WTC changes (rises and declines)?

Methods

Participants

This study is part of a large project that employed a dynamic systems perspective to investigate WTC and L2 speech fluency. This article, however, focuses on the WTC variations and their corresponding properties. To this end, a homogenous group of 20 Farsi-speaking ESL participants was recruited upon obtaining the ethics clearance in two Canadian universities. A non-random purposive sampling method (Dörnyei, 2007) allowed for selecting participants that possessed certain characteristics based on the objectives of the research. This technique permitted the researcher to recruit participants who were mainly capable of communicating their experiences and opinions in a reflective, expressive, and articulate manner (Bernard, 2006; Spradley, 1979).

All participants ranged in age from 25 to 32, spoke Farsi as their first language (L1) and English as L2, had lived in Canada for a period of six months to a year, were graduate students of an engineering program, and had scored between six and seven on the IELTS speaking scale of one to nine, or an equivalent score on a different proficiency test in the year prior to the data collection.

Instruments

The two instruments used in the present study were SPSS and NVivo. SPSS is a quantitative data analysis application that was used in this study to compare

the mean dynamic WTC for each session. NVivo is a qualitative data analysis application that is used when researchers are working with mainly textual data. In this study, NVivo facilitated the creation and integration of codes/factors that influenced WTC, as indicated by the participants in the stimulated recall interviews.

Data collection

Four individual sessions were scheduled with each participant over a two-week period. During the first sessions, participants were provided with a short description of the project in Farsi to ensure consent before they read and signed the consent forms. Participants were also verbally provided with the definition of WTC proposed by MacIntyre et al. (1998) to have a clear understanding of the variable they were about to rate. Each session, the participants completed mainly monologic tasks that involved describing a set of images focused on a new topic for approximately three minutes while being video recorded. Monologic tasks have been widely used in previous WTC research (MacIntyre & Legatto, 2011; Mystkowska-Wiertelak & Pawlak, 2014; Nematizadeh, 2019; Nematizadeh & Wood, 2019). In the context of this study, these tasks lent themselves well to the idiodynamic method where participants focused on their own speech rather than being distracted by other interlocutors. Immediately after, they viewed their recorded video once or twice depending on how comfortable they were rating their WTC. All the participants were given a chance to experiment with the idiodynamic application to learn how to navigate it efficiently. Once ready, they rated their WTC while viewing the video-recording. The application generated bitmap graphs that were used along with the video-recordings to facilitate the subsequent stimulated recall tasks (Gass & Mackey, 2007), wherein the participants commented on the WTC shifts in Farsi. More specifically, the researcher would pause the recording upon spotting WTC fluctuations to allow the participants to explain the changes. Whenever participants struggled to recall their thought processes, the researcher would rewind to help them with the recall. The stimulated recall interviews were also recorded for qualitative analysis.

Data analysis

Data analysis was conducted in two stages that involved qualitative and quantitative procedures. The idiodynamic application generated Excel spreadsheets containing the participants' moment-by-moment WTC ratings, which were used to compute the mean dynamic WTC for each task. The means were used in a quantitative test to measure the WTC variation across the four tasks for each participant. The visual output, or the bitmap graphs, were analyzed qualitatively for the WTC variation patterns during the tasks.

The second stage of the analysis was partly performed during the stimulated recall interviews and partly later. Some initial coding was done and field notes, including codes concerning the factors causing shifts to WTC along with the exact timing in seconds of those WTC shifts, were taken. Another source of codes was available from a pilot study (Nematizadeh & Wood, 2019) that had produced a list of the factors triggering change to WTC. These codes included relevant educational background, discussing personal experience or interest, topic familiarity/transitions, hesitating between ideas, idea retrieval, lexical knowledge/retrieval/repetitions, inaccurate language, self-monitoring speech, perception of dysfluency, jotted-down notes, and access to picture prompts. Access to this code list significantly facilitated the final coding in NVivo. Next, the stimulated recall interviews of five randomly selected participants were transcribed verbatim, translated into English literally, and *in vivo* coded. *In vivo* coding is defined as using "the terms used by [participants] themselves" (Strauss, 1987, p. 33). Datasets of the five participants, which constituted 25% of the entire data, were coded. These were believed to represent the codes that would have emerged from the remaining datasets. At this point, with 31 factors categorized into seven categories, a point of saturation was achieved. Saturation, in the context of qualitative research, is defined as a point where "no new information seems to emerge during coding, that is, when no new properties, dimensions, conditions, actions/interactions, or consequences are seen in the data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 136). The remaining data were assigned the corresponding codes that had already emerged.

Results

WTC variations across and during tasks

The first part of research question one aimed to examine the extent to which WTC varied during and across the four speaking tasks. In doing so, a within-subjects repeated measures ANOVA test was conducted to determine if the participants' mean dynamic WTC varied significantly from task to task. As can be seen in Table 1, the statistical analysis showed that WTC varied statistically significantly from task to task ($F_{(3, 57)} = 3.092$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$). As illustrated in Table 2, the group dynamic WTC was averaged for each task to represent the mean WTC pertaining to each task, while the standard deviation (SD) shows the magnitude of changes, with greater SD showing greater variability. The group displayed higher WTC on average in the first task (food), noticeably lower in the second (online vs. on-campus education) and third (technology) tasks, and slightly higher in the fourth (transportation problems) task. It should be noted that the topics had been piloted with

a similar group of participants (Nematizadeh, 2019) using a background knowledge questionnaire (Khabbazbashi, 2017).

Table 1

ANOVA between dynamic WTC and speaking tasks

Source		df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial η^2
Topic/ task	Sphericity assumed	3	0.653	3.092	0.034	0.14

Table 2

Group average dynamic WTC and SDs

Tasks	1	2	3	4
Group mean WTC	0.66	0.3	0.27	0.34
SD (avg.)	1.48	0.78	0.68	0.55

The second part of research question one aimed to monitor and identify WTC patterns of change. To this end, WTC variations were measured using the Excel file outputs of the idiodynamic application. The Excel outputs contained the numerical values pertaining to second-by-second changes of WTC for each task. The numerical values were first averaged to calculate mean dynamic WTC, which is consistent with the method used by MacIntyre and Legatto (2011). Then an Excel formula was used to compute the magnitude of WTC changes or standard deviation (SD), which is in line with MacIntyre and Serroul (2015).

As can be seen in Table 3, a great deal of variability is observed in the idiodynamic ratings of WTC, where most of the changes are positive, suggesting a high WTC, as indicated in Figure 2, whereas a few instances display a negative trend, whereby the participants' WTC was mostly low. For instance, Niki's WTC changed for an average of 1.24 times per second during Task 1, Saba's WTC underwent very few fluctuations (0.03 times per second) in Task 3, or Sepehr's WTC did not change at all in Task 4. As per SDs, Hero's WTC changes in Task 1 showed the greatest magnitude of all (SD = 2.68), while a majority of SDs turned out to be less than 1.

Evidence of change

In addition to the dynamic WTC and SDs, the variability patterns of 80 bitmap graphs were qualitatively analysed in terms of positivity, negativity, and frequency of change, and were clustered around seven major patterns. The

Table 3

Participant-specific dynamic WTC and variability pattern by topic

Participant	Task 1			Task 2								
	Dynamic WTC	Dynamic SD	Variability pattern	Dynamic WTC	Dynamic SD	Variability pattern	Dynamic WTC	Dynamic SD	Variability pattern	Dynamic WTC	Dynamic SD	Variability pattern
Niki	1.24	1.76	GP	0.59	0.88	GP	0.54	0.77	P	0.77	0.85	P
Pouya	0.47	1.22	GP	0.00	0.43	IPN	0.03	0.43	IPN	0.05	0.37	GP
Linda	0.26	1.01	GP	0.16	0.65	GP	0.091	0.37	GP	0.00	0.00	GP
Sara	0.66	1.20	GP	0.16	0.69	GP	0.08	0.72	IPN	0.45	1.01	GP
Majid	−0.21	1.60	RC	0.00	0.13	FS	0.006	0.11	FS	−0.00	0.15	FS
Pedi	0.14	1.36	P	0.04	0.23	FS	0.01	0.12	FS	−0.06	1.36	N
Samaneh	1.46	1.78	GP	0.67	1.12	P	0.57	1.003	GP	0.43	0.88	P
Mohsen	1.45	1.80	GP	0.64	1.12	P	0.55	0.90	P	0.27	0.58	P
Saba	0.71	1.78	GP	0.13	0.53	GP	0.06	0.57	IPN	0.07	0.47	P
Lili	1.58	1.48	GP	1.06	1.32	GP	0.65	1.16	GP	0.12	0.46	GP
Mo	1.10	1.85	GP	0.14	0.56	GP	0.008	0.17	FS	0.28	0.73	GP
Sahra	0.25	1.73	GP	0.00	0.45	GP	−0.08	0.34	GN	0.16	0.40	GP
Hero	1.16	2.68	GP	1.02	1.72	FS	0.13	0.43	GP	0.23	0.56	NR
Sepehr	−0.03	0.52	IPN	0.00	0.09	GP	0.009	0.15	IPN	0.00	0.00	P
William	1.18	1.75	GP	0.47	1.16	GP	2.00	1.94	GP	4.03	0.95	GP
Anita	−0.08	0.97	IPN	0.21	0.60	P	0.14	1.83	GP	0.05	0.36	P
Soha	0.89	1.32	GP	0.13	0.45	GP	0.00	0.20	IPN	0.05	0.23	GP
Mehrzad	0.82	1.68	GP	0.02	1.19	P	0.05	0.64	GP	0.05	0.59	P
Akbar	0.05	1.46	RC	0.79	1.63	RC	0.37	0.92	GP	−0.08	0.58	RC
Kaami	0.23	0.65	GP	−0.15	0.76	GP	0.33	0.98	GP	0.062	0.60	GN
Average	0.66	1.48	—	0.30	0.78	—	0.27	0.68	—	0.34	0.55	—

Roller coaster = RC, Generally positive = GP, Generally negative = GN, Infrequent positive & negative = IPN, Positive = P, Negative = N, FS = Few Shifts, No rating = NR

patterns are ranked from the least to most recurrent along with their respective frequency in Figure 2.
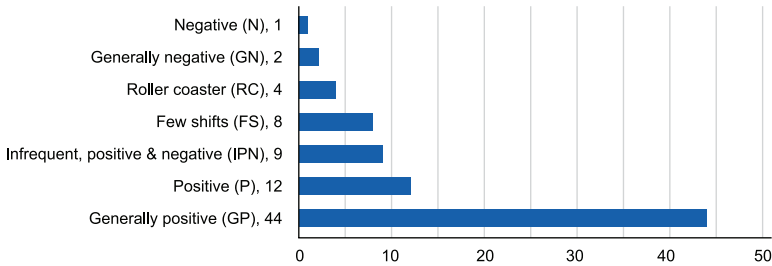

Figure 2

Patterns of WTC changes

A sample of each pattern is also provided in Figures 3 to 9. The most recurrent pattern ($N = 44$) indicated generally positive WTC throughout the tasks. The *generally positive pattern*, as illustrated below (Figure 3), involved graphs with over 90% positive rating of WTC and very few negative ratings. The *positive pattern* was the second recurrent type of pattern ($N = 12$), whereby the participants had maintained positive WTC throughout an entire task and reported no decline (Figure 4). The *infrequent, positive and negative pattern*, which ranked the third ($N = 9$), involved tasks wherein WTC fluctuated rather infrequently, but when it did, the changes were equally positive and negative (Figure 5). The next recurrent pattern of variability, called the *few shifts* pattern, was observed in eight graphs and involved very infrequent changes, in most cases once or twice (Figure 6). These changes were sometimes positive and sometimes negative. Next was the *roller-coaster* pattern ($N = 4$) and involved graphs wherein WTC fluctuated frequently both positively and negatively (Figure 7). As opposed to the *generally positive pattern*, there were two bitmap graphs, called *generally negative* (Figure 8) that represented a low WTC during the tasks. The two cases showed fluctuations with over 90% of negative ratings of WTC and very few positive ratings. As can be seen in Figure 9, in the *negative* pattern, two of the bitmap graphs showed only negative fluctuations in WTC during the tasks, and the changes were not frequent.

Factors triggering WTC variations

The second research question looked into the factors that the participants attributed to their WTC changes (rises and declines). After qualitative coding of the stimulated recall interviews, seven categories of factors (Figure 10) and a total of 31 factors emerged. The categories along with their corresponding
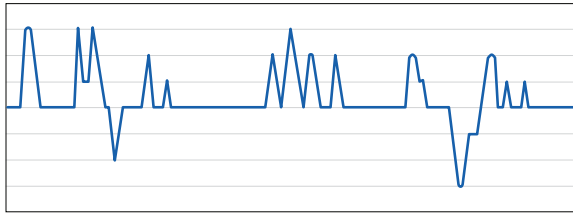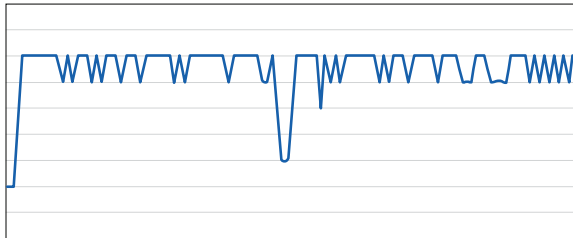
Figure 3
Generally positive pattern sample
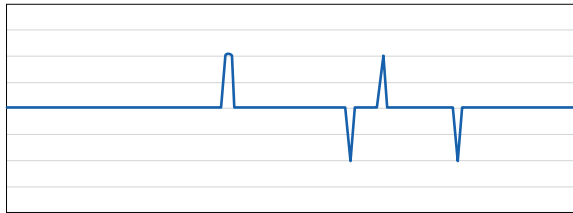

Figure 4
Positive pattern sample

Figure 5
Infrequent, positive, and negative pattern sample

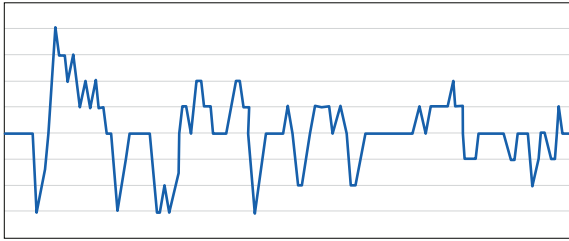**Figure 6**
Few shifts pattern sample

Figure 7
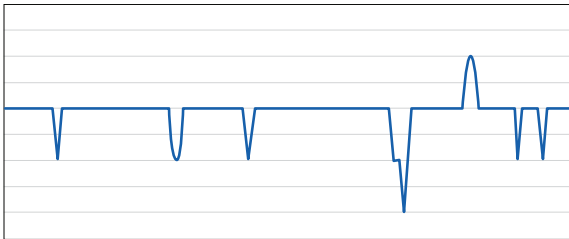*Roller coaster pattern sample*

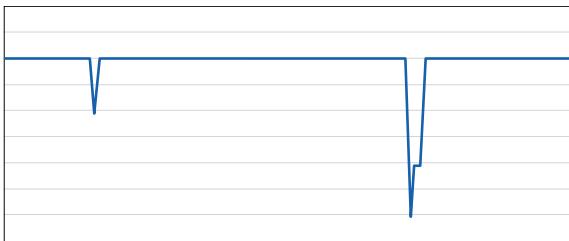**Figure 8**
Generally negative pattern sample

Figure 9
Negative sample Pattern

factors will be presented from the most to the least recurrent below. Due to space limitations, only one or two examples of each category will be provided. The degrees to which WTC rose or declined will be presented using numerals at the exact location where the rating was executed by the participants.

Possession or lack of supporting ideas

Of a total of 584 codes assigned, 29% involved instances where the participants' WTC fluctuated due to factors related to the content message or supporting ideas. These factors included possession or lack of supporting
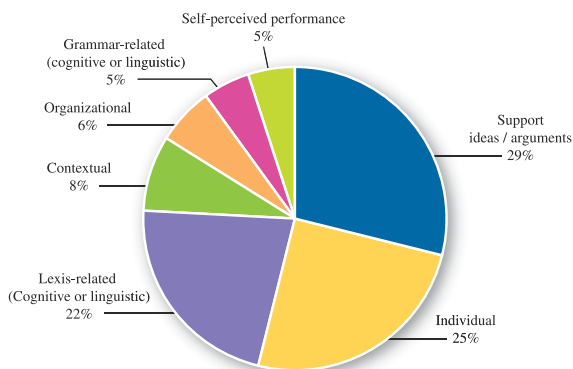
Figure 10
Factors affecting WTC

ideas or examples, impromptu discussion of ideas, perceived inappropriacy or irrelevance of idea, perceived successful argument, or unsuccessful communication of ideas. In one instance, Pedi's WTC rose when he chose to share a daily personal experience that he considered relevant to the task. He recalled his daily experience of seeing the youth glued to their electronic devices on the bus, which he found very unusual when comparing them to the youth who would typically spend more time talking to each other on public transit back home. He believed this comparison helped him generate ideas and support his argument, and improved his WTC:

> these things are the positive things of the (silence) (em) (silence) technology and the mobile phone and the other things (+2) (silence) but also it has some disadvantages[1]

In another instance, Mo's WTC went up when he managed to retrieve the idea of dining out. He explained that he loved going out to eat and had discussed dining out with someone in English, which is why he felt prepared and willing to discuss it here:

> if I wanted to have fast-food I usually go out so (+5) (silence) whenever I go out (silence) that kind of (um) (silence) fast-food or junk food might come to my mind to (silence) have it (silence) just to save time and then get full and come back to focus on my (silence) stuff

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[1]Conventions:
– (positive or negative number) = participants' WTC ratings
– (silence) = silent pauses
– (um) or (em) = filled pauses

Individual factors

This category involved fluctuations of WTC due to factors unique to the participants. More specifically, in many situations where the participants ran out of supporting ideas, they tended to access their life experiences, beliefs, interests, accomplishments, memories, or daily routines/habits. As an illustration, Akbar's high WTC in the excerpt below grew out of simply casting his mind back to a conversation with his university professors, staff, and classmates for class projects or for discussing employment opportunities. He further explained that whenever he discusses personal experiences, he does not need to generate ideas because they are already available, and he only needs to sort out sentence structures and lexical items:

> I should say that when you have the chance to study on campus (+2) (silence) you can have interaction with other people such as students, (+3) staff, professor

Another example of the individual factors was when Sara discussed her personal belief concerning online education. While being a team-worker herself, as an employer, she would like to hire someone who is a self-motivated, independent individual that could complement her. She thought that those who take online courses have learned to work independently, which is why she preferred to hire those who have completed online degrees. This is how she justified her attitudes and her WTC increased as she was capable of logically expressing her belief:

> Sara: but if I want to hire someone I prefer to hire someone who did online education
> Interviewer: And why is that?
> Sara: (um) because (em) they are more self-motivated as I said before they can work by themselves (+5) (em) better than (silence) on campus students (silence) and that's it

Lexis-related factors (linguistic/cognitive)

The third group of factors that promoted or lowered WTC involved a variety of lexical issues that included lexical knowledge, retrieval, appropriacy, and repetition. Some of the participants displayed WTC if they possessed the required lexical knowledge about a topic prior to or during the task. As an example, when discussing dieting, Mo's WTC rose mainly because he felt confident as he possessed the vocabulary required for the task. To stay in shape, he had searched and read widely on the topic and thus had learned quite a few lexical items:

> for diet I always wanted to for a diet if (silence) can end up (silence) with better shape for me (+3) (silence) always wanted to be in a good shape (+1) (silence)

Another recurring category that was found to affect WTC was the cognitive demand imposed by retrieving vocabulary during the tasks. Retrieving involves searching and identifying an appropriate item for a context and articulating it. The general idea was that whenever a lexical item was smoothly retrieved, it would improve WTC mainly because the participants were able to produce fluent speech. On the other hand, when participants struggled with lexical retrieval, they ended up pausing, which not only troubled speech fluency, but also created a sense of dissatisfaction with their performance that lowered their WTC. One first example occurred when Niki, in search of some academic fields of study to help her compare which majors could benefit from online and on-campus education, lost WTC because the retrieval took her several seconds:

> and (−3) (−1) (silence) about (em) (silence) (em) I think one of the (silence) (em) (silence) fields (silence) that maybe online education (silence)

Contextual factors

This category involved situations where topical knowledge, familiarity, or transition, and the effects of the interviewer and camera influenced the participants' WTC. In an instance, Majid's WTC rose because his educational background had offered him the knowledge he needed to speak about online education. He mentioned that he had completed a master's back in Iran, and the program he was doing at the time of data collection was a hybrid; that is, it combined both online and on-campus components. Therefore, to support his arguments, he simply needed to review his educational background and experience, which explained his high WTC:

> again when you are outside of the country when you can when you can't participate in the class online helps a lot (silence) when you need (em) to use the (em) all the time of the class when you (+1) are when you want to (em) teach (silence) is in online is more useful (silence) for example here we have

In a few other instances, the participants indicated that they had lost WTC due to being video recorded. Also, speaking in front of the interviewer exerted a cognitive demand that made them more overmeticulous with their language output.

Organizational factors

The jotted-down notes and writing up a discussion plan were also identified to have an impact on the participants' WTC. In one instance, Pouya's WTC rose because of the notes he had made prior to the task. He recalled that he had jotted down the idea of flight delays and was seeking an opportunity to discuss it:

you might think that OK if a flight delay happens (+2)

Also, writing up a discussion plan during the one-minute preparation time improved some of the participants' WTC. In one instance in Task 4, Linda had planned to categorize her ideas into international and urban transports, which had given her a feeling of security and preparedness to start the task:

> Transportation problems can be in (+1) (silence) (em) abroad or within city inside the

Grammar-related factors (linguistic/cognitive)

This category involved two subcategories: cognitive and processing issues with sentence construction slightly prior to the speech production, and perception of inaccurate speech after the utterances were produced. The first category involved instances where participants, sometimes, lost WTC when they struggled to smoothly structure a sentence. The second grammar-related category pertained to cases where inaccurate speech was produced and detected by the participants. In both cases, there were instances where WTC was affected and other instances where WTC remained intact. In one instance, Saba lost WTC as she struggled to retrieve a word after "became". She explained that she had been uncertain about the grammar structure that would best communicate her thoughts, resulting in frequent pauses and a noticeable decline of WTC:

> had more advances so it (silence) it actually (silence) (em) became (em) (silence) it became (em) like (−4) (silence) (em) a very (silence) (em (silence) it actually expanded

Self-perceived performance

This category involved instances in which participants judged the characteristics of their speech as they spoke, and depending on the quality, their WTC changed. These included perceived control over language, perceived fluent/dysfluency speech, and perceived (in)accuracy. As an example for the perceived language control and competence, Kaami's WTC rose as he was impressed with a passive structure he used:

> Online education so there there are (+2) (silence) online education and on campus education two things that (silence) *can be managed together can be done separately* (+1) (silence) so I had experience for

In another instance, Majid's WTC rose as he was able to add some humor to his discussion while being able to maintain the flow of speech. He believed that adding some humor while speaking shows one's mastery in that language, and it appeared that he was impressed with his show of proficiency:

I wanna talk about myself because I really I really like (+5) I really like to (silence) eat a lot and especially when there is (laughter) delicious food (+2) (silence) whenever my when my wife (silence) cooks (+5) (silence) for me

Discussion

The phenomenon of change

The first research question revolved around the WTC changes across and during the speaking tasks. Statistical analyses showed that the participants' WTC differed significantly from task to task, indicating the effect of the topic, given that the other potential contextual variables (data collection procedure, interviewer, etc.) remained constant. This mirrors the results of MacIntyre and Legatto (2011). Through qualitative analysis of the patterns of change (e.g., positivity, negativity, frequency of shifts), 80 bitmap graphs were clustered around seven categories, the majority of which showed the changing nature of WTC during the tasks due to a variety of factors. Even in the few-shifts pattern, where WTC displayed little variability — known as an attractor (Nematizadeh, 2021), there were times when the participants reported change in the WTC levels at an unpredictable point. For instance, in one of the few-shifts graphs, William maintained high WTC for the better part of the task only to lose it upon perceiving one of his supporting ideas irrelevant to the topic. He further explained that despite his overall interest in the topic, his perceived smooth vocabulary retrieval, and fluent speech, noticing that his supporting idea was irrelevant lowered his WTC. This indicates how a variety of factors, such as linguistic, cognitive, contextual, which co-facilitate speech performance, are monitored by the L2 speakers and may trigger WTC changes.

Some of the bitmap graphs showed changes that occurred on a per-second basis, while there were instances where changes tended to be infrequent or spread apart, they were changes nonetheless. The findings of this study suggest that WTC changes are to be expected during L2 communications; they may occur frequently in a nonlinear fashion; they depend on one, or the collective force of several different factors. The findings are in line with previous WTC (MacIntyre & Legatto, 2011; Nematizadeh & Wood, 2019) and CDST research (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008).

WTC as a complex system with multiple sub-systems

The findings of this study suggest that, like the trait WTC with several underlying factors (MacIntyre et al.,1998), dynamic WTC, which represents one's tendency to engage in commutation "here-and now" (MacIntyre, 2020, p. 127), may be viewed as a core complex, dynamic system with several underlying sub-systems that either cooperate flawlessly and promote WTC, or fail and set the tone for low WTC. To address the second research

question, the participants attributed the WTC changes to individual, linguistic, cognitive, organizational, contextual factors, or issues relating to participants' self-perceived performance or possession of supporting ideas/arguments, many of which are consistent with previous dynamic WTC research (Kang, 2005; MacIntyre & Legatto, 2011; Mystkowska-Wiertelak & Pawlak, 2014; Nematizadeh, 2021; Pawlak & Mystkowska-Wiertelak, 2015; Pawlak, et al., 2015; Wood, 2016). The emergence of the above factors and their joint role in generating dynamic WTC highlights the multi-layered nature of WTC and very closely resembles what MacIntyre et al. (1998) proposed in their pyramid model. From a CDST perspective, these can be viewed as the sub-systems of WTC. Changes to WTC were triggered by either one central factor or some form of dynamic interaction between two or more of these factors. Whenever such sub-systems (e.g., linguistic & cognitive) functioned properly and efficiently, positive affect emerged in the form of high WTC. Conversely, once a sub-system or two malfunctioned (e.g., failure in sentence constructions or lack of lexical knowledge), the WTC system was perturbed. This closely resembles the CDST notion of butterfly effect wherein small changes somewhere in a system could bring about other change(s) elsewhere (Larsen-Freeman, 2015).

Nonlinearity and butterfly effect

One characteristic of change in dynamic systems is their nonlinearity. The magnitude of the effect may not be comparable to the cause (Larsen-Freeman, 1997), and this was evident in the findings of this study. For instance, WTC was affected by lexis-related factors; however, this effect was not always proportional to the cause. Sometimes, WTC was heavily affected by a failure to retrieve vocabulary in cases where the communication broke down, while this effect was sometimes less noticeable when the participants were able to make their point through retrieving alternative lexical items. There were also a few instances where failing to retrieve vocabulary had no impact on WTC; that is, some of the participants would not perceive this as a communication breakdown and would carry on. Determining whether a cognitive lapse like this leads to a small or huge impact (butterfly effect) is complex, and therefore, as the illustrations show, WTC changes occur in a nonlinear fashion. There were instances whereby a small change in one part led to larger changes elsewhere in the system and vice versa.

Findings of this study also showed that self-perceived performance affected WTC, which was partly in line with the findings by Nematizadeh and Wood (2019) who reported the effect of self-monitoring and participants' own perceived speech fluency. In one instance, Anita mentioned that perceiving her speech as dysfluent, as a result of a delay in lexical retrieval, had caused her stress that preoccupied her subconscious for a few seconds, affecting her

sentence construction mechanism and significantly lowering her WTC later. This study expanded this to a few more factors including, self-perceived accuracy, pronunciation, control over the tasks, and quality of supporting ideas (e.g., relevance). It was further found that attention to the qualities of already-produced speech consumed cognitive resources and troubled the planning and production of upcoming speech. This represented the so-called butterfly effect whereby a small cognitive lapse in lexical retrieval gave rise to dissatisfaction with self-perceived speech performance that led further to affective issues.

Conclusion

The present study employed an idiodynamic investigation to monitor the patterns of per-second changes of WTC and the factors triggering them. The findings showed that the participants' WTC varied significantly from task to task, and the per-second WTC changes during the tasks took on seven different patterns in terms of positivity, negativity, and frequency of change. In addition, the findings suggested that WTC changes were nonlinear and resulted from either a single factor or the interaction between multiple factors, highlighting the complex nature of the variable. Qualitative analysis of the stimulated recall interviews also produced seven categories of factors that triggered change to WTC. While many of these categories (contextual, individual, organizational, linguistic, & cognitive) had already been reported in previous dynamic WTC research, the new contribution of this study involved the effect of self-perceived performance, including perceived control over language use, perceived accuracy/fluency, which affected WTC. Since this emerged as one of the less recurrent factors, the corresponding findings should be deemed preliminary and, therefore, there is a need for future research to investigate this more closely.

While the number of participants recruited and the amount of data gathered were the strengths of this study (compared to previous examinations of per-second changes of WTC), the study comes with a few limitations: 1) the use of monologic tasks in monitoring WTC, and 2) the inauthentic environment in which the data were collected. Despite the challenges of using the idiodynamic methodology with a group of participants, it would be insightful to observe how the group dynamics function and affect L2 speakers' WTC. Therefore, future research is encouraged to use group discussion tasks in a more authentic environment (e.g., classroom).

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Approaching French-speaking cultures in the FSL classroom:

The *salade niçoise* recipe

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Abstract

The most meaningful and profound elements of cultures are often hidden below the surface. This exploratory case study investigates how a sample of Ontario non-native French-speaking educators approached French-speaking cultures in the Grade 9 Core French classroom. Confident participants were often frequent travellers to francophone communities, regularly studied French to improve their linguistic and cultural proficiencies, and redesigned cultural activities with current material. The educators also experienced difficulties including lack of information and communications technology, teacher-training and experiential learning for students. The findings raise several possibilities for profound cultural exploration, such as (a) perceiving culture through a pluricultural perspective, (b) refining teacher-training initiatives, (c) following the neurolinguistic approach for oral fluency, and (d) prioritizing travel-based activities so that students can better explore francophone communities and their cultures.

Key words: French as a second language, Core French Program, non-native French-speaking teacher, culture, teacher change

Résumé

Les éléments les plus significatifs des cultures sont profonds, mais cachés sous la surface. Une étude de cas exploratoire a examiné comment un échantillon d'enseignants de l'Ontario non-natifs du français ont abordé les cultures francophones dans la classe du français de base de 9e année. Les participants confiants étaient souvent de fréquents voyageurs dans les communautés francophones, étudiaient régulièrement le français afin d'améliorer leurs compétences linguistiques et culturelles, et repensaient les activités culturelles avec du contenu mis-à-jour. Les enseignants ont aussi rencontré des difficultés notamment le manque des technologies de l'information et de la communication, la formation en matière d'enseignement, et l'apprentissage expérientiel pour les étudiants. Les résultats soulèvent les possibilités suivantes pour explorer la culture de

manière approfondie, tels que de (a) percevoir la culture à travers une perspective pluriculturelle, (b) d'affiner la formation des enseignants, (c) de suivre l'approche neurolinguistique pour l'expression orale, et (d) de prioritiser des activités basées sur les voyages pour que les apprenants puissent mieux explorer les communautés francophones et leurs cultures.

Mots-clés : français langue seconde, programme français de base, enseignant non-natif du français, culture, professionnalisation des enseignants

Research context — **Une salade niçoise Madame ? Non, merci**

Baguettes and *bicyclettes*. These two words frequently came to my mind as a former high school French as a second language (FSL) student when thinking about French culture. While I enjoyed eating crispy French bread, singing songs by Edith Piaf and watching the *Phantom of the Opera* in my high school FSL classes, I knew that there was so much more to French culture.

As a child and teenager, I visited my francophone grandparents every summer in Quebec; though I did not self-identify as a French speaker. Later, I became an Ontario FSL teacher. Throughout my university program, I learned about classic French literature and cinema, and refined my grammatical knowledge. However, the post-secondary curricula at the time did not offer any perspective on the modern day characteristics of a variety of French-speaking communities. I only understood French culture as a singular concept and felt inferior and unprepared to teach French-speaking cultures as a non-native French-speaker.

I experienced this programming lack, in particular, when I taught a Grade 9 Core French (CF)[1] class several years ago. I designed a francophone cuisine unit to excite my adolescent students, often disinterested to learn about French-speaking communities. In our school's home economics classroom, my students prepared a French dish of their choice for a class party. I brought a French salad, named *salade niçoise*. I already knew that most students had never tried this dish, but I did not expect such disinterest. Only a handful of courageous students tried my salad. Instead, they veered off to the familiar dessert section of croissants, eclairs, and macarons. My experience that day, is an example of the challenges that some non-native FSL educators face in approaching unfamiliar cultures of francophone communities to non-native

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[1] As indicated in the Ontario Ministry of Education (OME) curriculum (2014), the Core French (CF) Program is an introductory level French class that is part of the overarching Ontario FSL programming, with Grade 9 as the first year of high school in the province. CF is the most popular enrolled program (Canadian Parents for French, 2017; Viswanathan, 2016), with Grade 9 CF, often, the last year of French class, with reasons including student despondence (Canadian Parents for French, 2017, 2019).

French-speaking students. Therefore, in the late fall of 2018, I conducted an exploratory case study to investigate cultural practices of Ontario Grade 9 CF educators who were also non-native French-speakers. This article summarizes my doctoral research study.

The journey for pluricultural competence in FSL classrooms

My study's focus was also shared in the SL research community. Learning about cultures motivates SL students to further their education in the target language (Mueller, 1985) and is a preferred topic for students in comparison to learning about "grammar and verb conjugations" (Sinay et al., 2018, p. 60). Unfortunately, culture is commonly characterized and introduced superficially, through such identifiers as flags, cuisine and music. These examples are part of the visible layer of a metaphorical cultural iceberg (e.g., Weaver, 1986), as outlined in Figure 1.
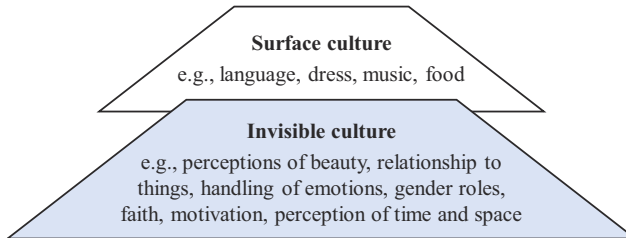

Figure 1
Cultural iceberg
(adapted from Hanley, n.d.)

Merely exposing SL students to surface culture is not enough for meaningful, cultural appreciation and interaction. Teachers should offer these hidden, cultural characteristics to students as they represent the authentic, everyday culture of different communities.

Culture has many definitions; however, for my study, I selected the term *pluriculture* (Council of Europe, 2001, 2016, 2018, 2020). According to the Council of Europe, pluriculture is multifaceted and enables the SL learner to "use all their linguistic resources when necessary, encouraging them to see similarities and regularities as well as differences between languages and cultures" (2020, p. 30). Further, viewing culture as pluriculture abandons the unattainable goal of "perfect bilingualism" (Piccardo, 2018, p. 9) and places greater responsibility on the language learner to interact with the target culture. I argue that maintaining a pluricultural perspective also allows for deeper exploration of the invisible characteristics of the cultural iceberg (e.g., Weaver, 1986) as it is a much more encompassing term for culture.

While I celebrated the complexities of French-speaking cultures, my literature review summarized pedagogical challenges to plunge deeper below the iceberg's surface. Approaching cultures in the SL classroom can present challenges for educators (Falardeau & Simard, 2011; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Loveday, 1982). For example, Ontario FSL students often struggle to communicate in French (Rehner, 2014), even with increased programming priorities for more listening and oral communication (OME, 2013, 2014). Often, many questions arise during the programming stage as SL teachers must determine the who, what, where, when and why of the target culture. Furthermore, when attempting to follow a pluricultural perspective to culture, I questioned to what degree teachers include the student's home culture, while concurrently maintaining the integrity and purpose of learning the target language.

The language identity of the SL teacher has also been perceived as a challenge for approaching cultures in the classroom. FSL researchers have observed challenges for non-native French-speaking Canadian teachers, echoing my insecurities. For example, these educators often prefer standardized French variations, such as Parisian French in their programming (Webb, 2012; Wernicke, 2016; Wernicke-Heinrichs, 2013). Furthermore, these educators often feel insecure for not belonging to francophone communities (Viswanathan, 2016).

Often, SL educators deprioritize teaching culture while prioritizing static elements of the language such as reading and writing (Falardeau & Simard, 2011; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Loveday, 1982). Therefore, as cultures are complex, I wanted to explore how teachers can shift from merely transmitting cultural information to offering transformative cultural opportunities to disengaged, beginner-level learners.

Methodology

From late 2018 to early 2019, I conducted an exploratory case study (Guida, 2020) with the research objective to better understand how to integrate invisible French-speaking cultures in my local teaching context. I investigated how Ontario non-native French-speaking high school teachers approached French-speaking cultures in their Grade 9 CF classrooms with their revised curriculum (OME, 2014). The research questions were the following:

1. How do non-native French-speaking teachers in Ontario approach French cultures in the Grade 9 Core French curriculum (OME, 2014)?

2. How do these teachers specifically implement the added Intercultural Understanding sub-strand of the curriculum in authentic ways?

First, I distributed an online questionnaire to 50 of the province's Grade 9 CF non-native French-speaking educators. The questions explored the accessibility level of cultural resources, the meaning of culture to respondents and a general profile of Ontario non-native Grade 9 CF teachers.

Overall, the respondents obtained their FSL teaching degree in Ontario and often interacted with non-native French-speaking colleagues. The teachers recognized and respected the dynamic nature of French-speaking cultures and of their professional duty to offer culturally relevant materials to their FSL students. However, the educators identified challenges in obtaining a plethora of francophone resources and preferred a European French focus.

I then worked closely with ten of the 50 educators for a more in-depth exploration into my research problem. Table 1 outlines the remaining data collection opportunities.

Table 1
Data collection summary

Data collection type	Timeline
Interview 1	Fall 2018
Interview 2	December 2018–January 2019
Virtual focus group	January 31, 2019
Exchange of cultural resources	Volunteer basis, ongoing

The first semi-structured interview contained 17 questions to (a) extend the participants' responses from the questionnaire, (b) explore the teachers' initial cultural perceptions and pedagogical strategies, and (c) establish professional learning goals as non-native French-speaking educators with regards to francophone cultures.

The second semi-structured interview contained 14 questions to (a) promote practitioner reflection regarding their teaching of French-speaking cultures over the course of the semester, (b) determine their use of the curriculum (OME, 2014) for final cultural tasks of their courses, and (c) identify participant needs and goals.

Seven out of the ten teacher-participants joined the online focus group and responded to ten discussion questions. The purpose of the meeting was to (a) extend the participants' professional network, (b) discuss cultural approaches, and (c) review cultural growth as non-native French-speaking educators. Participants were invited to bring a sample of cultural resources to the meeting. Participants were welcome to submit cultural materials throughout the study.

Data were analyzed through a non-objective, non-positivistic lens (Lincoln et al., 2011), and through an iterative process (Lincoln et al., 2011;

Richardson, 1994, 1997) to better support characteristics of qualitative case study research. To confirm the accuracy of the data, I engaged in member checking with participants (Birt et al., 2016), structurally coded the data, established themes (Creswell, 2015) and used my conceptual framework to inform my discussion.

My salade niçoise *conceptual framework*

The conceptual framework of my inquiry was a *salade niçoise*. It symbolized the ideal Grade 9 CF classroom that is French, healthy, plentiful, fresh and unique. Just as culture is dynamic, a *salade niçoise* contains plentiful ingredients, with multiple interpretations to support the unique needs of each Grade 9 CF classroom. A *salade niçoise* is typically an unfamiliar meal for many FSL students as its ingredients are unique to this recipe. As a Grade 9 CF teacher, my students often prefer consuming a familiar garden salad, or exclusively learning about Paris and Quebec. Therefore, preparing a *salade niçoise* classroom requires dedication and persistence. For the purposes of this study, I only focused on the teacher-chef, eggs, green beans, and potatoes in my overall recipe. Participants were unaware of my metaphorical salad, as I wanted to primarily focus on their experiences. Table 2 itemizes each component of my *salade niçoise*.

The teacher-chef

I perceived the Ontario Grade 9 CF non-native French-speaking educator as the chef who prepares the *salade niçoise* classroom. The province's FSL teachers are professionally required to deliver the curriculum; therefore, I focus on teachers as research participants. Each teacher-chef has a variety of cultural competencies and experiences. I argue that a Michelin-star (Chef Academy, 2020) chef is one who creates the best salad for cultural exploration and should not be defined by a linguistic identity.

How does a chef prepare the best salad? I refer to the nested pedagogical orientations framework (Cummins, 2001, 2009; Cummins et al., 2007) as it respects professional judgement in programming and promotes critical literacy. Figure 2 illustrates the framework.

According to Cummins (2001, 2009), teachers approach their pedagogy and build knowledge through the merging of the three orientations. Similar to culture, no classroom should be taught in the same way. Educators following the transmission orientation to pedagogy have a direct teaching style with "reading [and] phonics . . . prioritized over the pursuit of meaning" (Cummins et al., 2007, p. 38). As a current Grade 9 CF teacher, there are times in the curriculum to teach French-speaking cultures by memorizing and pronouncing expressions, presenting francophone communities and filling in missing words

Table 2

The salade niçoise conceptual framework

Component	Theoretical concept(s)	Researcher(s)
Salade niçoise teacher-chef	Nested pedagogical orientations	Cummins (2001, 2009); Cummins et al. (2007)
Green beans	Pluricultural competence	Council of Europe (2001, 2016, 2018, 2020)
	Action-oriented approach	Council of Europe (2001, 2016, 2018)
	Cultural iceberg model	Weaver (1986)
	Lived curriculum approach	Aoki (1999)
	Critical pedagogy	Freire (1968/1970)
	LX	Dewaele (2018)
Eggs	Neurolinguistic approach	Netten & Germain (2012)
Potatoes	ICT section of the FSL curriculum	OME (2014)
Pepper as parental support	Various school board parental guides and the Ontario FSL curricula	OME (2014)
Salt as the school administration	Transforming FSL resources	https://transformingfsl.ca/en/
Salade niçoise consumer-student	Learning skills of the *Growing success* document	OME (2010)

from lyrics. However, just like Cummins (2001, 2009) I argue that exclusively relying on a transmission orientation is not effective in today's classrooms.

Educators implementing the social constructivist orientation to pedagogy include "higher-order thinking abilities based on teachers and students co-constructing knowledge and understanding" (Cummins et al., 2007, p. 44). Following this orientation, I envision Ontario Grade 9 CF educators spending more time in addressing the why and how culture. Using music as an example, discussion questions would prioritize establishing student connections to French songs and their local cultures.

Cummins preferred the transformative curriculum orientation as its overall purpose is for teachers and students to gain greater "insight into how knowledge intersects with power [for] critical literacy" (Cummins et al., 2007, p. 45) and "issues of equity and social justice" (Cummins, 2011, p. 7). This action-oriented pedagogical orientation critically examines the teaching content in collaboration with the teacher and student. While the teacher is still
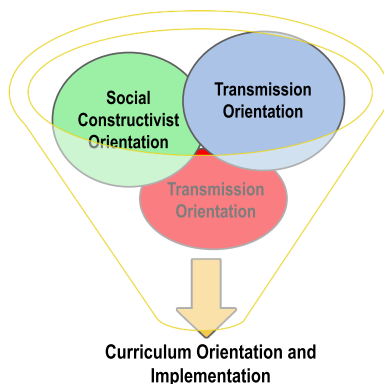
Figure 2

Nested pedagogical orientations framework

(Reprinted by permission of Pearson Education, Inc. from Cummins et al., 2007, p. 45).

at the forefront for student learning, there is an increased need for learner accountability.

I apply the characteristics of the transformative orientation to the teaching of French music. Students can explore hidden meanings and implications of lyrics for a deeper understanding and appreciation of French music that can go below visible culture. While I see the transformative pedagogical orientation as the goal, the Ontario Grade 9 CF classroom can be unpredictable and challenging for reasons including student absenteeism and despondence (Viswanathan, 2016). Therefore, for this research study, I welcomed the use of all three orientations by my participants.

Green beans

The green beans represented French-speaking cultures. I drew from a variety of research to represent this important ingredient. Aoki (1999) highlights that the curriculum, just like culture, needs to be experienced by students and not linear. I perceive linear curriculum when teachers address curriculum expectations by merely checking off programming expectations in a ministry document or covering a unit on French culture, often in a chronological order. When the topic is covered, the teacher would continue to the next curriculum expectation, never returning to prior learning. Considering Aoki's preference for an experienced curriculum perspective, FSL teachers can work towards experiencing curriculum expectations with examples including action-oriented tasks where learners are motivated to resolve problems in francophone communities such as purchasing a train ticket. In turn, FSL teachers inherently cover curriculum expectations such as using the present tense to interact with

a speaker, but are doing so naturally and by confronting francophone cultures. Essentially, FSL educators should move away from merely presenting cultural characteristics to students. It is through ongoing action-based tasks going well below visible culture where SL students apply critical pedagogy in practice.

Critical pedagogy is experienced when students and teachers rectify "social inequalities ... of the highly institutionalized educational system" and imperfect world (Keneman, 2013, p. 24). Essentially, the programming should expand the "beads and feathers" (St. Denis, 2010, p. 314) of superficial culture. Dewaele (2018) believes that language competency should no longer be perceived as compartmentalized units, illustrated by numerical labels (e.g., L1, L2, L3). He therefore replaced these labels by LX. Inspired by this theory, I understand the learning of the target culture to be a value-neutral CX as I believe that language learners should avoid thinking about cultural proficiencies in compartmentalized units of C1, C2, etc. I conceive that there should be recognition, not judgement, of a SL student's growth in cultural understanding. In my FSL classrooms, I celebrate learning about my students' love of baking madeleine cookies and dancing the tarantella, yet I understand that there is always room for improvement regarding cultural awareness and interaction. This means that Ontario Grade 9 CF students should be encouraged to never stop learning about cultures, just like they should continuously refine their French language proficiency.

Eggs

How should Ontario Grade 9 CF teachers teach French-speaking cultures to beginner-level students? When designing my conceptual framework, I distinguished the egg as the neurolinguistic approach (Netten & Germain, 2012). This approach best addressed my pedagogical dilemma as it focuses on internalizing the target language through engaging, oral language activities. Rooted in neuroscience research, it recognizes a time and place for both implicit and explicit competence (Germain, 2018), yet with an increased pedagogical focus for students to develop "unconscious skills" (p. 4) or internal grammar. Figure 3 illustrates my interpretations of the approach.

The root of the tree represents the approach's focus on oral fluency development. In order to improve fluency for FSL students, teachers should include all five principles found in my tree. Table 3 summarizes my insight into the researchers' main principles.

How does a language learner develop internal grammar? I use an example of learning how to dance the Cancan. While dancers may improve practice through explicit instructions, most often, the learning is inherent, implicit and subconsciously developed. It is difficult to explain to an individual how to dance — one just dances. Similarly, students should not be merely taught
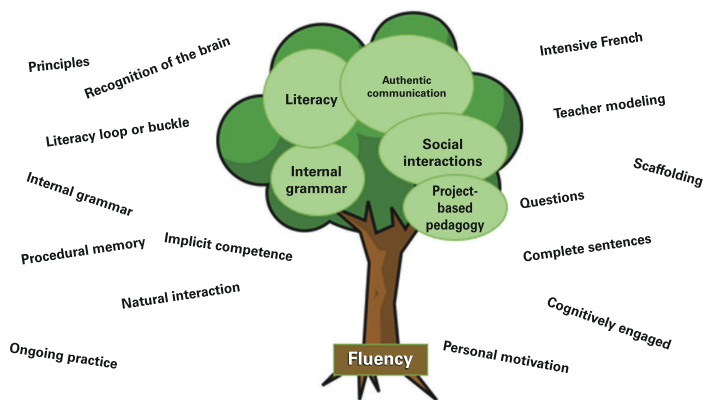
Figure 3
Summary of the neurolinguistic approach
(adapted from Netten & Germain, 2012)

about cultural concepts, but naturally integrate the material in their daily lives. This is the goal of the neurolinguistic approach — for students to confidently communicate with others by subconsciously incorporating innate knowledge. Therefore, in line with these principles, cultural content should be authentic, motivational, interactive and spontaneous for students.

Potatoes

I distinguished potatoes as the necessary Information Communications Technology (ICT) for the Ontario Grade 9 CF classroom to resolve access issues to French-speaking communities for non-native French-speaking educators. I believed that ICT would become immediate solutions for participants to bringing meaningful French cultural content into their classrooms. In fact, Furstenberg (2010) recognized the power of online cultural exchange opportunities as they can bring "the outside world right into our students' homes and into our classrooms, providing students with direct and equal access to the complex, rich and multifaceted world of the target culture" (p. 329). I learned that the province's FSL educators must implement ICT in their classes to access culturally rich materials from francophone Canada and on an international scale (OME, 2014). Online guest speakers, exploring communities with virtual maps, researching French-speaking communities and exchanging emails with francophone students abroad are some examples of how Ontario Grade 9 CF teachers and students can benefit from a heavy salad of ICT potatoes.

Table 3

Summary of the five principles of the neurolinguistic approach
(adapted from Netten & Germain, 2012)

Principle	Summary
Internal grammar	– Procedural memory focus from the unconscious, implicit competence, automatic retention (ex. swimming) – Pedagogy of the sentence – Neuron connections by speaking in the target language – Essential for oral fluency – Complete sentences are imperative when speaking
Development of literacy	– It's not just, Silence, go read! – Motivating questions guide instruction and initiate each lesson – Oral communication reinforced throughout the literacy cycle (oral, reading, writing, oral) – Message priority over the grammatical form to activate student motivation to keep speaking
Authentic communication	– Authentic language resources – Authentic to the student's experience
Social interactions	– Create multiple listening and speaking opportunities – Reduces anxiety – Enriches vocabulary – Activating neurons – Opportunities to correct errors in conversation with others
Project-based pedagogy	– Opportunities to recycle, enrich and develop unit vocabulary – Interesting activities for the student – Each project begins with an intriguing question

Salt and pepper

Chefs know that their best dishes require that extra kick. Irrespective of an exemplary chef, abundant green beans and eggs and hearty potatoes, I recognized the influence of school administration (salt) and parental support (pepper) for a culturally rich learning experience for CF students. In the curriculum, the teacher works hand-in-hand with a supportive team of parents and administration to approach French-speaking cultures (OME, 2014). Based on my personal teaching experience, Grade 9 CF teachers receive limited funding for experiential learning and reliable ICT. Cultural opportunities such as virtual guest speakers or pen pal exchanges often require parental consent, which may not be given to teachers. Therefore, I felt it important to include the pepper and salt as seasoning in my conceptual framework. However, as my

research study directly focused on the teacher-chef, I did not interview parents or members of the administration.

The consumer-student

The Ontario Grade 9 CF student represented the consumer of the *salade niçoise*; however, directly investigating students was not the research focus of my inquiry. The student shares equal responsibility for the learning, interaction and appreciation of French-speaking communities (OME, 2014). Thinking back to my francophone party, my students could have been more respectful as they saw the *salade niçoise* for the first time. Increasing student responsibility for cultural interaction may also reduce the potential pressure for non-native French-speaking educators to extensively research francophone communities. Furthermore, the *Growing success* policy document stipulates that the province's students should work towards becoming responsible, organized, independent, collaborative, initiators and self-regulators (OME, 2010). The French teacher as the perceived cultural expert, should be represented as a cultural guide or facilitator.

Participants and their salads

The ten Ontario Grade 9 CF non-native French-speaking educators came to the study with common experiences. Table 4 presents each participant profile of my exploratory case study.

Many of the participants had positive learning experiences in French — either to improve their linguistic proficiency or to immerse themselves in francophone communities. Several teachers taught at the elementary school level; therefore, knew how to work with beginner-level French students. Additionally, the ten teachers were originally CF students; therefore, had pre-existing knowledge of the program. Eight out of ten teachers indicated a strong French language proficiency of at least B2 of the CEFR, which is at an independent user level of the language (Council of Europe, 2001). Furthermore, most teachers felt sufficiently confident to present French-speaking cultures to their Grade 9 CF students and did not feel inferior to native French-speaking educators. Many educators taught in the Greater Toronto Area and had greater geographical access to experiential learning opportunities of French-speaking cultures than educators in rural communities. Table 5 summarizes their practices and experiences.

Guided by my conceptual framework, the ten teachers all became Michelin-star (Chef Academy, 2020) chefs in training. With their overall ambition and desire for students to better experience francophone cultures, the teachers demonstrated beginning attempts to include all ingredients of the ideal salade niçoise recipe. They metaphorically prepared the following salads

Table 4
Participant profiles

Participant pseudonym	# of Grade 9 CF classes	School type & geographical region	Teaching experience[a,b,c]	Teacher-traveler to French communities	French language experience	Priority for cultural content	Sufficient knowledge of French cultures	Native speaker teacher preference
Manno	1 section of Grade 9 academic CF	Catholic school in the GTA	30+ years Taught IB French Former elementary school FSL teacher	YES	Former CF student B2 level of the CEFR	Mostly true	True	Somewhat important
Camille	1 section of Grade 9 academic CF	Catholic school in the GTA	20+ years Former elementary school FSL teacher for 10+ years	YES	Former CF student C1 level of the CEFR	Untrue	Mostly true	Somewhat important
Carla	2 sections of Grade 9 applied CF + 3 sections of Grade 9 academic CF	Public school in the GTA	20+ years Former elementary school FSL teacher	NO	Former CF student CEFR level not stated	Mostly true	Mostly true	Somewhat important
Claire	2 sections of Grade 9 academic French	Public school in Central Ontario	20+ years Former elementary school FSL teacher	YES	Former CF student C1 or C2 level of the CEFR	True	Mostly true	Not important
Yvonne	1 section of Grade 9 academic French	Public school in Southwestern Ontario	15+ years Former elementary school FSL teacher DELF training	YES	Former CF student C1 level of the CEFR	Mostly true	Mostly true	Somewhat important

[a] Information and Communications Technology; [b] DELF (https://delf-dalf.ambafrance-ca.org); [c] CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001).

(con'd)

Table 4 (con'd)

Participant pseudonym	# of Grade 9 CF classes	School type & geographical region	Teaching experience[a,b,c]	Teacher-traveler to French communities	French language experience	Priority for cultural content	Sufficient knowledge of French cultures	Native speaker teacher preference
Rosina	—	Catholic school in the GTA	9+ years IB teaching experience in Spanish DELF exam corrector	YES	Former CF student B2 or C1 level of the CEFR	Mostly true	True	Extremely important
Helena	1 section of Grade 9 academic CF	Catholic school in the GTA	6+ years Former elementary school FSL teacher with AIM teaching experience DELF exam corrector	YES	Former CF student B2 or C1 level of the CEFR	Mostly true	Somewhat true	Extremely important
Nora	1 section of Grade 9 academic CF	Private school in Southwestern Ontario	2+ years Former elementary school FSL teacher	YES	Former CF student CEFR level not stated	Untrue	Somewhat true	Not important
Rachel	2 sections of Grade 9 academic CF	Public school in Southeastern Ontario	2+ years Core and French Immersion teaching experience	YES	Former CF student C1 or C2 level of the CEFR	Mostly true	Somewhat true	Extremely important
Christina	1 section of Grade 9 pre-IB academic CF + 1 section of Grade 9 academic CF	Catholic school in the GTA	1+ year Current high school FSL teacher	YES	Former CF student B2 level of the CEFR	Mostly true	Mostly true	Not important

[a] Information and Communications Technology; [b] DELF (https://delf-dalf.ambafrance-ca.org); [c] CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001).

Table 5
Summary of participants' cultural approaches

Participant	Manno	Camille	Carla	Claire	Yvonne	Rosina	Helena	Nora	Rachel	Christina
Cultural approaches — Interview 1:										
Dynamic definition of culture	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Standard French	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
ICT		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Student research projects		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Travel theme		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Music theme		X	X	X		X	X	X		X
Food	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Comparing student lives with French communities		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
DELF/CEFR		X		X	X	X	X			
Recounting travel to students		X		X	X			X		
Controlled short activities	X			X		X	X			
Requirement for ample prep time		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
English use		X	X			X				X

(con'd)

Table 5 (con'd)

Participant	Manno	Camille	Carla	Claire	Yvonne	Rosina	Helena	Nora	Rachel	Christina
Cultural approaches — Interview 2:										
Dynamic definition of culture	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X
Standard French						X	X			X
ICT		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Student research projects		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Travel theme		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Music theme		X	X	X			X	X		X
Food							X			X
Comparing student lives with French communities	X				X			X	X	X
DELF/CEFR	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
Recounting travel to students								X		
Controlled short activities	X									
Requirement for ample prep time			X	X				X	X	X
English use		X	X	X		X		X	X	X

in their FSL classrooms:

- lightly-coloured green beans;
- runny eggs;
- small and bland potatoes; and
- under-seasoning of salt and pepper.

As a result, I perceived their students to be nourished student-consumers of the *salade niçoise* as they did metaphorically eat all of the necessary food and seasonings. However, the students would benefit from having more prominent francophone culture focus (i.e., darker coloured green beans), greater opportunities using the neurolinguistic approach to improve speaking (i.e., cooked eggs), increased opportunities for ICT in the FSL classroom (i.e., bigger and hearty potatoes), and increased support from parents and stakeholders to implement a greater number of cultural opportunities for students (i.e., greater amounts of seasoning). A more thorough explanation of how the participants' salads looked like is explained in the succeeding section.

Michelin-star teacher-chefs in training

Throughout the study, participants diligently learned about French-speaking cultures as non-native French-speakers and increased their overall confidence as sound educators. For example, the teachers listened to French music (Carla and Christina), played online vocabulary games (Rosina), frequently redesigned cultural units (Camille), and conducted greater research on francophone communities for final assignments (Carla, Christina, Claire, Helena, Nora, and Rosina) despite feeling overwhelmed with research. Helena underwent training to become an accredited DELF exam corrector (DELF/DALF, 2016). The participants continuously sought to move away from previously unauthentic and ineffective FSL curricula and French textbooks, as they did not find cultural relevancy of learning about ants (Camille) in French for an entire pedagogical unit.

The findings of my inquiry revealed greater importance for teachers to be cultural pedagogues rather than native French-speaking educators. For example, Figure 4 presents various techniques that the teachers used to approach cultural vocabulary, with ongoing review as the most popular strategy.

For example, Camille stressed the importance to be patient and simplify authentic French to beginner-level FSL students, which is echoed in research (McNeill, 2005; Newcombe, 2007). Camille also prioritized oral communication over cultural education with the following statement:
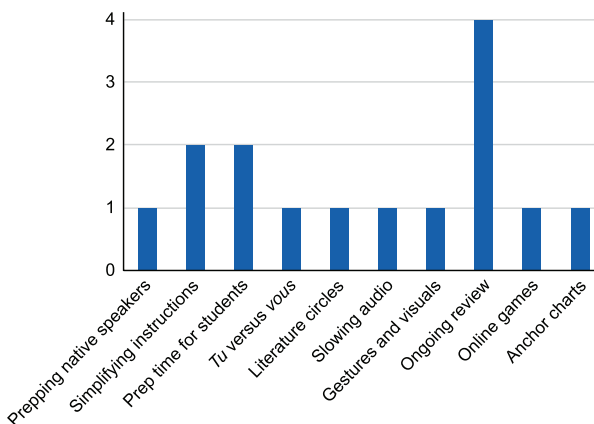
Note: The scale represents the number of occurrences of each strategy, with zero (0) to no reference, to four (4), reflecting four times indicated in the research study from the participants.

Figure 4

Frequency of participant vocabulary strategies

Do they need to know what the different meals are in Senegal in order to learn French — no they don't! Does that make it more interesting for them, yes! . . . The goal is to teach them French, get them to love French, feel like they can make themselves understood in that language and they can understand what they are seeing and hearing. . . . If you ask me what is my job, it is for them to speak! (October 31, 2018)

Rosina added that a native French-speaking educator is not a cultural expert of every francophone region. However, several participants stressed the importance of frequent travel to French-speaking communities for all FSL educators (Christina, Rachel, Rosina, and Yvonne).

Most of the participants' resources and pedagogical techniques reflected the social constructivist orientation to pedagogy (Cummins, 2001, 2009; Cummins et al., 2007). For example, many teachers used Eurocentric French variations in their classrooms to ease comprehension issues for students, or, based on teacher-preference. Towards the end of the semester, more participants extended the French varieties (Camille, Claire, Helena, Nora, Rachel, and Rosina) by researching the different accents (Christina) or adding French variations in assignments (Camille, Claire, Rachel, and Yvonne). Essentially, the teachers evaluated alternatives in what is presented in education (Cummins et al., 2007).

In my perception, Claire demonstrated more examples of the transformative approach of the framework. She designed a superhero assignment, which is illustrated in Figure 5.

Les Super-héros autour du Monde

Quand tu dessines ton super-héros, imagine un modèle qui t'inspire et qui démontre une diversité qui reflète toi et ta culture.

- Quelles qualités / traits de personnalités et de culture sont importantes pour toi?
- Quels pouvoirs sont impressionnants?
- Quelles sont les causes défendues?

Meet Mgozi, Marvel Comics' first truly African superhero

https://www.reuters.com/article/us-nigeria-entertainment-chibok/watch-out-wonder-woman-nigerias-chibok-girls-insire-marvels-new-superhero-idUSKCN18H1HG
https://www.bransouthafrica.com/investments-immigration/afrainews/meet-ngozi-marvel-comics-first-truly-african-superhero

Nightrunner — The Batman of Paris
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nightrunner_(comics)

Nightrunner est un super-héros français qui est un personnage de l'univers DC. Son vrai nom est Bilal Asselah. Il est un jeune homme d'origine algérienne qui vient de Paris. Il a fais sa première apparition en 2010 quand il a été recruté par Batman pour représenter Batman Inc en France. Son pouvoir est le parkour. Bilal peut escalader les murs et se déplacer ultra rapidement dans les villes. Il est moins fort que Superman, mais il aussi vite que Spider Man. Il est le premier super-héros dans la mthologie DC/Marvel. Qu'est-ce qu'il fera dans l'avenir?

Figure 5
Superhero assignment

Claire's students drew superheroes inspired by their home cultures after reviewing francophone superheroes from Marvel Comics (https://www.marvel.com/comics). They had to make connections amongst cultures and establish common characteristics of what it means to be a superhero. This project enabled students to think about "social realities" of superheroes and how "these realities might be transformed through various forms of social action" (Cummins, 2011, p. 7).

Lightly coloured green beans

Throughout the inquiry, the ten educators recognized the importance of teaching French-speaking cultures to students. I did not use the term *pluriculture* (Council of Europe, 2001, 2016, 2018) with participants as to be open to their unique interpretations of culture. The teachers interpreted culture as multifaceted. Several educators presented the cultural iceberg (e.g., Weaver, 1986) to students to illustrate the importance of invisible characteristics of francophone communities. Culture was taught to teach respect and to gain multiple perspectives of society. These goals closely matched the participants' FSL curriculum as it states that students should "enhance their understanding and appreciation of diverse French-speaking communities, and will develop skills necessary for lifelong language learning" (OME, 2014, p. 58).

The teachers prepared for cultural content through a predominantly action-oriented approach (Council of Europe, 2001, 2016, 2018) and with a lived curriculum perspective (Aoki, 1999). Direct references to the curriculum document were few and far between as the educators prepared activities grounded in student interest (see Table 6).

Table 6

Example cultural techniques from participants

Participant	Activity or resource	Description
Helena	Garage sale activity	– vocabulary building opportunity (e.g., clothing, money, furniture) – students read garage sale ads, then composed their imaginary sales – spontaneous oral interactions with other Grade 9 CF classes who bought the garage sale items, used fake money and had authentic materials
Manno	*Ma passion, mon talent*	– structured mini-essay with pre-taught writing techniques (i.e., final task) – no electronic devices were permitted – students referenced francophone cultures associated with their passion – optional oral presentation of their paragraphs to their peers and teacher – interested students brought in artefacts, such as origami, to represent their passion
Helena	Field trip to a Toronto restaurant	– waiters spoke to students in French – students became waiters in their respective groups for role-plays

Table 6 (con'd)

Participant	Activity or resource	Description
Helena (con'd)		– students experienced a drumming activity from an African dancer – Helena shared her funding strategies through a grant to offset the costs
Rosina	*Chef à l'école*	– a French-speaking chef who visited the school and cooked in her classroom
Claire	African drummer guest visitor	– a performer visited "once per semester" for all of the school's Grade 9 CF students
Carla	Impressionist lesson from a guest French-speaking visitor	– her goal for her future Grade 9 CF classes
Rosina	Designated cultural days of the week	– *Lecture lundi*, *musique mardi*, *montre-moi mercredi*, *jeux jeudi*, and *culture vendredi*[a]
Rachel	Ideal trip activity	– students discussed their ideal trip based on a cultural attraction
Camille	*Voyage virtuel*	– a virtual travel unit that was crafted from a student complaint about the ineffectiveness of cultural presentations – students filled out a simplified French passport application and role-played passing through customs, taking taxis, etc.
Claire	*Artiste de la semaine*	– a weekly activity whereby students discussed song themes with their class to explore the meaning of lyrics
Claire	*Faire la bise*	– a video activity that demonstrated kissing acts across French-speaking cultures

[a] 'Reading Monday, music Tuesday, show-and-tell Wednesday, games Thursday, and cultural Friday'

While there was frequent recognition of the cultural iceberg (e.g., Weaver, 1986), I did not observe multiple examples of profound cultural content, below the iceberg's surface. The majority of the French cultural content was superficial, research-based and lacked interaction with native speakers. However, my participants often reminded me of pedagogical challenges that impacted their cultural depth. For example, participants often cited onerous planning time for authentic culture, student disinterest and lack of student maturity. However, as Table 6 indicates, the teachers did offer creative, cultural opportunities.

Runny eggs

Respecting the small scope of my doctoral research, I did not introduce the neurolinguistic approach (Netten & Germain, 2012) to participants. I merely referred to the approach at the data analysis stage of this inquiry as a starting point in its application to the teachings of French-speaking cultures. I connected the teachers' ongoing vocabulary review using online games as well as the transition of units (e.g., beginning with all about me, body parts, money, garage sale day) with Netten and Germain's principle of internal grammar. This is because the two examples offered student sufficient practice time with the target vocabulary for eventual internalization.

Participants remained respectful to student interest in the presentation of authentic cultural content. For example, Carla included classroom surveys to identify student preferences. Yvonne discussed wedding practices in Europe and in the Middle East, simply based on a student's recount of a marriage ceremony in her home country.

All participants observed student enjoyment of at least one cultural activity. Several teachers such as Camille and Helena, asked students to resolve a meaningful task from purchasing a train ticket in a foreign country, to selling an item at a garage sale. These examples add to the discussion of project-based pedagogy and the social interaction principle of the neurolinguistic approach (Netten & Germain, 2012) as students had to frequently listen, react, mediate through problems and communicate thought processes. I felt that Camille's final assignment for her Grade 9 CF course, best reflected principles of the approach (Figure 6).

For this final project, students had to spontaneously interact with a small group of peers and Camille in a simulated role play. Students selected two of the problem scenarios, which were travel based. On the presentation day, Camille role-played with students and concurrently assessed the group, challenging students to continue speaking in French.

Her project was predominantly oral-based, which is a fundamental principle of the neurolinguistic approach (Netten & Germain, 2012). It was conceived based on student interest as she observed her students' love of travel. Furthermore, it was a project that required students to revisit practiced vocabulary. Therefore, while my participants were not exposed to the teachings of the neurolinguistic approach, it was evident of its possibilities for Grade 9 CF cultural programming.

Small and bland potatoes

The ten teachers used ICT for a variety of cultural opportunities. Figure 7 illustrates each opportunity, with multisource websites referenced sixteen times by the participants.

SEMESTER ONE CULMINATING TASK

STUDENT'S NAME: _____   January 8-11, 2019

COURSE: FSF1D   PERIOD: 4   TEACHER: TOTAL MARKS: _____

Partie A: Préparation en classe
Objectif : préparer à parler spontanément dans une interaction authentique
Tu commenceras à travailler seule pour la première période. Puis, tu travailleras en groupe de deux à trois personnes à préparer une interaction authentique et spontanée selon un des scénarios suivants. Tu seras capable de parler de toi-même, de tes goûts et de tes activités préférées, de ce que tu as fait et de ce que tu veux faire à l'avenir, etc. Tu auras accès à tous tes notes de classe et un dictionnaire.

Partie B: Dialogue simulé ou jeu de rôle
Objectif : parler spontanément dans une interaction authentique
Le jour de la présentation, le groupe présentera un des deux scénarios, choisi par Mme. L'interaction sera authentique et pas lu, donc l'élève n'aura pas accès aux notes pendant la présentation orale. Mme jouera le rôle de quelqu'un inattendu dans le scénario.

Jour 2

En groupe, choisissez deux des scénarios suivants :

• Entrevue à la douane dans l'aéroport - un membre du groupe est le douanier qui questionne une famille qui entre le pays choisi.

• Planifier un voyage avec un agent de voyage - un membre du groupe jouera le rôle de l'agent de voyage et l'autre jouera une personne qui cherche à acheter les billets.

• Acheter quelque chose pour un voyage - un membre du groupe jouera le rôle du vendeur ou vendeuse et l'autre jouera la personne qui veut acheter quelque chose pour le voyage

• Discussion de famille pour les vacances d'été - les membres du groupe joueront une famille qui discute où aller pour les vacances d'été. Personne n'est d'accord.

• Demander et donner des indications à l'hôtel - un membre du groupe jouera le rôle du réceptionniste de l'hôtel, l'autre sera la personne qui leur demande de l'aide à retrouver un tel endroit.
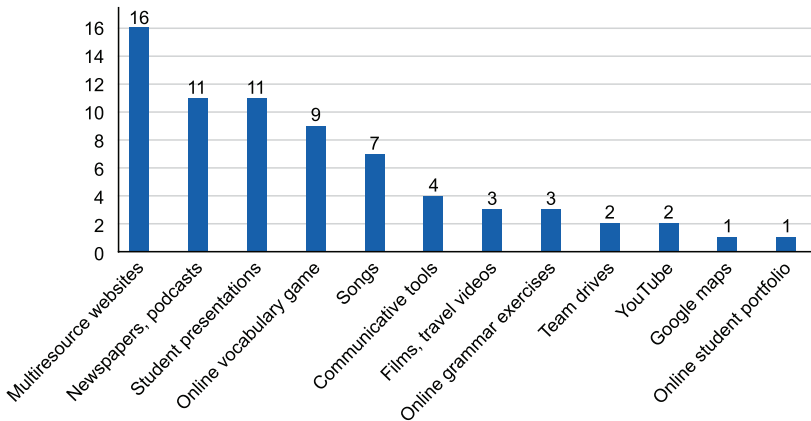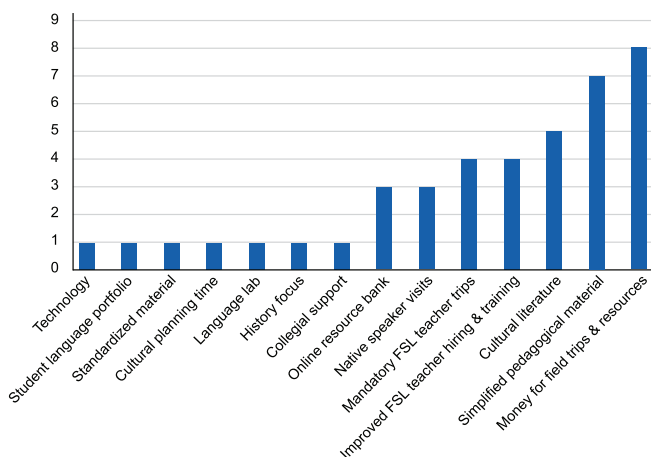
Figure 6
Final travel dialogue task

Figure 7
Frequency of participants' ICT use

One-stop-shop resources were the preferred options for participants and included *TV5Monde* (https://langue-francaise.tv5monde.com and *Idello* (https://www.idello.org). Yvonne summarized her use of such websites for listening comprehension activities and specifically, to explore different French accents.

Unfortunately, the majority of ICT tools presented superficial, cultural content such as PowerPoints, YouTube to listen to music, or online vocabulary games rather then interact with francophone speakers. Manno justified her limited reliance on ICT resources due to her school's fear about their dangers such as privacy issues. Furthermore, many participants presented challenges in obtaining ongoing equipment such as Chrome books, which mirror similar access issues in Canadian FSL classrooms (Cooke, 2013; Milley & Arnott, 2016; Mollica et al., 2005).

Under-seasoning of salt and pepper

There was some discussion about parental and administrative support. Half of the participants designed cultural activities with their FSL departments, added cultural content in final assessments and divided cultural research time. Nora, who taught at a private school, was permitted by her principal to Skype with native French speakers in her classroom, yet was the only participant who shared this opportunity. Therefore, as illustrated in Figure 8, financial support for cultural, extracurricular opportunities and resources was requested eight times by the educators.

Note: The scale begins with no cultural request (0), to eight responses (8) that money for field trips and resources were requested by the participants.

Figure 8
Participants' cultural requests

Participants overwhelmingly wanted additional, experiential learning opportunities for students to directly interact with native speakers. Camille was challenged by departmental hierarchy, excessive documentation and funding issues. Helena was worried about the impact of limited professional learning opportunities for non-native French-speaking educators, in particular, regarding their understanding and ongoing implementation of the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001). There was no reference to parental support (i.e., pepper), which is a prompt to further research studies.

Nourished student-consumers

Overall, the ten teachers observed student engagement with French cultural content, so their learners metaphorically consumed the French salads. According to the educators, their students used play food to make French sandwiches and actively participated in garage sales (Helena), followed francophone artists on Instagram (Christina) and produced travel brochures (Carla and Rachel). Helena stressed, however, of the professional responsibility for Grade 9 CF educators to *give them the tools* to become enthusiastic towards francophone communities at this beginner-level of French (Interview January 29, 2019).

The participating students were primarily responsible for their own learning. Students also learned about effective research skills to ensure cultural accuracy. Camille shared her experience in navigating fraudulent websites with students:

> I do a lesson, at the very beginning of the year, and it's all in English, the website that I use ... Martin Luther King.org ... The first thing you're going to do, is type in Martin Luther King Junior in Google and the very first thing that comes up, is Martin Luther King.org. ... it looks like a completely legit website ... I click on one of them. It's run by a neo-Nazi ... It is all lies about Martin Luther King Jr.! (January 16, 2019)

Therefore, for many of the cultural activities, the learners determined the content, format and were reminded to be scholarly researchers to respect the cultural accuracy of francophone communities.

Limitations, delimitations, and future directions

My research study had several limitations; however, remained beneficial to stakeholders. Firstly, it was a small-scope research project with ten participants. Further, I only explored non-native French-speaking Grade 9 CF educators. I did not observe classrooms and nor did I directly investigate parents or administration.

However, my case study was still beneficial as I provided greater insight into the Grade 9 CF classroom and current experiences of the non-native

French-speaking educator. Furthermore, my findings added to the discussion of respecting the integrity of CF programs and of non-native French-speaking educators as sound pedagogues. Having learned a variety of pedagogical strategies from my participants, I am inspired to conduct an action-research inquiry to explore how cultural exploration and interaction look like in my future Grade 9 CF classrooms. My goal would be to thoroughly apply the teachings of the neurolinguistic approach (Netten & Germain, 2012) as it was not introduced to the participants of this inquiry (Guida, 2020).

Future studies should expand the focus to all elementary and secondary FSL teachers to provide a larger research context of how cultures are approached in the province's FSL classrooms. Considering the global pandemic which has thoroughly changed where and how educators teach, I believe that there should be more work to explore how cultural interaction is experienced in hybrid, face-to-face and fully online classroom settings.

Moving forward, I recommend that Grade 9 CF educators:

1. think of culture as pluriculture (Council of Europe, 2001; 2016; 2018);
2. work towards becoming a cultural pedagogue and not an expert;
3. pursue ongoing, cultural research initiatives;
4. consider following the neurolinguistic approach to help students confidently communicate in French through engaging opportunities (Netten & Germain, 2012); and,
5. consider beginning with travel as a motivational unit for students.

I end this paper with Manno's love of francophone cultures:

> What is francophone culture anymore with this global migration and the social media and this digital world. ... I just want the kids to appreciate and find pleasure in learning about something besides their own, isolated little community [to become] this other sort of francophone self

Regardless of one's language identity, the love of teaching and learning is imperative for bringing cultures into the SL classroom. *Bon appétit!*

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Mission possible:

Incorporating academic literacy and readiness into an English intensive program curriculum

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Abstract

Students at Canadian universities who do not meet their program-specific language and academic requirements may be admitted to their programs with a condition to enrol in an intensive language program. While, in general, university-based language intensive programs aim to help students improve their general and academic language proficiency, our focus is to specifically enhance, foster, and render visible students' academic literacy and academic readiness. We aim to bring forth some of the intricacies and complexities of curriculum design that are embedded within current theory and practice and address needs-based nuances in teaching academic English to international students. In this article, we use a multi-dimensional framework to describe a case study of an academic institution that offers an English Intensive Program curriculum. This program allows for, inter alia, the incorporation of multiple literacies including extra-curricular activities to promote the development of a wide array of academic literacies in students enrolled in the English Intensive Program. Following a description of the theoretical framework, we discuss practical implications of including theory-driven academic literacies into intensive language program curricula for different stakeholders.

Key words: curriculum, academic literacies, academic readiness, English intensive program, internationalization

Résumé

Les étudiants qui ne satisfont pas aux exigences linguistiques et scolaires de leur programme peuvent être admis à leur programme à condition de s'inscrire à un programme linguistique intensif. Si, en général, les programmes linguistiques intensifs à l'université visent à aider les étudiants à améliorer leurs compétences linguistiques générales

et académiques, notre objectif est d'améliorer, d'encourager et de rendre visible la littératie académique et la préparation académique des étudiants. Nous décrivons une étude de cas d'un établissement universitaire qui propose un curriculum programme d'anglais intensif qui s'inspire de la théorie actuelle pour conceptualiser le travail sur la littératie académique. Ce programme permet, entre autres, l'incorporation de littératies multiples, y compris des activités extrascolaires visant à promouvoir le développement d'une littératie académique complexe chez les étudiants inscrits au programme d'anglais intensif. Après une description de la lentille épistémologique, nous discutons des implications pratiques de l'intégration de la littératie académique dans les programmes linguistiques intensifs pour les différentes parties prenantes.

Mots-clés : curriculum, littératie académique, préparation académique, programme d'anglais intensif, internationalisation

Introduction

We have witnessed a marked shift towards internationalization of academic institutions across the world in the last three decades (Association of International Educators,[1] 2019; Engberg & Green, 2002; Hénard et al., 2012; Middlehurst, 2013; Tight, 2021). This shift has concurrently generated new insights in teaching and learning English as an additional language in general (see Darvin & Norton, 2021) and academic English in particular (see Ivanič, 1998). These insights offer conceptual frameworks to understanding learners' diverse backgrounds, purposes, and experience of studying in a language that is different than the language they use at home as well as their developing identities as learners of an additional language. While much of the research in the context of internationalization has focused on strategies and policies for the purpose of encouraging international students to pack and move to another country to study (see Kehm & Teichler, 2007; Kim & Lawrence, 2021; Stohl, 2007), research on curriculum design targeted at the needs of international students has remained limited (see Ruegg & Williams, 2018). In light of this research, we argue that the context of internationalization generates an intricate system of multiple considerations significant to curriculum design in academic literacy and educational research. The purpose of this article is to highlight four concepts that we identified through iterative data collections since 2015. We see these as necessary factors that can guide curriculum design in the context of internationalization and discuss them in later sections.

As stated by Barnett and Coate (2005), designing a language curriculum can be a lengthy and multifaceted process. However, in the context of

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[1]The Association of International Educators was formerly known as the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA).

internationalization, we find it helpful to think about curriculum design that centres international students at its core and as a journey. This is comparable to charting a course of action toward developing and sustaining students' language and academic skills and moving along a temporal and spatial geodetic pathway (a path of shortest distance) to a destination — however far it may be. We use the metaphor of a roadmap and geodetic pathways and build on the Chinese concept of *dao* to convey a particular way one takes, or a particular path one is led onto, to get to their destination while focusing on a theory-driven, student-centered development of academic skills. In this context, developing academic literacies, students embark on a journey of becoming members of their respective designated academic fields. Thinking of this process as a journey helps us appreciate the work on academic literacies as gradual, incremental, and transformational — thus rendering the concept of dao instrumental here.

Against this backdrop, we consider four factors that are relevant and conducive to laying down the paths through the curriculum design in English as an additional language within the context of internationalization. These factors, to be described later in the article, have been identified as recurring themes in data collected for the University of Ottawa English Intensive Program curriculum renewal project that was launched in 2015.

Literature review: Academic literacies

We begin our discussion on academic literacy by acknowledging that "Institutions of higher education are full of complaints about student writing" and about student "performance in academic literacy" and readiness (Ivanič, 1998, p. 343). This has been a persistent issue as shown in Cennetkuşu's (2017) work. To better understand what it is that students are struggling with, we draw on Leibowitz (2011) to define academic literacy as ways of thinking, interacting, acknowledging different views and ideas as well as producing new knowledge. As such, academic literacy is understood in our work as a multifaceted set of skills that need to be continually refined to develop and sustain students' capacity to articulate ideas that are cohesive, coherent, and reflective of prior research in their respective designated fields of study. This definition not only encompasses "the ability to read and write the various texts assigned in college" (Spack, 1997, p. 4), but also includes the capacity to critically evaluate available knowledge in one's respective field while, as expected in the twenty-first century, using digital tools to maximize one's learning experience. It is this infused definition of multiple academic literacies that allows us to see academic literacy as going beyond reading comprehension and writing grammatically and stylistically correct sentences and paragraphs.

Building on Leibowitz' (2011) clustering of different skills — or as we call

them *different paths* to be trodden in academic literacies — the mismatch that Ivanič (1998) and Cennetkuşu (2017) identify between students' performance and academic expectations becomes stark. Interestingly, this mismatch has traditionally been treated as something that can be fixed by providing short-term workshops or setting up one-time sessions that invite students to voluntarily get some help in writing (see for example, Moore, 1995). Both solutions are perceived in the literature as insufficient and ineffective as they, more often than not, fail to adequately support, sustain, and effectively develop academic literacies. While most university-based language intensive programs aim to help students improve their general and/or academic language proficiency, it is almost impossible to enhance, foster, and render visible the long-term processes required in capacity building in academic literacies.

More than two decades ago, work in academic literacy tended to adopt a linguistic approach that framed academic literacy as a product rather than as a process. At the turn of the century, however, academic literacy was reframed as a highly dynamic, long-term, complex process that is ingrained with one's development of identity, investment, and imagined community (see for e.g., Ivanič, 1998, 2004; Norton, 1997, 2000, 2001). In the context of institution-wide internationalizations, the former approach positions international students within a deficit framework (Crawford, 1998; Mora et al., 2001; Ruiz, 1984; Shapiro, 2014) as they are labelled as Second Language Learners or English Language Learners. The latter approach, however, positions them as agentive, driven by aspirations to change life circumstances and experience social mobilization (Babino & Stewart, 2017; Ivanič, 1998; Lea & Street, 2006; Norton, 2001; Norton Pierce, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2011).

In light of this difference in perspectives, we noted a need for a shift of paradigms so that we adopt the language that will allow us to focus on academic literacies in terms of complex processes rather than a product that one either has or doesn't have (see Lea & Street, 2006). To this end, we bring together the work of Ivanič, who collaborated with mature native speakers of English going back to school as well as the work of Norton, who worked with newcomers to Canada. Ivanič (1998) emphasizes the importance of placing the student writer at the centre of writing to form a social constructionist approach to literacy rather than passively meeting the conventional academic standards. She, therefore, argues that student writers continually create themselves in and through their academic texts. Norton (2015) reports on a trajectory of research collaborations on identity and language learning through the lens of identity making, capital, and ideology. She argues that language teachers across the world should be cognizant of learner investment rather than on learner *motivation* in the pedagogical and literacy practices of their teaching.

Conceptualizing academic literacy as multiple, dynamic, ongoing, and related to identity development is instrumental in developing curricula within the context of internationalization. As the Centre for Language Learning (CLL) at the University of Ottawa's Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute (OLBI) launched a curriculum renewal project in 2015 to address academic literacy and readiness, four factors surfaced to which we turn next.

Factors in curriculum design:
Towards a multidimensional complex system

We identify four important factors in reflecting on curriculum design in the context of internationalization. We also take into account the time frame and academic expectations of the different programs to which the students are admitted conditionally. The four factors are: locality, heterogeneity and diversity, motivation, and readiness. The following sections situate them within the context of curriculum design.

Locality

When considering locality in curriculum design, we examine how learning experiences and capacity building in academic literacies are embedded within and structured around context- and institution-specific vision, mission, and values. With a steady increase in the number of international students enrolled in post-secondary programs, language pathway programs are required to place a greater emphasis on developing students' academic literacies, combined with their English language capabilities and intercultural skills. Laying down the pathway to students' academic success involves experiences of localizing and re-localizing in ways that build on and extend Pennycook's (2010) notion of locality and Blommaert's (2010) notion of performative language use as well as its association with identity making.

Heterogeneity and diversity

In considering heterogeneity and diversity, we ask how learning experiences shape and are shaped by students' diverse language backgrounds. We also examine student perceptions of and familiarity with academic literacies and how their diverse experiences can be surfaced to navigate the learning processes of academic literacies. Students' backgrounds (whether linguistic or cultural) dictate the way (read dao) that lay before them. In a recent article by Liu & Huang (2021), for example, it is demonstrated how students from China transfer rhetorical structures from their L1 and how these structures need to be specifically targeted in English classes. Similar disparities between English and other languages need to be recognized and addressed both intentionally

and carefully in classes of academic English (Ma, 2020). Being aware of these L1-dependent available templates of expression is fundamental to the development of effective teaching strategies of academic literacies.

Rethinking motivation

Darvin and Norton (2021) and Norton (2015, 2000) convincingly point out that the concept of motivation renders learners as less agentive on the subject of learning an additional language. They provide ample evidence to support the use of the notion of a learner's *investment* that includes, inter alia, their imagined communities, that is, what professional group they want to be affiliated with as they complete their university degrees. The notion of investment plays an important conceptual role as it changes the focus of attention from thinking about a learner in binary terms (they are motivated to learn or not) to considering a learner's agency, their decision making about why they want to learn the additional language, who they aspire to become, and how these conditions can be supported by pedagogical approaches and instructional practices. Thinking about students' motivation in terms of their developing identities as belonging to new groups makes it possible to shift attention from questions relating to motivation and attitudes to a constant quest for learning opportunities and alignment with students' goals and aspirations.

Namely, aligning one's learning an additional language with the curriculum goals is less a matter of acculturation or motivation and more a matter of learners' belief "that their investments in the target language are an integral part of the language curriculum" and that unless they believe so, "they may resist the teacher's pedagogy, or possibly even remove themselves from the class entirely" (Norton, 2000, p. 142).

Refining readiness

When considering academic readiness, we examine student behaviours and study habits that predict their success in an academic setting regardless of their background or field of study. Karp and Bork (2014) define academic readiness as a set of behaviours that are traditionally, but not explicitly, taught. These behaviours include not only exhibiting cultural know how, balancing multiple roles, and help seeking but also developing academic habits and strategies such as managing workflow independently. Learner autonomy is reinforced when students use a syllabus to complete work that must be done in increments and manage time-bound tasks. In this process, they plan to study in new ways and take notes independently, effectively, and reflectively. As stated by Porter and Polikoff (2012), numerous definitions of readiness consist of noncognitive or non-academic aspects including effort, work ethic or perseverance. We adopt

this definition because it allows us to gauge the development of students' academic readiness and direct them to next steps in their journey. When learners come from different linguistic and educational backgrounds, academic readiness within the new locality must guide our curriculum decisions.

We suggest that while considering these four factors in curriculum design may be context- and institution-dependent, the recognition of each as multi-directionally interactive with students' experiences is paramount. To wit, when designing an English Intensive Program curriculum, careful attention is to be paid to going beyond an institution's formulation of its shared vision, mission, and values (locality) to carefully incorporate the other three factors (heterogeneity and diversity, investment, and readiness) to allow students to embark on their journey in developing their academic literacies as we explain next.

Case study: English Intensive Program curriculum

The University of Ottawa is recognized as the largest French–English bilingual university in the world (University of Ottawa, n.d.). International students can be admitted to either English-language or French-language programs. In this section, we focus on programs taught in English. Students who have not completed at least three years of full-time study in an academic institution located in an English-speaking country where English is the only language of instruction, must successfully complete a university-approved language proficiency test. Having said that, we do not exclude relevant implications for programs taught in other languages.

International students who do not meet the language requirements may be required to enrol in one or two English-as-a-second-language courses during the first year of their program or complete the English Intensive Program (EIP) offered by the CLL at the OLBI.

The EIP program promotes the following overarching mission statement:

> The English Intensive Program (EIP) at the University of Ottawa is designed to build your confidence and help you acquire the language skills, academic abilities, and intercultural knowledge you need to succeed, both in your undergraduate or graduate program and on a personal level. (OLBI, 2022)

Without claiming that the destination is static and fixed, we suggest that explicitly framing academic literacy as a path to academic success is helpful in identifying destination skills and the geodetic paths to get to them.

In the following section, we will explain how the program learning outcomes drafted for the new curriculum are guided by the four factors discussed above.

Program learning outcomes

Program learning outcomes (PLOs) are essentially overarching objectives students will be able to achieve by the end of a program. The University of Ottawa's Program Learning Outcomes Guide defines PLOs as "the knowledge, competencies and values a student displays at the end of the program" (n.d.). We drafted five PLOs for the EIP curriculum and ensured that the course learning outcomes for each level of the pathway program, as well as course contents, assessment requirements, and tools align with these PLOs. By the end of the English Intensive Program, students will be able to:

1. Apply listening, reading, speaking, and writing strategies and language knowledge to comprehend and communicate ideas effectively in an academic setting.

2. Use a variety of study skills and educational resources to demonstrate academic readiness and learner autonomy.

3. Apply critical thinking skills to interpret, evaluate, and analyze academic content from various disciplines.

4. Use communicative skills to function effectively and confidently in groups.

5. Demonstrate intercultural awareness and develop a sense of belonging in the university community by fostering social interactions and relationships with people from a variety of backgrounds.

The first PLO that supports academic literacy is in accordance with the mission statement of the CLL and is guided by the concept of locality. Hence, the aim of this PLO is to help students build capacity in academic literacy through learning experiences facilitated by English for academic purposes (EAP) course contents, EAP-oriented pedagogical methods and tools, and academic-literacy-based assessments.

The second PLO is guided by the notion of readiness since we believe that the ability to use a variety of study skills and educational resources reinforces learner autonomy, which happens to be a valid predictor of university success (Tilfarlioglu & Ciftci, 2011).

The third PLO promotes higher-order thinking skills and follows Leibowitz' (2011) approach to academic literacy and clustering of different skills. Applying critical thinking skills to interpret, evaluate, and analyze academic content from various disciplines is meant to help students learn how to critically acknowledge different views and ideas to produce new knowledge, allowing them to develop their authorial voice and place them at the centre as knowledge producers (Ivanič, 1998).

Even though the fourth PLO may seem to be inspired merely by a communicative approach to language learning, it reflects the four elements of locality, diversity, investment, and readiness. Many students in the EIP come from educational backgrounds that are teacher-centred and value memorization and individual tasks over dialogic pedagogy and collaborative work. This PLO calls for an emphasis on the agentive nature of learning so that students fit in a new student-centred educational system where collaboration is highly valued.

The last PLO pulls together the four factors with an emphasis on developing a sense of belonging in the university community. As Baker (2012) notes, intercultural awareness encompasses not only the linguistic knowledge and skills but also the attitudes a language learner needs to successfully interact in complex settings. A dynamic university community is a perfect example of a setting where people from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds develop a sense of belonging by negociating meaning, forging (inter-)cultural identities, and fostering social interactions.

The EIP course learning outcomes fully align with the overarching PLOs. This alignment also applies to the curriculum assessment tools *for* learning and *of* learning — the former is formative and thus oriented towards enhancing and fostering further support in learning; the latter is summative and thus oriented towards evaluating student learning within and at the end of each course.

The goal of these PLOs is to enable EIP students to confidently develop a diverse and a broad range of academic skills required for university success. Instead of working within a deficit framework (see Crawford, 1998; Mora, et al., 2001; Ruiz, 1984; Shapiro, 2014) by focusing on their *weaknesses* as English language learners and police linguistic shortcomings, we utilize a multidimensional complex system that aims to enable capacity building and equip students with refined academic skills.

To aim at the destination of academic readiness more specifically, we provide students with the Academic Readiness Rubric (see Appendix A) to guide their work throughout the EIP. The rubric foregrounds a detailed breakdown of forms of engagement (see Norton's 1997, 2000, 2015 student investment) that prepares them for expected academic expectations in their respective fields of studies. These expectations include participation, attendance and punctuality, following instructions, completing assignments, effort, collaborating with peers, independence and autonomy, attention to detail, use of English, and ability to express needs and concerns (see Karp & Bork, 2014).

We also incorporate locality, diversity, student motivation (read invest-ment), and academic readiness in the assessment portfolio of the EIP courses as an incentive so that our students treat this element of the course with the impor-tance it deserves. Pedagogically, however, academic readiness equips students

with a diverse range of skills and competencies required for university success.

Considering the context of internationalization and using locality, heterogeneity, investment, and academic readiness along the notions of identity development as users of academic English to guide the construction and refinement of the EIP curriculum, students work on their daos as they progress through and along the paths laid out before them. As defined in the theoretical framework of how we understand academic literacies, we also include students' capacity building to use diverse ways of thinking, interacting, and acknowledging different perspectives (Leibowitz, 2011) in and through digital tools and online platforms as specified in Appendix B.

It is noteworthy that the new curriculum of the EIP program also includes extra-curricular activities where students can garner further experiences in learning English and refine their skills in academic literacy and, by extension, continually develop their skills as they merely harness the four elements of locality, diversity, investment, and readiness. Students are guided to aim at and work on clear expectations and self-regulation. The program provides opportunities to share students' stories of success while working on ownership and guides them in developing their sense of authorship of texts through constant writing and participation in the production of texts.

Evaluating the EIP curriculum: Measured success of the EIP students

One method of evaluating the effectiveness of the EIP curriculum is to conduct empirical research on the performance of the EIP graduates in their regular university courses. This is a challenging process due to availability, ethics, and consent issues. However, the university administration regularly collects data on the academic performance of first-year students once they have completed 15 units of their programs.

Specifically, as per the University of Ottawa grading scheme, achieving a CGPA[2] of 5.0 and above means the student is in good standing; obtaining a CGPA of between 3.0 and 4.99 means the students may face academic probation after their first 24 units and has another 24 units to raise their CGPA or be withdrawn from their program, depending on their CGPA after probation. Students who obtain 2.99 and below in most programs face faculty withdrawal.

Two years after the launch of the new curriculum, we were granted access to secondary data collected on academic success. Statistical tests were carried out to find who among the students in the EIP and Direct Entry groups were more at risk. To this end, data collected on 722 international students from two different cohorts: 361 students who took the EIP courses and 361 direct-entry

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[2]Cumulative Grade Point Average measures a a student's academic performance in all of the courses they have taken (successfully or not) (University of Ottawa, 2022).

students who did not take any EIP courses were analyzed. As we can see in Table 1, there exists a significant difference in the number of at-risk students among those who took EIP (131) versus those who entered directly into their programs (181). Chi Square ($\chi^2(1, N = 722) = 14.1104, p > .000172$) and Cramer-V (0.1398) indicate a significant relationship between taking EIP and not being at-risk. This suggests that the new curriculum, with its grounding in locality, diversity, investment, and academic readiness, holds promise to the success of international students.

Table 1

Association between being at-risk and direct entry

	EIP			Direct entry			Row totals
At-risk	131	(156.00)	[4.00]	181	(156.00)	[4.00]	312
Not at-risk	230	(205.00)	[3.05]	180	(205.00)	[3.05]	410
Column totals	361			361			722 (Grand total)

     We are aware of the limitations of these findings as we know academic success is a multifaceted concept. Moreover, we are cognizant of the need to conduct additional qualitative and quantitative studies to better evaluate the effectiveness of the EIP curriculum and make possible improvements to ift.

Conclusion

As the findings in Appendix B demonstrate, there is a significant difference between the EIP (36% at-risk) and the Direct Entry international (50% at-risk), which suggests that international students may benefit from the new EIP curriculum. The work, however, needs to continue. In this article, we suggest a new, comprehensive, theory driven EIP curriculum in the context of internationalization. We describe a curriculum that began with a focus on language skills and proficiency-oriented language instruction that evolved to include four relevant curriculum design factors within the context of internationalization (see Figure 1).

     We would like to note, that while the EIP program, prior to the curriculum change focused more on language and linguistic aspects (see left-most side box in Figure 1), the comprehensive curriculum change allowed for the consolidation of contextual, psychological, social, and cultural aspects in the shift to academic literacy. Work in developing the new curriculum and its assessment procedures is oriented towards fostering and further developing academic literacies, but the work does not end here. We are looking forward to a continual adaptation of cutting-edge research to further develop an evidence-
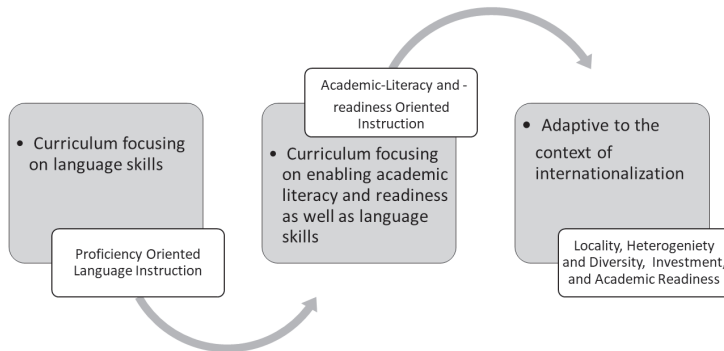
Figure 1
Looking back, planning forward

based curriculum that supports and makes visible students' development of academic literacy within the context of internationalization.

We would describe this work as a dynamic process with multiple entry points into the quest toward developing academic literacies. Our aim stands firm and that is to develop multiple approaches to building capacities in academic literacies and to being attentive to empowering students to succeed. This article provides a few steppingstones in this journey.

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Appendix A
English Intensive Program academic readiness rubric

Assessment criteria	Needs improvement (0–4)	Satisfactory (5–6)	Good (7–8)	Excellent (9–10)
Participation	Never or rarely participates in class discussions and activities.	Sometimes participates in class discussions and activities.	Often participates in class discussions and activities.	Always or almost always participates in class discussions and activities.
Following instructions	Never or rarely follows instructions in class or on the course website closely.	Sometimes follows instructions in class or on the course website closely.	Often follows instructions in class or on the course website closely.	Always or almost always follows instructions in class or on the course website closely.
Completing assignments	Never or rarely completes required assignments on time.	Sometimes completes required assignments on time.	Often completes required assignments on time.	Always or almost always completes required assignments on time.
Attendance and punctuality	Never or rarely attends class and arrives on time.	Sometimes attends class and arrives on time.	Often attends class and arrives on time.	Always or almost always attends class and arrives on time.
Effort	Never or rarely makes efforts in assigned tasks.	Sometimes makes efforts in assigned tasks.	Often makes efforts in assigned tasks.	Always or almost always makes efforts in assigned tasks.

con'd …

Appendix A (con'd)

Assessment criteria	Needs improvement (0–4)	Satisfactory (5–6)	Good (7–8)	Excellent (9–10)
Collaborating with peers	Never or rarely collaborates effectively with peers to complete group tasks.	Sometimes collaborates effectively with peers to complete group tasks.	Often collaborates effectively with peers to complete group tasks.	Always or almost always collaborates effectively with peers to complete group tasks.
Independence and autonomy	Never or rarely displays learner independence and autonomy.	Sometimes displays learner independence and autonomy.	Often displays learner independence and autonomy.	Always or almost always displays learner independence and autonomy.
Attention to detail	Never or rarely shows attention to detail in completing and revising assignments.	Sometimes shows attention to detail in completing and revising assignments.	Often shows attention to detail in completing and revising assignments.	Always or almost always shows attention to detail in completing and revising assignments.
Use of English	Never or rarely uses English in class.	Sometimes uses English in class.	Often uses English in class.	Always or almost always uses English in class.
Ability to express needs and concerns	Never or rarely displays the ability to express needs and concerns to teachers and appropriate individuals on campus.	Sometimes displays the ability to express needs and concerns to teachers and appropriate individuals on campus.	Often displays the ability to express needs and concerns to teachers and appropriate individuals on campus.	Always or almost always displays the ability to express needs and concerns to teachers and appropriate individuals on campus.

Farzi (2017, p. 42)

Appendix B

English Intensive Program rubric of academic and digital literacy skills

	Needs improvement (0–4)	Satisfactory (5–6)	Good (7–8)	Excellent (9–10)
Digital skills	– Student has very limited, if any, experience using a computer or the Internet and expresses minimal desire to develop more skills in this area.	– Student has some experience using educational technologies and expresses a desire to develop more skills in this area.	– Student has good experience using educational technologies and expresses a desire to develop even more skills in this area.	– Student has considerable experience using educational technologies and helps her/his classmates to develop their skills in this area.
	– Student has a hard time using most of the tools necessary for completing the requirements of the course.	– Student can use some but not all the tools necessary for completing the requirements of the course.	– Student can use all or almost all the tools necessary for completing the requirements of the course.	– Student can not only use all the tools necessary for completing the requirements of the course but is also a tech-savvy leader in the course.
Study skills	– Student does not manage her/his time effectively in doing the course readings, completing assignments, and studying for quizzes and tests.	– Student occasionally manages her/his time effectively in doing the course readings, completing assignments, and studying for quizzes and tests.	– Student often manages her/his time effectively in doing the course readings, completing assignments, and studying for quizzes and tests.	– Student almost always/always manages her/his time effectively in doing the course readings, completing assignments, and studying for quizzes and tests.

con'd …

Appendix B (con'd)

Study skills (con'd)	– Student does not have a designated study space. – Student is easily distracted while studying the course material online. S/he opens up several tabs (webpages) and cannot focus on the intended study material. – Student does not identify learning goals and objectives, nor does s/he have a study plan.	– Student does not have a designated study space which promotes productivity. – Student is sometimes distracted while studying the course material online. S/he often opens up several tabs (webpages) and cannot focus on the intended study material. – Student occasionally identifies learning goals and objectives but does not have a firm study plan.	– Student has a designated study space. – Student is occasionally distracted while studying the course material online. S/he often opens only the tabs (webpages) related to the intended study material. – Student often identifies learning goals and objectives and has a firm study plan.	– Student has a designated study space, which has proper lighting and is comfortable for hours of studying. – Student is rarely distracted while studying the course material online. S/he effectively uses online and offline material to complete tasks. – Student always identifies learning goals and objectives and has a firm study plan.
Learning style	– Student is often unable to adapt to new course material. Student always requires immediate feedback, direction, and follow-up support in online activities.	– Student is occasionally able to adapt to new course material. Student often requires immediate feedback, direction, and follow-up support in online activities.	– Student is often able to adapt to new course material with some comfort. Student sometimes requires immediate feedback, direction, and follow-up support with online activities	– Student is always able to adapt to new course material with a high-level of comfort and skill. Student rarely requires immediate feedback, direction, and follow-up support with online activities.

Appendix B (con'd)

Attitude and motivation	– Student lacks open-mindedness and resists adapting to online learning. – Student demonstrates limited willingness to use educational technology. – Student is rarely motivated to make an effort in completing the activities posted on Brightspace.	– Student is somewhat open-minded about some areas of online learning but resistant to adapt in other areas. – Student demonstrates some willingness to use educational technology. – Student is somewhat motivated to make an effort in completing the activities posted on Brightspace.	– Student is open-minded and is adapting well to online learning. – Student demonstrates a willingness to use educational technology. – Student is almost always motivated to make an effort in completing the activities posted on Brightspace.	– Student is open-minded and is embracing online learning. – Student demonstrates great willingness to use educational technology. – Student is always motivated to make an effort in completing the activities posted on Brightspace.
hline Live instruction participation and engagement	– Student rarely participates in the online class discussions or engages with the course material.	– Student sometimes participates in online class discussions and engages with the course material.	– Student often participates in online class discussions and engages with the course material.	– Student always participates in online class discussions and actively engages with the course material.
Self-directed interaction with course material	– Student does not engage with posted online course material. – Student rarely accesses Brightspace and does not engage with any of the posted material.	– Student rarely engages with posted online course material. – Student sometimes accesses Brightspace and interacts with only some posted material.	– Student is often engaged with posted online course material. – Student often accesses Brightspace and interacts with most posted material.	– Student is always engaged with posted online course material. – Student regularly accesses Brightspace and interacts with all posted material on Brightspace.

con'd …

Appendix B (con'd)

Assignment completion	– Student never or rarely completes assignments on time.	– Student sometimes completes assignments on time.	– Student often completes assignments on time.	– Student always or almost always completes assignments on time.
Attendance and punctuality	– Student rarely attends the online course. – Student is frequently late to join live classes.	– Student often attends the live learning sessions. – Student is sometimes late to joins live classes	– Student almost always attends the live learning sessions. – Student is rarely late to join live classes	– Student always attends the live learning sessions. – Student is never late to join the live classes.
Independence and autonomy	– Student rarely displays learner independence and autonomy. – Student consistently requires reminders to complete assignments and assistance to complete online course work.	– Student sometimes displays learner independence and autonomy. – Student sometimes requires reminders to complete assignments and assistance to complete online course work.	– Student often displays learner independence and autonomy. – Student rarely requires reminders to complete assignments or assistance to complete online course work.	– Student always or almost always displays learner independence and autonomy. – Student does not require reminders to complete assignments and can complete online course work with no assistance.

Farzi et al., (2020, pp. 28–29)

Plurilinguismes, paysages linguistiques et constructions identitaires :
une approche éducative pluri-située et multi-sites

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Résumé

Cette contribution présente quelques-uns des résultats issus d'une étude collaborative mise en place à Montevideo (Uruguay) par un partenariat constitué d'enseignants d'une école élémentaire, de familles volontaires, de médiateurs de musées et de trois chercheures. Ce réseau s'est engagé dans la mise en œuvre d'un projet ancré dans une approche du plurilinguisme en tant qu'atout qui met en exergue la nature multi-située, expérientielle et en mouvement de la connaissance.

Dans cet article, nous nous centrons sur l'analyse de donnés multimodales de trois activités menées avec un groupe d'enfants âgés de 6 à 12 ans pour interroger les possibilités des projets collaboratifs plurilingues multi-sites dans la création de nouveaux espaces d'apprentissage expérientiel, à l'école et dans la rue. L'analyse révèle la façon dont les enfants et les familles participants s'engagent collaborativement et investissent leur capital culturel et leurs ressources plurilingues et pluri-sémiotiques dans la reconstruction de leurs identités plurielles et dans l'appropriation pluri-située de leur environnement.

Mots-clés : plurilinguismes, identités plurielles, paysages linguistiques, partenariats école-musées-familles, recherches ethnographiques collaboratives

Abstract

This contribution presents the results of a collaborative study set up in Montevideo (Uruguay) by a partnership of elementary school teachers,

families, mediators from museums and researchers. This network is engaged in the creation and implementation of a project anchored on an approach to plurilingualism as an asset that highlights the multi-located, experiential and moving nature of knowledge.

In this article, we focus on the multimodal data analysis of three multi-site activities conducted with a group of children aged 6 to 12 to question the possibilities of multi-sites plurilingual collaborative projects in the creation of new experiential learning spaces, at school and on the street. The analysis reveals how participating children and families engage collaboratively and invest their culture capital and plurilingual and pluri-semiotic resources in the reconstruction of their plural identities and in the pluri-situated appropriation of their environment.

Key words: plurilingualism, plural identities, linguistic landscapes, partnerships school-museums-families, ethnographic and collaborative research

Introduction

Dans le monde contemporain où les phénomènes de globalisation, de mobilité transnationale et virtuelle renforcent le tissu super-diversifié (Blommaert, 2013 ; Vertovec, 2007) de différents contextes de notre vie (professionnelle, sociale, familiale), l'apprentissage des langues, explicite, implicite ou spontané, figure, de plus en plus, comme une activité sociale et collaborative (Lebrun-Brossard, 2021) qui traverse plusieurs contextes d'apprentissage, comme l'école, la famille et la communauté. Malgré les bénéfices rapportés par la littérature concernant les partenariats éducatifs (Epstein, 2002), peu d'études questionnent comment les ressources familiales et communautaires, et dans notre cas, les musées, peuvent contribuer à la co-construction de scénarios plurilingues basés sur le caractère multi-situé des connaissances et des expériences d'apprentissage. Cette contribution porte sur quelques activités d'un projet en cours à Montevideo, Uruguay, autour du plurilinguisme et de ses potentialités didactiques par l'établissement de continuités entre des espaces d'apprentissage formels, non formels et informels (Ainsworth & Eaton, 2010) à travers la construction de partenariats éducatifs. L'objectif est de documenter et comprendre comment les enfants et les familles participantes s'engagent collaborativement et investissent leur capital culturel, leurs ressources plurilingues et pluri-sémiotiques, ainsi que leurs identités plurielles tout au long des activités du projet.

Contexte

Notre étude convoque un partenariat comprenant une école élémentaire située dans le quartier *Ciudad Vieja* de Montevideo, quatre musées — le MUMI

(*Museo de las Migraciones)*, le MAPI (*Museo de Arte Precolombino e Indígena*), le museée historique de la ville (*Museo Histórico Cabildo*) et le CdF (*Centro de Fotografía de Montevideo*) — , des familles volontaires, des photographes et muséologues et trois chercheures (une chercheure impliquée sur le terrain et deux chercheures séniors). Pendant l'année 2019, ce partenariat a collaboré à la création d'un projet plurilingue et interculturel (PPI) destiné aux enfants et familles de l'école. Après la distribution à l'école d'un dépliant explicatif du PPI, un total de 29 enfants et leurs familles se sont inscrits aux activités à développer à l'école, aux musées et dans les rues du quartier *Ciudad Vieja*.

    L'école en question, qui était volontaire pour participer, accueille un très fort taux d'enfants issus des migrations (essentiellement d'Amérique Latine) dont la langue de scolarisation est l'espagnol. Les enfants apprennent l'anglais et le portugais comme langues étrangères. Nous avons travaillé avec des enfants âgés de six (6) à douze (12) ans et leurs familles d'origines et de nationalités différentes : des Uruguayens, des Vénézuéliens, des Colombiens et des Cubains.

Ancrages théoriques

Notre perspective s'inscrit dans une approche sociolinguistique et didactique des langues et du plurilinguisme, qui pose comme prémisse centrale que les langues sont des constructions sociales soumises à des normes historiquement situées au sein de dynamiques écologiques particulières (Calvet & Calvet, 2013). Nous insistons sur l'idée que tout individu est un *potentiel plurilingue* (Beacco & Byram, 2007 ; Piccardo, 2019) qui navigue dans des dynamiques plurielles le situant de manière particulière au sein de ces écologies. Son répertoire est donc unique et intégré, et les maillages linguistiques et sémiotiques jouent des rôles dans les processus identitaires et d'appropriation (Castellotti, 2017 ; Lüdi & Py, 2003). On s'inscrit ici dans l'effort d'appréhender une vision holistique de la compétence plurilingue qui interroge le mouvement entre les langues et leurs intrications pluri-sémiotiques ainsi que la réflexivité des apprenants à propos de leurs actions, dans une action située et sociale où se transforme aussi l'acteur en auteur de ses pratiques et expériences d'apprentissages.

    Décrite comme marquant plusieurs tournants épistémologique, multi-lingue, social et spatial (Conteh & Meier, 2014 ; May, 2014), la didactique des langues et du plurilinguisme rencontre dans la société de nos jours des opportunités pour développer des chemins innovateurs et créatifs. Un de ces chemins se trouve dans l'exploration des scénarios pédagogiques d'apprentissage et d'expérimentation des langues ancrés dans le monde réel et dans des pratiques interactionnelles où la *performativité* (*embodiment*) se configure comme un

processus essentiel à la construction des sens sur la complexité de notre monde. Plusieurs travaux comme Budach (2018) ou Mondada (2016), ont par ailleurs permis d'insister sur l'interaction multimodale (incluant le langage et le corps, la mobilité et la sensorialité) ainsi que sur le rôle des artefacts comme ressources sémiotiques d'appropriation dans les environnements d'apprentissage multilingues promoteurs d'*opportunités multiples* (*affordances*) (Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2013).

Ici, on s'intéresse plus précisément aux interactions entre l'enfant et la ville, elle aussi un paysage plurilingue et un espace dynamique, flou et en interaction (Lefebvre, 1996). On s'attache également à la façon dont les enfants s'investissent *(investment)* et sont agents *(agentivité)* de leur propre expérimentation collaborative de la ville, selon différentes perspectives (pluri-situées), tout en construisant des représentations et des figurations multiples de leurs communautés telles qu'ils se les représentent et les imaginent. Ainsi, ce travail revient sur le modèle d'investissement, en lien avec les identités et l'idéalisation de *communautés imaginaires* (Darvin & Norton, 2015 ; Norton & Toohey, 2011). Pour Darvin et Norton (2015), « investment regards the learner as a social being with complex identity traits, that changes across time and space and is reproduced in social interaction » (p. 37). Ce modèle inspire aussi la conceptualisation de *textes identitaires* proposée par Cummins et Early (2011). Selon les auteurs, ces textes sont des produits créatifs et performatifs dans lesquels les étudiants investissent leurs identités. En tant qu'outil pédagogique, ce type de produit met au centre de l'apprentissage la voix des enfants et reflète des visions valorisatrices d'une grande diversité de connaissances et de cosmovisions.

Sur le plan didactique, notre projet met en exergue le lien famille-école-communautés et le rôle de scénarios didactiques transdisciplinaires inspirés par les approches PASTeL (Plurilinguisme, AST [Art, Sciences et Technologie] et Littératies) (Moore, 2017, 2021). Les approches PASTeL insistent sur le potentiel et les apports des multimodalités (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), qui entrelacent plusieurs modes de signification et de communication et ressources sémiotiques, visant le développement des pluri-littératies (Dagenais, 2012), du plurilinguisme, de la multi-perspectivité, de la réflexivité et des engagements identitaires et critiques. De plus, ces approches insistent sur le rôle de l'expérience de l'interaction multimodale au sein de plusieurs espaces d'apprentissage et des interactions collaboratives pour la construction du sens.

Choix méthodologiques

Notre étude s'inscrit dans les méthodologies qualitatives qui s'intéressent aux processus qui sous-tendent le développement plurilingue pour interroger la

mobilité comme un espace de rencontre et de contact où la signification est créée de manière intrinsèquement multimodale et pluri-située (Blanchet & Chardenet, 2011).

Le recueil de données auquel ont contribué les différents partenaires, les enfants et les familles impliquées dans le projet, comprend une diversité d'outils : photographies (prises avec des tablettes ou des portables) ; un mural (avec des dessins et des collages) conçu par les enfants dans un atelier à l'école ; enregistrements audios et vidéos d'interactions ; entretiens réalisés par les enfants avec des passants du quartier et les notes de terrain prises par la chercheure impliquée sur le terrain. L'analyse de ces données multimodales s'est menée inductivement, mobilisant des techniques d'analyse de contenu complémentée par des méthodologies visuelles (Rose, 2016).

Plusieurs enjeux tissent cette contribution :

1. Il s'agit d'abord de décrire un projet partenarial *multi-sites* qui a la particularité de se construire comme plurilingue, interculturel et *pluri-situé*, en

    (a) donnant voix aux auteurs de la recherche, leurs langues, cultures, modes de connaissances et (cosmo)visions comme leviers d'expériences d'apprentissage et

    (b) intégrant l'ouverture à l'écologie des langues et cultures de leur environnement, c'est-à-dire, le quartier *Ciudad Vieja*.

2. Il s'agit ensuite de comprendre les potentialités didactiques d'un projet partenarial plurilingue nouant le lien entre l'école, les familles et les institutions muséales comme lieux d'appropriation des langues et des savoirs et de renégociation d'identités plurielles.

La construction d'un projet plurilingue autour de la Ciudad Vieja

Ce partenariat a créé un PPI multi-situé comprenant des ateliers à l'école, des promenades sonores et visuelles incluant des enregistrements de sons et photographiques avec les enfants et les familles, ainsi que deux visites à deux musées (figure 1).

Nous allons décrire, d'abord, la démarche pédagogique de trois de ces activités — les séances de l'atelier à l'école, la promenade sonore et la promenade visuelle autour du quartier *Ciudad Vieja* — , afin d'identifier ensuite des incidences de ces scénarios didactiques au niveau des investissements identitaires, plurilingues et émotionnels des participants lors des activités.

L'atelier à l'école : *Mi calle favorita*

Mi calle favorita est un atelier à l'école axé sur la relation entre le sujet et l'espace qui l'entoure, qui s'est déroulé avec 19 enfants volontaires en sept

Atelier à l'école :
Mi calle favorita

7 séances
19 enfants
multiples partenaires

Promenades
sonores

3 hrs
enfants et familles
chercheure

Promenades
visuelles

3 hrs
enfants et familles
multiples partenaires

Visites
au musées

2 visites
MUMI : 1 classe
MAPI : enfants et
familles ; équipes des
musées ; et multiple
partentaires

Figure 1
Activités du projet

séances tous les jeudis après l'horaire scolaire de septembre à novembre 2019. Le caractère libre de l'atelier a ouvert la porte à la participation d'autres enfants qui ne s'étaient pas initialement inscrits, ainsi qu'à des membres de leurs familles qui ont volontairement accompagné les enfants.

Chaque séance, d'une durée approximative d'une heure et demie, a été animée par les membres du réseau, avec une plus grande implication des médiateurs muséaux et de la chercheure impliquée sur le terrain. L'élaboration collaborative d'un mural représentant une rue imaginée (*calle favorita*) longue de quatre mètres (voir figure 2) a été le fil conducteur des séances :

Figure 2
Elaboration de la calle favorita
(photo prise par la chercheure impliquée sur le terrain)

Cet atelier s'est déroulé autour des activités suivantes réalisées par les enfants :

1. dessiner un élément préféré de leurs cultures et afficher le dessin sur une carte (1m × 2) de la *Ciudad Vieja* ;

2. se renseigner sur la technique photographique et jouer avec la signalétique des paysages linguistiques de la *Ciudad Vieja* ;

3. dessiner des éléments, réels et imaginaires, de la *calle* (rue) préférée ;

4. faire des collages sur des photographies anciennes de *Ciudad Vieja*, tout en proposant un nouveau regard sur l'espace public ;

5. récupérer le patrimoine par la technique du collage, en intervenant sur les photographies de bâtiments endommagés dans le quartier prises par les enfants et les partenaires du réseau ;

6. imaginer les personnages qui parcourent la *calle* préférée et construire leurs biographies.

Les promenades visuelles et sonores

Cinq enfants et membres de leurs familles ont participé à la promenade visuelle visant à recueillir des photographies des paysages linguistiques (PL) de la *Ciudad Vieja*. Cette activité a eu lieu un samedi matin en novembre 2019. Les participants ont été accompagnés de l'une des partenaires du réseau, A., muséologue et photographe, qui a pris des photos, ainsi que de la chercheure principale, qui, en plus d'avoir accompagné l'un des enfants participant — dont la famille était occupée — tenait des notes de terrain. Avec un parcours préalablement établi par la chercheure et A., les enfants ont été invités à photographier la signalétique du quartier qui, selon leur perspective, faisait appel à d'autres langues, cultures ou variétés d'espagnol. Cette activité a été précédée par la séance de l'atelier autour de la technique photographique et par la recréation des PL de la *Ciudad Vieja*.

Pendant la promenade sonore, les enfants et les familles ont mené des entretiens avec les passants (voisins, Montévidéens, touristes, immigrants) du quartier. L'activité a aussi eu lieu un samedi matin en octobre 2019 et a duré environ deux heures et demie. Un itinéraire concentré sur quatre places de la *Ciudad Vieja* avait été conçu par le partenariat, comme le montre la figure 3, où chaque « cœur » localise l'une de ces places publiques, ainsi que le point de départ (l'école).

Quatorze participants, comprenant six enfants et leurs familles, ont été encouragés à interviewer des personnes qui circulaient dans le quartier et qui se sont rendues disponibles et ont autorisé l'enregistrement de l'interaction. La *Ciudad Vieja* et la *calle favorita* — pour faire le lien avec la thématique de l'atelier — a été le sujet central des entretiens menés (Qu'est-ce que vous aimez dans le quartier ? Qu'est-ce que vous voudriez améliorer dans le quartier ? Quelle est votre rue préférée et pourquoi ? Quelles activités avez-vous l'habitude de faire dans le quartier ?). Ces entretiens ont été enregistrés avec des téléphones portables et des tablettes et incorporés à la collecte de
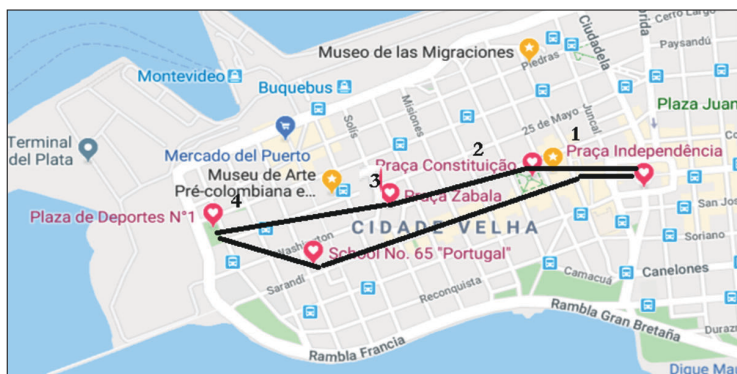
Figure 3
Parcours de la promenade sonore

données de la recherche. La chercheure impliquée sur le terrain a effectué l'enregistrement audiovisuel de certains entretiens et elle a pris des notes de terrain.

Mi calle favorita : la co-construction d'un espace d'appartenance à travers les approches visuelles

Les activités de l'atelier à l'école montrent qu'imaginer, réfléchir sur l'espace, public et privé, qui nous entoure et avec lequel nous interagissons quotidiennement, peut se faire en utilisant les arts, outils promoteurs des constructions d'apprentissages, de la pensée critique et créative. Notons que la recherche par les arts (*Art-based research)* (Barone & Einser, 2012) ou la pratique de recherche par les arts (*arts-based research practice)* constituent des méthodes centrées sur l'utilisation des instruments audiovisuels, comme le dessin, le film ou l'écriture créative, pour accéder à des perspectives émiques et des connaissances sur un sujet déterminé sur lequel une approche (seulement) discursive pourrait être limitée (Barone & Einser, 2012).

   Les multiples défis posés aux enfants participant aux séances de l'atelier demandaient qu'ils aient recours au dessin et/ou au collage, parfois individuellement, parfois collectivement. Pendant l'activité, les partenaires ont interagi avec les enfants, provoquant la verbalisation de ce qu'ils construisaient. Les enregistrements audiovisuels ont permis d'enregistrer les conversations entre les enfants et entre les enfants et les partenaires. Ainsi, notre approche méthodologique permet la triangulation des données visuelles et textuelles (orales et écrites) privilégiant une analyse inductive et soutenant la construction intersubjective du sens (Leavy, 2017).

   Après une première lecture exploratoire et une deuxième lecture des

données focalisée sur les investissements des enfants dans ce paysage (« le dessin est aussi un paysage »[1], nous a dit un partenaire), nous avons identifié les investissements suivants, tels qu'ils ont émergé de la triangulation des données :

1. investissements identitaires et émotionnels
2. investissements des répertoires plurilingues et pluri-sémiotiques
3. investissements critiques et créatifs

Investissements identitaires et émotionnels

Pendant les activités de l'atelier, les investissements identitaires des enfants constituent une des dimensions récurrentes. Les identités plurielles vont prendre plusieurs formes sémiotiques : des drapeaux, des lieux, des objets, des personnages, des (auto)représentations.

Santiago[2] (9 ans) et Salvador (11 ans) sont deux frères vénézuéliens. Pendant la troisième séance de l'atelier, ils décident de dessiner des drapeaux du Venezuela et de l'Uruguay. Dans un dialogue entre eux et une petite fille, Eva, Santiago explique la raison de leur choix pendant que son frère est en train de colorier le drapeau de l'Uruguay : « ici le drapeau du Venezuela et ici l'Uruguay . . . nous vivons maintenant en Uruguay ».

Pendant la 4ème séance, les enfants ont élaboré des collages avec des photos de la *Ciudad Vieja* de la fin du XIXème et du début du XXème siècles, tout en créant de nouveaux espaces et des immeubles, reconfigurant ainsi le paysage visuel et symbolique des photographies. Pendant cette activité, une autre fille vénézuélienne, Martina (11ans), inclut aussi les drapeaux du Venezuela (à gauche) et de l'Uruguay (à droite) (voir la figure 4).

L'inclusion de drapeaux a déjà pu être observée dans des travaux impliquant le plurilinguisme et les méthodes visuelles comme symbole des identités plurielles associées aux biographies linguistiques (Castellotti & Moore, 2009). Les exemples précédents illustrent comment ces trois enfants représentent visuellement un agencement identitaire pluriel, tout en faisant appel à leurs histoires de mobilité et à la configuration transnationale de leurs identités (De Fina, 2016). Néanmoins, comme nous allons l'observer pendant les promenades sonores, l'auto-figuration de son identité comme une identité plurielle et transnationale se construit de manière différente chez les enfants du projet.

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[1]Pour des questions d'espace, nous traduisons de l'espagnol tous les exemples verbaux.

[2]Tous les noms sont des pseudonymes.

Figure 4
Reconfiguration de l'espace public par Martina
(photo prise par la chercheure impliquée sur le terrain)

L'investissement identitaire émerge aussi dans des personnages et leurs biographies tels qu'imaginés par les enfants pendant la dernière séance de l'atelier. À l'aide de silhouettes de personnes et de bouts de tissus en guise de vêtements, les enfants ont construit par le collage différents personnages habitant ou arpentant cet imaginaire urbain. Ces personnages prennent une épaisseur identitaire par l'ajout d'un objet personnel (du personnage) et d'une biographie imaginaire (nom, âge, nationalité, goûts et préférences) pour chacun d'eux. À partir de l'enregistrement audiovisuel de la séance et des notes de terrain, nous observons que les identités des créateurs des personnages sont reconfigurées à travers les objets choisis (une poupée d'enfance, un bandeau) et les biographies (goûts, nationalité, super-héros préférés, allusions à des membres de la famille). La figure 5 correspond à une partie de la *calle favorita* où sont représentés trois personnages construits par Alfonsina (7 ans), Bruna (6 ans) et Marta (7 ans).

Le personnage qui porte une poupée a été créé par Alfonsina (7 ans). La poupée est une allusion à sa première poupée avec le même nom et la même couleur de peau (noire), comme Alfonsina le confie à la chercheure. Bruna a accompagné son personnage - Tania — d'une mandoline rose, un objet qu'elle apporte toujours avec elle, déclarant dans la biographie verbalisée de Tania qu'elle possède une mandoline parce qu'elle, Bruna, aime aussi la mandoline. Marta a coiffé d'une couronne *Burger King* son personnage — d'origine vénézuélienne et avec le même nom, âge et nationalité que sa créatrice —, parce ce que « j'aime bien mettre la couronne quand je vais à Burger King ».

Figure 5
Trois personnages de la calle favorita

Ce qui se donne à voir ici, c'est la projection d'aspects identitaires saillants pour ces enfants, à savoir leurs nationalités, goûts, habitudes, et chemins de mobilité, dans les personnages créés. Ainsi, le paysage de la *calle favorita* se co-construit comme un texte identitaire pluriel (Cummins & Early, 2011).

Investissements critiques

Pour revenir au dessin de Martina (figure 4), cette dernière nous explique ce qu'elle est en train de dessiner :

Chercheure :	Ce bâtiment et ces couleurs-là sont les couleurs du Venezuela ?
Martina :	Oui
N. (partenaire) :	C'est le drapeau du Venezuela.
Martina :	Oui.
Chercheure :	Et à quoi sert ce bâtiment ?
Martina :	C'est un bâtiment qui pourrait servir à aider les Vénézué-liens, ceux qui sont au Venezuela, à leur envoyer de la nourriture, des médicaments tout cela ... ou ça peut aussi être l'ambassade.

Dans une autre séance, à l'aide des photos des paysages linguistiques de la *Ciudad Vieja* prises par la chercheure et A. et des photos des bâtiments prises par les enfants et leur familles[3], Martina s'emploie à reconstruire un bâtiment

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[3]À la fin de la troisième séance, nous avons demandé aux enfants de se promener par

qui se transforme en un magasin d'électronique (*tienda de electrónica)* où il n'y a pas besoin de payer, où l'internet est gratuit et où tout le monde est bienvenu (figure 6) :

Figure 6
Tienda de electrónica *de Martina*
(photo prise par la chercheure impliquée sur le terrain)

La *calle favorita* est pleine d'investissements critiques exprimés au travers de l'inclusion d'endroits solidaires, comme cette *tienda electrónica* ou encore une maison pour recueillir des chiens (*un refugio de perros*) dessinée par Alfonso (11 ans). On note aussi l'enjeu de la gratuité (ou presque) des biens essentiels, une dimension récurrente permettant de qualifier plusieurs endroits : *una tienda Apple* (un magasin *Apple*) avec *teléfono gratis* (téléphone gratuit), un McDonald's où tout est bon marché (*todo a 1 peso [hasta el 14 de octubre]* [tout à un peso ((jusqu'au 14 octobre))]) ou où il n'est même pas nécessaire de payer quoi que ce soit (*free*). Ces données nous montrent également comment les auteurs de la *calle favorita* naviguent surtout entre l'espagnol et l'anglais à travers l'utilisation simultanée de mots dans ces deux langues.

Investissements des répertoires plurilingues et plurisémiotiques

Les répertoires mobilisés par les enfants entremêlent différentes langues mobilisées pour désigner services et commerces et où s'entrevoient des formes de mercantilisation du langage où l'anglais domine (*Apple*, *McDonald's*,

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la *Ciudad Vieja* et de prendre des photos des endroits ou des bâtiments qu'ils voulaient restaurer. Ces photos-là ont été partagées par courriel par les familles avant la quatrième séance.

Arturo's, *Venezuelian Restaurant*, *free*). Certains services représentent aussi l'expression des répertoires pluriculturels et des cultures d'origine de quelques enfants, comme c'est le cas pour le restaurant Arturo's : « une chaîne de restaurants très célèbres au Venezuela où on vend du poulet », raconte Martina à Eva, en lui expliquant ce que signifie cet endroit dessiné par Arnaldo. Les enfants investissent aussi leurs répertoires pluri-sémiotiques pour faire appel au paysage sonore de leur rue préférée : on note par exemple l'utilisation de π pour représenter le son du klaxon, ou du mot *chapuzón* (trempé) à côté d'un personnage en train de sauter dans une piscine, ou même *goooooooooool* (figure 7).
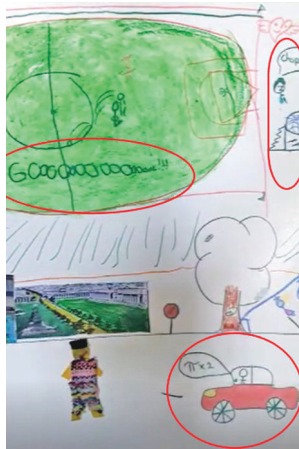
Figure 7
Le paysage pluri-sémiotique de la calle favorita

  Les investissements des répertoires plurilingues, pluriculturels, mais aussi pluri-sémiotiques et multimodaux (représentant des sons, mais aussi des identités, comme les drapeaux) repérés dans les productions visuelles et au travers des commentaires des enfants sont représentatifs des interactions et de l'expérimentation, située (*embedded)* et performée (*embodied)*, par chacun d'eux de la diversité du quartier.

  Nous remarquons de plus la dimension créative (comme le son du klaxon), et émotionnelle du langage, comme la joie ressentie lorsqu'on atteint un but ou qu'on se lance dans une piscine. Ainsi, les créateurs mettent en scène des formules imbriquées des langues, des cultures, des sonorités, des gestes, des images dans cette création multimodale, résultat de la valeur expressive des langages des enfants (Budach, 2018), tout en prenant pour eux une valeur symbolique d'espace d'appartenance.

Les sonorités de la *Ciudad Vieja* : une promenade avec des enfants et des familles

Le PPI établit des continuités parmi plusieurs espaces de la *Ciudad Vieja*. La promenade sonore convoque la possibilité d'explorer des scénarios plurilingues construits à travers l'expérimentation plurielle et collaborative du milieu habité par les enfants. Ce type d'expérience d'apprentissage met en exergue les enfants et les familles comme acteurs de leurs propres apprentissages dans l'expérience et dans le mouvement (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008), en les transformant en co-ethnographes de la recherche (Prasad, 2013).

Pendant cette promenade, les participants se sont engagés dans des entretiens avec les habitants ou les passants rencontrés au fil de leurs pérégrinations. Ils ont partagé et négocié leurs points de vue sur le quartier, leurs histoires et les cultures de chacun. Notre analyse de données montre l'émergence d'une diversité de dimensions autour des représentations, des expérimentations et des historisations de la *Ciudad Vieja* : investissements de négociation, de médiation interculturelle et intergénérationnelle.

La figure 8 fait référence à une entrevue entre un vendeur ambulant et une famille vénézuélienne, dont l'enregistrement est co-construit par la famille participante : le père enregistre l'entrevue avec la tablette des enfants, la mère et les enfants posent des questions et interagissent avec la personne interrogée.

Figure 8

Arnaldo, Agustín et leur famille en entretien avec un vendeur ambulant de glaces à la Plaza de Independencia

(photo prise par la chercheuse impliquée sur le terrain)

Pendant l'entretien, ils partagent des informations sur leurs cultures d'affiliation — uruguayenne et vénézuélienne —, mais aussi leur expérimentation du quartier. À un certain moment, une question émerge concernant l'identité des enfants (jumeaux, 6 ans) :

Arnaldo :	J'habite ici.
Vendeur ambulant :	Habites-tu ici ? Alors, tu es Uruguayen !
Arnaldo :	Mais non !
Mère :	Il dit non.
Arnaldo :	Mais non, maman !
Mère :	Si, si. Tu es Vénézuélien mais aussi Uruguayen parce que tu habites ici depuis longtemps. Tu dis des choses en uruguayen [la mère coupe la conversation, mais l'un des enfants exprime facialement son désaccord].

Le dialogue illustre une négociation entre la mère et Arnaldo sur le concept de nationalité et son lien avec l'identité qui se construit tout au long de la vie. Pour Arnaldo, ce concept ne concerne que le lieu de naissance et les premières années de vie. Pour la mère, la nationalité est plus fluide et dynamique, illustrant le fait que les enfants ont incorporé du lexique de la variété du rioplatense de l'espagnol (*dices cosas en uruguayo*) et aussi parce qu'ils habitent depuis trois ans en Uruguay.

Nous observons ainsi que les identités sont reconceptualisées diversement par les individus qui vont sélectionner des points d'ancrage différents. Pour les uns, comme Arnaldo, le lieu de naissance occupe un espace central de l'identité. Pour la mère, et d'autres enfants, comme Martina, Santiago et Salvador, tel que nous avons pu l'observer pendant l'atelier à l'école, l'identité est plutôt liée à des dimensions linguistiques et à des sentiments d'entre-deux (*in-betweeness)* qui convoquent aussi des sentiments d'appartenance à plusieurs milieux : celui de l'origine et celui qu'ils habitent à ce moment-là, mais aussi le rapport à l'école ou au quartier.

L'historisation et la multi-perspectivité du quartier se rendent plutôt visibles pendant les rencontres intergénérationnelles et interculturelles. Dans un entretien enregistré par Luciano et sa mère auprès de deux touristes allemands, ceux-ci soulignent deux caractéristiques mêlant le temps et l'espace qu'ils sont en train de vivre : l'architecture du quartier et la période de campagne électorale.

Luciano (8 ans) :	Qu'est-ce que vous aimez dans le quartier ?
. . .	
Touriste allemand :	C'est trop bizarre pour nous, parce qu'il y a des immeubles trop vieux et des immeubles trop modernes à côté, énormes, mais le mélange est très . . . je pense que la ville vit avec les gens . . . et avec les élections
Mère :	Oui, oui. Vous êtes arrivés à un moment très <INT>[4]
Touriste allemand :	C'est très surprenant pour nous . . . (rires)

[4]Conventions des transcriptions : <INT> — interruption

Dans ce dialogue, nous observons la reconnaissance de la part de la mère du côté très spécial de la campagne électorale en Uruguay et de comment cela peut influencer l'expérimentation de son quartier par des personnes issues d'autres cultures. L'historisation du quartier a été une autre dimension liée aux perspectives multiples, diversement situées, portées sur la *Ciudad Vieja*, surtout pendant certains entretiens entre les familles et des personnes plus âgées. Par exemple, pendant un entretien enregistré par les familles vénézuélienne et cubaine avec un voisin uruguayen, les interlocuteurs parlent de leurs expériences de mobilité, mais aussi de leurs sentiments d'appartenance et de leurs expériences multiples du quartier.

Voisin :	C'est vraiment mignon, ça ne cesse de s'améliorer … et ça sera parce que je suis amoureux de mon quartier, il y a 33 ans que j'habite ici, j'ai travaillé ici toute ma vie.
Mère :	C'est comme sa vie.
Voisin :	J'ai beaucoup voyagé mais <INT>
Mère :	Mais vous rentrez toujours chez-vous
Voisin :	J'ai vécu aux États-Unis, mais cela n'a pas de comparaison. Et ce que j'ai vécu à Washington.
…	
Mère :	Et nous habitons ici depuis 3 ans déjà
Voisin :	Ah alors vous êtes venus avant le grand bruit[5]
Mère :	Oui. C'est donc aussi notre quartier.
Père :	Nous habitons à Cerrito entre [les rues] Guarani et Juan Lindolfo Cuestas.
Voisin :	Nous sommes donc tous du quartier … nous habitons ici.
Mère :	Oui, nous habitons ici et nous aimons beaucoup le quartier.
Voisin :	Alors les garçons vont ici à l'école ?
Père :	Oui, oui.
…	
Mère :	Et nous aussi, nous habitons ici et travaillons ici.
…	
Voisin :	Moi qui ai travaillé ici dans l'armada, j'étais toujours en voyage et la *Ciudad Vieja* est de plus en plus mignonne comme si les personnes la voulaient de plus en plus parce qu'avant on ne voulait pas de la *Ciudad Vieja*, mais il reste encore beaucoup à faire.
Mère :	Mais ils sont sur la bonne voie.
Voisin :	Oui, mais j'espère que ça ne va pas s'arrêter maintenant mais bon … les changements de gouvernement arrêtent un peu les choses

Ici, les intervenants partagent des sentiments d'appartenance liés aussi à des investissements émotionnels et mettent à jour des points en commun entre

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[5]Référence à la crise présidentielle en 2019 en Venezuela.

eux, bien qu'ils soient des personnes avec des histoires et des parcours de vie très différents. Pour eux, le fait de vivre dans un même quartier les rapproche. On voit dans les discours la prolifération des verbes *habiter* et *travailler* suivis par le déterminant spatial *ici*. Parler de la *Ciudad Vieja,* c'est aussi parler de leur passé et du présent, dans une relation spatiotemporelle liant le quartier et les multiples expériences des interlocuteurs dans ce moment partagé.

À la fin de la promenade, l'ensemble des participants a noté que l'activité avait changé leur regard sur leur ville. Pour Federico et sa famille, voisins du quartier, cette expérience leur a permis de regarder autrement la *Ciudad Vieja*, en les rendant plus attentifs à certains aspects qui passent inaperçus. Ils sont plus conscients des personnes qui l'habitent.

Les paysages visuels de la *Ciudad Vieja* à travers la photographie

À partir de la consigne de photographier toute signalétique du quartier qui mettait en scène d'autres langues, différentes cultures ou des variétés de l'espagnol, enfants et familles se sont promenés dans les rues de la *Ciudad Vieja*. Cette approche ethnographique et collaborative du quartier qui est le leur visait à observer comment les enfants reconfigurent le paysage linguistique, ce qui attire leur attention et à mieux comprendre comment ceux-ci s'engagent dans la lecture du plurilinguisme du quartier et de leur communauté (Dagenais et al., 2013 ; Carinhas et al., 2020). Notre analyse croise la documentation visuelle des enfants, un total de 389 photos, avec les photographies prises par A. et les notes de la chercheure impliquée sur le terrain.

Une des premières observations concerne l'appropriation du milieu par les enfants : « Quel que soit l'âge, j'ai vu que tous étaient très autonomes et déterminés à prendre les photos » (Carnet de la recherche.9/11/2019). Les enfants se déplaçaient au hasard des rues de la *Ciudad Vieja* en photographiant librement les éléments qui les intéressaient, comme le mentionne la tante d'Oscar :

> comme qu'il peut voir et choisir . . . cela me semble très bien qu'en tant qu'enfant en tant que personne . . . même quand on le dit par inadvertance 'c'est bien' de les accompagner, mais que ce soit eux qui choisissent.

De cette façon, « l'apprenant bénéficie d'une plus grande liberté de faire des choix autonomes qui sont en lien avec les besoins et paramètres émergents de son projet de création multimodale » (Budach, 2018, p. 2).

Au cours de cette promenade, les enfants se sont engagés à interpréter par eux-mêmes ce que signifient les paysages linguistiques de leur quartier. À partir de la consigne de photographier la *cartelería* (panneau d'affichage) qui faisait appel à d'autres langues, cultures et variétés de l'espagnol, les enfants ont photographié un ensemble de textes et de symboles multimodaux, tels que

Figure 9a : Photo prise par Bruna
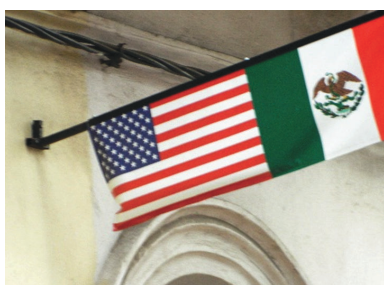

Figure 9b : Photo prise par Ema

Figure 9c : Photo prise par Oscar

Figure 9d : Photo prise par Oscar

Figure 9e : Photo prise par Luciano

Figure 9f : Photo prise par Oscar

Figure 9
Photos prises par les enfants

des objets (figure 9c ; figure 9e ; figure 9f), des graffitis (figure 9a ; figure 9d), des dessins (figure 9b), des pochoirs, des CDs (figure 9f), des cartes postales et des sculptures. La capture photographique de ces éléments appelle à une immersion synesthésique dans le paysage linguistique du quartier qui viabilise l'élargissement d'expériences d'apprentissage plurilingues plus holistiques.

Ce sont les éléments de l'art urbain ou des discours sémiotiques

revendicatifs incorporant des usages activistes qui attirent le plus l'attention des enfants, tout en transformant cette promenade dans un musée vivant du quartier (Almenar et al., 2021), ce qui renforce l'image du langage comme « an open, free, dynamic, creative and constantly evolving process with no defined boundaries, involving multi-modal representations and different forms of "languaging" » (Shohamy, 2005, p. xvii).

Cette expérience en mouvement et à pied (Ingold & Vergunst, 2008) était une approche didactique peu familière (Chern & Dooley, 2014) pour lire et interpréter des messages authentiques (langues, symboles et textes) d'une manière ludique ; pour négocier le sens du paysage linguistique et multisensoriel de la *Ciudad Vieja* ; et pour être (plus) sensible à la diversité linguistique du quartier. C'est ce que nous pouvons observer dans ce dialogue entre la chercheure, Bruna et sa mère à la fin de la promenade :

Chercheure :	Alors, Bruna, qu'est-ce que tu as fait pendant la promenade ?
Bruna (6 ans) :	J'ai pris des photos quelques-unes étaient en . . . dans quelle langue ? [elle s'adresse à sa mère]. Une était en. . .la première qu'on a trouvée ? En anglais.
Chercheure :	En anglais.
Bruna :	Et l'autre. . .en portugais. Je ne sais pas beaucoup parce que ma maman ne m'a pas dit . . .
Mère :	Il y a, avait un nom qui paraissait allemand, mais nous ne savons pas.
. . .	
Chercheure :	Tu habites ici, n'est-ce pas ?
Bruna :	Oui.
Chercheure :	Est-ce que tu avais déjà regardé le quartier de cette façon, avec ces langues et ces cultures ?
Bruna :	Non.

Plusieurs études ont montré les potentialités de ce type de promenade pour le développement des compétences de lecture critique de ces textes multimodaux (Dagenais et al., 2009 ; Lomicka & Ducate, 2021 ; Malinowski et al., 2020) notamment pour éveiller une conscience métasociolinguistique (Albury, 2021) sur des enjeux sociaux, communautaires, politiques et économiques qui sont au-delà de la surface de ce qui se donne à lire et à voir. Pendant notre expérience, la réflexion autour des usages sociaux des langues, leurs multiples supports et les finalités des écrits repérés sont mobilisés surtout par les participants adultes. C'est ce qu'illustre le retour de la tante d'Oscar, ainsi que la collaboration entre quelques enfants et leurs familles (voir figure 10).

Tante d'Oscar : C'est comme faire attention aux petites choses. Par exemple, il y avait des stickers trop petits. L'un disait « Bolsonaro . . . » comme contre Bolsonaro et ce sont ces choses-là que je n'ai jamais vues auparavant. . . . mais c'est aussi une opportunité de regarder l'architecture du quartier . . . et c'est aussi non seulement regarder l'affiche avec les mots mais aussi tout ce que l'entoure et remarquer l'endroit où il est collé comme une chose stratégique.

Figure 10
Ema et sa mère lisant des sérigraphies
(photo prise par A., partenaire)

Dans cette photo, Ema et sa mère sont en train de lire et de négocier les sens possibles de sérigraphies, rédigées en anglais et en espagnol. Ces sérigraphies se caractérisent par un message concis, soutenu par le pouvoir sémiotique de certaines images. On voit par exemple sur l'image en bas à gauche des personnes montant sur un mur appelant de la part du lecteur un positionnement critique autour des conditions de certaines personnes en mobilité forcée.

Ces exemples suggèrent l'importance de la collaboration intergénération-nelle entre enfants et familles comme voie de développement de la plurilitératie (notons que la plupart des enfants sont en train d'apprendre à lire à l'école) et des compétences de lecture critique.

Nous observons aussi que d'après ce groupe, les paysages multimodaux, surtout ceux qui font appel à l'utilisation artistique créative et revendicative

du langage comme des poèmes ou les couleurs, constituent les éléments qui attirent le plus l'attention des enfants, plutôt que la signalétique écrite, *strictu sensu*.

Quelques tissages autour des approches plurilingues basées sur les écologies du lieu

Nous avons décrit quelques scénarios plurilingues dessinés par un partenariat éducatif engageant une école, des chercheurs, plusieurs musées et des familles du quartier *Ciudad Vieja* à Montevideo. Nous avons cherché à identifier les apports de ce type de réseautage pour la construction des liens entre divers espaces d'apprentissage et la mise en œuvre d'expériences plurilingues qui encouragent l'enfant à s'inscrire comme acteur et auteur de ses apprentissages par l'interaction sociale et la collaboration.

Les trois scénarios pédagogiques décrits et analysés présentent des expériences exploratoires, sensorielles et corporelles qui favorisent un apprentissage fondé sur l'expérience et le mouvement (Ingold, 2000) où la multimodalité joue un rôle prépondérant (les photos, les dessins, les collages, les enregistrements ethnographiques) (Mondada, 2016), tout en convoquant des investissements pluridimensionnels (identitaires, émotionnels, réflexifs, collaboratifs, plurisémiotiques) dans l'appropriation et la reconfiguration de l'environnement. Ces expériences explorent des parcours pédagogiques innovants construits sur les pratiques locales. Elles se caractérisent par leur orientation ethnographique et leur objectif de sensibilisation aux langues, aux langages et à la pluralité. Elles encouragent aussi à porter attention aux voix de la ville (Calvet, 2005) : sa mise en mots, en signes et en sons par les personnes, les langues et les cultures qu'elles portent, les bâtiments qu'elles habitent, etc. Ce travail qui viabilise l'engagement de tous les acteurs de la recherche (enfants, familles, enseignants, muséologues et chercheure) dans des apprentissages co-construits et négociés, contribue à (re)créer du lien social dans l'espace urbain, ainsi qu'à réinscrire pleinement la *ciudad* comme *civitas*, « l'ensemble de citoyens qui constituent une ville » (Calvet, 2005, p. 14)[6].

La contribution permet alors d'interroger quelques enjeux liés à la formation des éducateurs (enseignants, médiateurs muséaux) au plurilinguisme. Elle souligne aussi l'intérêt de l'étude des paysages linguistiques dans et hors la salle de classe pour contextualiser, autant localement que globalement, les apprentissages. Elle montre l'importance des projets collaboratifs plurilingues

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[6]Calvet (2005, p. 14) rappelle que contrairement aux mots *ville* ou *urbain* en français, la *ciudad* espagnole ou *cidade* portugaise conservent l'étymologie latine, *civitas* qui décrit le fait social et la collectivité (*civis* pour concitoyens) (en complément de *urbs*, qui réfère à l'habitat et au fait architectural).

multi-sites dans la création de nouveaux espaces d'apprentissage pluri-situés, expérientiels et transformateurs. Enfin, elle met de l'avant les apports des expériences muséales plurilingues dans la construction d'identités plurielles pour les participants et dans l'appropriation et la conceptualisation de leur environnement.

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Translanguaging in content and language integrated learning (CLIL):

Practices in the classroom at a Chinese university

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Abstract

This article examines translanguaging practices in a content and language integrated learning (CLIL) classroom at the tertiary level in the context of mainland China. This exploratory study investigated an English-medium science course, which adopted the CLIL approach, in a Chinese university. Classroom audio-recording data (130 minutes in total) was collected to investigate the situations and the purposes of the teacher's use of translanguaging. The results of the analysis show that the teacher uses translanguaging to provide background knowledge, deepen students' understandings, improve teaching efficiency, engage students, and ensure classroom interactions. Implications for translanguaging in CLIL at the tertiary level are also discussed in this study.

Key words: translanguaging, content and language integrated learning, content-based education, bilingual classroom

Résumé

Cet article examine les pratiques de translanguaging en classes d'enseignement d'une matière par l'intégration d'une langue étrangère (EMILE) au niveau tertiaire dans le contexte de la Chine continentale. Cette étude de cas exploratoire a porté sur un cours de sciences donné en anglais, qui a adopté l'approche d'EMILE, dans une université chinoise. Des données d'enregistrement audio de la classe (130 minutes au total) ont été collectées afin d'étudier les situations et les objectifs de l'utilisation du translanguaging par l'enseignant. Les résultats de l'analyse montrent que l'enseignant utilise le translanguaging pour fournir des connaissances de contexte, approfondir la compréhension des étudiants, améliorer l'efficacité de l'enseignement, faire participer les étudiants et assurer les interactions en classe. Les implications du translanguaging dans l'EMILE au niveau tertiaire sont aussi discutées dans cette étude.

Mots-clés : translanguaging, enseignement d'une matière par l'intégration d'une langue étrangère, formation basée sur le contenu, classe bilingue

Introduction

The term *translanguaging* has been explored widely over the last few decades by scholars worldwide (see Baker, 2011; Lewis et al., 2012b; García & Li, 2014; Liu, 2020; Nikula & Moore, 2019). Translanguaging refers to "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García, 2009, p. 45) and the pedagogical approaches that use those practices (García & Li, 2014). More specifically, those practices "include *all* the language practices of students in a class in order to develop new language practices and sustain old ones, communicate and appropriate knowledge, and give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality" (García & Kano, 2014, p. 261). Studies on translanguaging have shed light on its potential in fostering content learning, developing students' competence in the second language (L2), strengthening the home-school links, affirming identities, and involving the reconstruction of the social structure (Baker, 2001; Cummins et al., 2015).

Translanguaging in content and language integrated learning (CLIL) has become a heated topic in Europe and Asia and fruitful research results have been achieved in various educational contexts, such as Portugal, Italy, and Hong Kong (see Caruso, 2018; Gallagher & Colohan, 2017; Lin & He, 2017; Liu, 2020). This article focuses on the practices of the translanguaging approach in CLIL at the tertiary level in the context of mainland China. An exploratory study was carried out in an English-medium science class at a Chinese university. The objectives of this study are to investigate when and why the teacher translanguages in class, to understand the nature of translanguaging in this context, and to explore potential advantages of translanguaging in CLIL at the tertiary level. A qualitative method was employed to interpret the audio-recording data of the CLIL lessons.

Literature review

Translanguaging

The term translanguaging was coined by Williams (1996), originating from the Welsh word *trawsieithu* in the 1980s (Conteh, 2018). At the outset, the term refers to a pedagogical practice conducted in Welsh revitalization programs (Li, 2018). In class, the teacher would deliberately switch between Welsh and English, and students would be asked to receive input in one language (e.g., Welsh) and produce output in the other language (e.g., English) (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2018). In the Welsh context, translanguaging simultaneously retains and develops the learner's bilingualism and deepens understanding of the subject matter (Lewis et al., 2012b).

Since then, the term has been extended by many researchers, but there is

no agreed-on definition yet. A majority of scholars generally agree that the full linguistic repertoire is treated as an integrated system in translanguaging (see Canagarajah, 2011; García, 2009; García & Li, 2014; Lewis et al., 2012b). And yet, some contention over the notion of translanguaging has emerged as the discussion progressed. Williams (1996) and Baker (2011) explain that it refers to a bilingual pedagogy based on alternating the languages used for input and output systematically. Lewis et al. (2012a) then claim that "both languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner" in translanguaging (p. 655). Nevertheless, García (2009) and García and Li (2014) propose that translanguaging goes beyond the "two languages" mentioned above and is seldom used in schools in any systematic way. These controversies over the concept of translanguaging may stem from historical factors and ideological diversities. In the era of globalization and technology, some key concepts such as language and bilingualism have developed a lot (Lewis et al., 2012a). It can be revealed that the term translanguaging is based on "radically different notions of language and bilingualism than those espoused in the 20th century" (García & Li, 2014, p. 20). In this sense, the ongoing conceptualization of translanguaging can be seen as an outcome and a symbol of epistemological changes (Lewis et al., 2012a).

According to Lewis et al. (2012b), the term translanguaging has been extended beyond a pedagogical strategy and has been generalized from the school to the street, i.e., from *classroom translanguaging* to *universal translanguaging* and *neurolinguistic translanguaging*. Similarly, Cenoz and Gorter (2017) classify translanguaging into *pedagogical translanguaging* and *spontaneous translanguaging*.

Translanguaging has a close connection with the term code-switching which refers to the shift of two languages in classroom exchanges (Lewis et al., 2012a). Code-switching can be seen as a bilingual activity including *inter-sentential* and *intra-sentential* switches between the mother tongue (L1) and L2 (Baker, 2001). García and Sylvan (2011) point out that translanguaging includes code-switching and translation. Despite much overlap between the concept of translanguaging and code-switching (Lewis et al., 2012a), the former goes beyond the latter as translanguaging are multiple discursive practices of bilinguals to make sense of their bilingual world (García, 2009). Therefore, translanguaging supports flexible language use and permeable learning through languages, while code-switching is related to language separation (Lewis et al., 2012a).

As Baker (2001) discusses, translanguaging has potential educational advantages. First of all, it may promote a deeper understanding of the subject matter and provide students with opportunities to use their whole linguistic repertoire in fostering content learning (Baker, 2001; Caruso, 2018). Secondly,

translanguaging may help to develop students' competence in the weaker language, leading to bilingualism and biliteracy eventually (Baker, 2001; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis et al., 2012b).

Thirdly, translanguaging extends to all meaning-making modes, embracing "the multimodal social semiotic view that linguistic signs are part of a wider repertoire of modal resources" (Li, 2018, p. 22; see also García & Li, 2014). Based on that, Lin (2015b) develops the notion of trans-semiotizing that is characterized by using multiple kinds of semiotics, i.e., meaning-making resources (e.g., language, music, gestures, and images). Li (2018) highlights that "translanguaging is a transformative and resemiotization process" (p. 22) whereby students potentialize meaning-making, creativity (i.e., the ability to follow or flout norms of linguistic behaviours), and criticality (i.e., the ability to use evidence to question, problematize, or express views) (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011). Li further proposes the notion of *translanguaging space*, which is created through translanguaging practices. It enables multilingual language users to bring together their personal history and utilize their multilingual resources (Li, 2011, 2018). Translanguaging and trans-semiotizing are also shown to help the teacher and students in co-making meaning and co-expanding their shared communicative repertoires in a CLIL classroom (Lin & He, 2017).

Lastly, translanguaging practices allow students to more freely share their experiences and invest their multilingual identities (Cummins et al., 2006). In this way, students are encouraged to use their home language as a resource for learning and view their multilingual talents as a crucial part of their identities (Cummins, 2005; Cummins et al., 2006), which is relevant and useful for language learning (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). In particular, according to the literacy engagement framework proposed by Cummins et al. (2015), engagement with literacy will be enhanced when the instruction enables students to activate background knowledge, affirm their identities, and extend the academic language. Then, when students engage actively in literacy activities, their literacy achievement will be improved, especially in reading comprehension and writing expertise (Cummins et al., 2015).

CLIL and integrating content and language in higher education (ICLHE)

Emerging in the mid-90s in Europe, CLIL refers to "an educational approach where curricular content is taught through the medium of a foreign language, typically to students participating in some forms of mainstream education at the primary, secondary, or tertiary level" (Dalton-Puffer, 2011, p. 183). Costa (2016) points out that although the term CLIL is often used at the primary and secondary levels, it is also used in relation to the tertiary level of instruction. Moreover, CLIL at the tertiary level can be called ICLHE (https://iclhe.org in

Europe (Costa, 2009; Pérez-Vidal, 2015). There are still some disagreements on the distinction between CLIL and other types of bilingual education, such as content-based instruction (CBI), immersion education, and English medium instruction (EMI). Cenoz et al. (2013) argue that CLIL is not really different from other types of CBI. From the conceptualization perspective, they believe that CLIL should be seen as an *umbrella* construct, including a lot of variants — and even immersion can be included (Cenoz et al., 2013). However, by clarifying characteristics of CLIL and research agendas, Dalton-Puffer et al. (2014) affirm the distinctiveness of CLIL. As a dual-focused approach, CLIL gives equal attention to content and language and involves processing them simultaneously (Garzón-Díaz, 2021), while EMI is adopted in settings where the content learning is the foci (Dafouz, 2014).

CLIL showcases its advantages in various dimensions. The 4Cs framework proposed by Coyle, et al. (2010) contributes to illustrating the potential of CLIL within specific contexts. It contains four contextualized elements (i.e., content, cognition, communication, and culture) on which CLIL may have a positive effect. A longitudinal study carried out in secondary education in Basque demonstrates that students who learned content through a foreign language (FL) obtained similar results to the students in the control group who learned content in their L1 (Ruiz de Zarobe, 2015). Dalton-Puffer (2011) highlights that CLIL fosters the speaking and writing skill of L2 spontaneously. Furthermore, secondary students in Spain who attend CLIL programs may show more positive language attitudes with a lower level of anxiety and higher motivation to learn than those in English as a foreign language groups (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009).

However, there are several challenges in CLIL. One concern lies in the teachers' qualification in language as they need broader expertise and experience in teaching through L2 or FL (Barbero & González, 2014; Liu, 2020; Tsuchiya, 2019). Another one is about the use of L1 in CLIL. According to some schools' medium of instruction (MOI) policy, students and teachers are only allowed to speak English in EMI classes (Lin & He, 2017). The loss of L1 in the implementation of CLIL has led to some concerns (Tsuchiya, 2019), for instance, learners may not be able to deploy their repertoire in L1 when they learn contents through L2 exclusively (Coyle et al., 2010). Hence, it is indispensable to discuss the potential role of L1 in CLIL (see Lin, 2015a). According to Liu (2020), systematic and judicious use of L1 in CLIL has been proven to be advantageous in improving language learning and deepening the cognitive processing of contents in L2 in some contexts (see Littlewood & Yu, 2009). In this sense, translanguaging can be a possible solution to concerns over L1 use in CLIL.

Translanguaging practices in CLIL

Nikula and Moore (2019) delineate three extracts of three classes in different locations and analyze the bilingual behaviour of those teachers, none of whom are native speakers of the target language (TL) (English), and secondary students, especially their translanguaging actions and their purposes in the CLIL classroom. In the biology class in Finland, translanguaging between English and Finnish is conducted by the teacher and students. The extract in the history class in Austria illustrates a student's presentation delivered in English and German. The extract in the technology class in Spain shows a student's employment of translanguaging techniques, like anglicizing a Spanish word *pelota* to *pelot*. The three cases imply that these bilingual practices in CLIL may serve a variety of purposes encompassing facilitating learning of content and language, ensuring the flow of interaction, and offering a translanguaging space (Nikula & Moore, 2019). García and Li (2014) summarize the goals of translanguaging as follows:

1. differentiate among students' levels and suit instruction to different types of students;
2. build background knowledge to enable students to make meaning;
3. deepen understanding, develop and extend new knowledge, and develop students' critical thinking;
4. enhance students' metalinguistic awareness in cross-linguistic activities;
5. strengthen students' cross-linguistic flexibility;
6. invest students' identity and positionality to engage learners;
7. interrogate linguistic inequality.

Wang (2019) proposes three principles that may illustrate why translanguaging is employed by teachers:

1. enhance students' comprehension and develop intercultural competence in the process of meaning-making;
2. improve teaching efficiency; and
3. augment students' motivation and encourage their engagement in class.

To sum up, the investigation into the purposes of translanguaging would provide the teacher with opportunities for considering pedagogical strategies and attitudes towards translanguaging, and thereby may improve the efficiency and effectiveness of teaching, learning, and communication (García & Li, 2014; Nikula & Moore, 2019; Wang, 2019). Therefore, it is crucial to delve

into this issue more profoundly, specifically in CLIL contexts where bilingual practices and pedagogies are commonly exploited.

In the context of secondary education in Hong Kong, research into translanguaging practices in CLIL has been fruitful. Lin and Lo (2017) state that teachers and students are able to co-construct *content* (i.e., thematic patterns) through translanguaging in a science class that employs the CLIL approach. In detail, by comparing and analyzing teachers' talk and the interactions between teachers and students in two English-medium CLIL lessons, they argue that translanguaging in class may involve students in co-constructing thematic patterns by using multiple linguistic resources to connect students' knowledge or experience in L1 (Chinese) with the target thematic patterns in L2 (English). Lin and He (2017) conducted an empirical study in an English-medium CLIL classroom in Hong Kong, which included South Asian students whose mother tongue was Urdu. In the excerpts, the teacher translanguages from English to Cantonese and allows the students to use Urdu so as to leave some space for the co-construction of meaning. By analyzing the classroom discourse, they propose that translanguaging, as dynamic activity flows, not only provides pedagogical scaffolding but also offers resources and opportunities for identity affirmation. Lin (2019) then defines translanguaging/trans-semiotizing as fluid and dynamic flows for co-constructing meaning and knowledge. In a similar educational context, Liu (2020) argues that translanguaging/ trans-semiotizing, as planned systematic scaffolding, may "enable co-construal of general and subject-specific English lexical knowledge and skills of academic English writing" (p. 168) and reduce negative self-evaluation of students for creating and embracing translanguaging space in an Integrated Humanities CLIL classroom.

As discussed above, studies that probe into the nature of translanguaging and the potential of translanguaging in diverse aspects have considerably enriched this concept from the empirical perspective. Studies focusing on CLIL at the tertiary level in the context of the Chinese mainland are still scarce but merit more research attention. Further research on translanguaging in this context may provide more insights on the use of L1 and the potential of this pedagogical approach in a very different national context. Unlike Hong Kong and some Southeast Asian areas, stakeholders in mainland China conduct no supra-national policies towards the use of English (Lin, 2015a; Wei & Feng, 2015). Therefore, language users' bilingual practices in mainland China would be different from those in other contexts (Wei & Feng, 2015). Research in such a context may thus provide a unique perspective on the implementation of translanguaging in CLIL at the tertiary level.

Research question

Based on the theoretical background and previous empirical studies on the translanguaging in CLIL reviewed above, this exploratory study aims at investigating when and why the teacher translanguages in the science CLIL class at a Chinese university, attempting to explore teachers' perception of the term translanguaging, understanding the nature of translanguaging and affirming the potential of translanguaging in meaning-making, content learning, language use, engagement, multilingual identity, and critical thinking in the context of CLIL (Baker, 2011; Cummins, 2005; García & Li, 2014; Li, 2018; Lin & He, 2017; Liu, 2020; Nikula & Moore, 2019; Wang, 2019). This exploratory study thus addresses the following research question:

> In which situations and with what purposes does the teacher use translanguaging?

Methodology

Context of the study

In fact, English is now considered as the language of most science and "taken-for-granted lingua franca of higher education" (Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2014, p. 30; see also Caruso, 2018). Since 2017, the Ministry of Education of China has been promoting the New Engineering Education program, which aims at developing interdisciplinary subjects and fostering internationalization at universities in the Chinese mainland (Ministry of Education of People's Republic of China, 2017). With an eye on the trend and the program, English had been adopted as the MOI of many science courses offered by Chinese universities to both their undergraduates and graduates.

This exploratory study focuses on an English science CLIL course ("Marine Acoustic Detection") at a Chinese university. The optional course, designed for the first-year Master of Science (MS) students, was held once a week (90 minutes per class) and lasted for 15 weeks in the fall term. The content objectives of this course were to enable students to have an overview of modern marine acoustic detection and deepen their understanding of underwater imaging sonar and other acoustic technology. More specifically, students should be capable of knowing subfloor topography and the subfloor environment worldwide, processing data acquired by sonar, and completing an individual project of analyzing a particular seabed and implementing image reconstruction with sonar signals through acoustic imaging software. Concerning the language objectives, the course aimed at enabling students to master key terms in English about marine science and marine acoustic detection, enhancing their ability of literacy in academic English including using lexical and morphosyntactic resources appropriately, as well as knowing and using some conversational skills with lower linguistic anxiety.

Participants

There were seventeen students in the class. A subset of students (n = 5) and the teacher participated in this pilot study. Both the teacher and the five students are Chinese and non-native speakers of English (L2). Participants' names are anonymized due to confidentiality. All of the five students passed the College English Test Band 6, an English proficiency test held by the Ministry of Education of China. Their level of English was approximately elementary–intermediate, namely A2–B1 in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2020). The teacher possessed an intermediate-advanced level of English proficiency (B2 in CEFR). He had majored in science and had taught this English-medium course at the university for two years. Although the MOI of this course was English, he used both English and Chinese in class, so this course is a de facto bilingual course.

Data

As mentioned above, each lesson lasted 90 minutes. In class, the professor typically gave a lecture of 65 minutes and left 25 minutes for students' presentation of their projects. With the permission of the professor, two lessons were audio-recorded in this exploratory study (65 minutes for each, 130 minutes in total), excluding the presentation part. The first lesson talked about ocean tectonics and some typical sediment distribution. In the second lesson, the teacher introduced some fundamental theories and techniques, like the multibeam sonar for seafloor detection.

The audio recordings which contained the teacher's utterances and interactions between the teacher and the five students were transcribed[1] afterward. After that, some episodes that contained the translanguaging practices of the participants were further selected. To address the research question, qualitative data analysis was conducted on these selected transcripts of the teacher's talk and teacher–student interactions (Adger & Wright, 2015; Warriner & Anderson, 2017). I took codes from the selected materials and then assigned the codes to different themes of situations and purposes of the teacher's translanguaging use which were enlightened by García and Li (2014) and Wang (2019). In what follows, I interpreted the classroom data by understanding the underlying meaning of discourse and considering the results of the analysis in such a specific educational context. Findings and discussions are demonstrated below to respond to the research question.

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[1]Transcription conventions are shown in the appendix.

Findings and discussion

Provide background information

In the first recorded lesson, the teacher talked about plate tectonics and subsea topography. After reviewing continental plate tectonics, the teacher turned the topic into the subsea terrain. As shown in Excerpt 1, he indicated that there are similarities between continental and oceanic plate movements and then mentioned the term *crust* with which the students were unfamiliar in their L2. After that, he asked a question about the meaning of crust and gave students some clues to find out the answer. In this excerpt, the teacher translanguaged between L1 and L2 for pedagogical scaffolding, to provide students with some background knowledge.

Excerpt 1

Line	Speaker	Utterance
01	T:	海洋中的板块运动所产生的结果呢, 和我们在陆地上的大致相同, < Results of seafloor plate movements are similar to those on land >. 我们－我们在第一个位置上是什么呢 < What is it in the first place? > (.) continutu- (.) continental and (.) and oceanic crust. 在第一个这个位置, crust 是什么意思 < In this place, what does crust mean >? (5) 女生应该都知道, 男生也应该知道 < Everyone should know it >. 我们经常会吃到一种叫做 cheese crust 的一种东西, 还有一种叫做 crust (.) biscuit < We usually eat a kind of food called cheese crust and something called crust biscuit >.

To introduce the topic of oceanic crust, the teacher offered some knowledge in Chinese (L1) that the students had already learned, i.e., continental plate tectonics. This utterance aims to evoke related resources and information that have been stored in their brains (Caruso, 2018). After posing the question, the teacher waited for a few seconds, but nobody answered him. In order to inspire students' background knowledge about the crust, he provided the expressions of "cheese crust" and "crust biscuit" (which seems to be "biscuit crust"). In terms of the form, the teacher implemented intra-sentential code-switching in the last sentence. However, it is worth considering that he seemed to use the two languages flexibly and seamlessly to make meaning without emphasizing them as separate language systems (García, 2009; García & Li, 2014; Lewis et al., 2012a). On this account, the bilingual practices of the teacher were seen as translanguaging rather than code-switching. By talking about the two kinds of exotic food that students may have had before, the teacher looked forward to helping students make

connections between their prior experiences and the multilingual resources. Also, their whole linguistic repertoire and knowledge were expected to be deployed in class, which could be associated with the enhancement of multilingual competence and intercultural competence (Canagarajah, 2011; García & Li, 2014).

Deepen understanding

In general, most courses in this MS program are offered in Chinese. It is hard for these graduate students to catch up with a class offered exclusively in their L2 since most of them do not have sufficient opportunities to acquire knowledge of this subject in English at university. As demonstrated in Excerpt 2, the teacher in the first lesson explained a type of tectonic movement called *divergent boundary*. It seemed that students did not understand this term and its expression in English. To facilitate students' understanding, the teacher mentioned the word "divorce" which has the same prefix as divert and explained the "divergency boundary" by analogy with the concept of divorce in human society.

Excerpt 2

Line	Speaker	Utterance
01	T:	第一种是拉伸 < The first type is divergent boundary > divert (.) 我跟大家说一下这个词怎么记 < I will show you how to memorize it > (.) 离婚怎么说 < How to say *li-hun* in English > ? (2) divorce (.) 这个 divert 这个过程呢，就相当于我们离婚的过程 < The process of diverting is similar to that of the divorce >, 两个人在一起但是两个人离婚了 < A couple got married and then they divorced >, divert 的过程呢，会把两个板块往相反的方向拉伸 < In the process of diverting, the tectonic plates would move toward the opposite directions >.

Bearing resemblance to translanguaging practices in Excerpt 1, this excerpt also presents intra-sentential translanguaging of the teacher for meaning construction. The goal of the pedagogical approach is to activate students' previous knowledge and enable them to have a fuller and deeper understanding of the term divergent boundary and strengthen their cognitive processing of the notion (Baker, 2001; Lin, 2015a). Students in this context were expected to develop and extend new knowledge of content and language simultaneously, which would facilitate the development of their critical thinking (García & Li, 2014).

Engage the students

The second lesson talked about the means of underwater detection and some technologies in this field. In Excerpt 3, the students were asked about the methods of underwater mapping they knew. After a moment of silence, S1 replied that he did not know the expressions in English, as shown in Line 2. Translangauging from English to Chinese, the teacher encouraged S1 to answer in L1. After that, he tried to retell the answers given by S1 in English, although having some hesitancy about the expression of "camera imaging" (see Line 5).

Excerpt 3

Line	Speaker	Utterance
01	T:	Is there any volunteer can tell me what is the mean you know can just mapping for this (XXX) in the marine? 大家能讲一讲海洋中你知道的一些成像的方式吗 < Can you tell me some ways of mapping in our subject >? (5) yes (.) please stand up.
02	S1:	我不知道用英语怎么讲< I don't know how to say them in English > =
03	T:	=没关系, 用中文也可以, < It doesn't matter, you can answer in Chinese >.
04	S1:	声学成像 < Acoustic imaging > (.) 光学成像 < optical imaging > (.) 还有在一些浅海的地域可以用遥感成像 < and remote sensing imaging in some shallow sea areas >. 我知道的主流的方法就这三种 < These three are mainstream methods I know >.=
05	T:	=Okay, please (.) There are remote sensor- remote sensing imaging (.) acoustic imaging (.) and (4) camera imaging, something like that.

It was noticed that one of the challenges of CLIL lay in the use of L1 (Coyle et al., 2010; Tsuchiya, 2019). In the context of CLIL, students might feel uncomfortable and anxious to answer in L2, since they were unfamiliar with these terms in English and unsure about their answers. Thus, the scaffolding of their L1 was necessary for this classroom. The teacher allowed students to use L1 in Line 3, which aimed at encouraging students to interact with him and express their ideas more confidently (Wang, 2019). By responding to the question of language choice, the teacher also provided translanguaging space for students to assemble different dimensions of their personal experience and knowledge to make meaning in a coordinated manner (Li, 2011). In this sense, translanguaging would be useful to develop students' creativity of breaking boundaries between named languages (i.e., English and Chinese) and their criticality of querying, problematizing, or expressing views with evidence

(Li, 2011; Li, 2018). Furthermore, translanguaging practices could not only encourage students to utilize their full linguistic repertoire and cognitive resources but also provide a source of empowerment for them to affirm multilingual identities (Lin & He, 2017; Cummins et al., 2015). Seeing their multilingual ability as an asset, students could engage more actively in class and sustain higher intrinsic motivation for learning, which could contribute to the improvement of literacy achievements (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Cummins et al., 2015).

Improve the efficiency of class

After discussing the mapping method in the second lesson, the teacher turned the topic to the term monitoring and tried to guide students to think about the difference between "mapping" (i.e., instantaneous imaging) and "monitoring" (i.e., constant imaging). Excerpt 4 shows teacher-student interactions about the term monitoring.

Excerpt 4

Line	Speaker	Utterance
01	T:	So (.) what is monitoring? Is there anyone can tell me?
02	S2:	监测 < jian-ce >=
03	T:	=That is one meaning of monitoring (.) do you have got another meaning of that one? (2) 大家都有手机吧 < All of you have mobile phones > (.) 在课堂上可以打开手机查我们想查的所有东西 < In class, we can search for all information we need on our mobile phones >.

In Line 1, the teacher asked a question about monitoring in English. S2 responded with the Chinese word *jian-ce* (a common meaning of monitoring in Chinese). It was obvious that students had no idea of the meaning of monitoring in the field of detection. Then the teacher allowed students to use their mobile phones to find the answer, which meant they were able to search for relevant information in Chinese. In this way, translanguaging practices in Line 3 provided students with an opportunity to use all available resources in class.

To ensure teaching efficiency, the teacher had to pay attention to time control. Therefore, he was not willing to waste time on unnecessary delays in the classroom (Wang, 2019). When he asked a question to the students in English, he was eager to get answers as soon as possible and then move on promptly. At this moment, the translanguaging approach tried to improve the teaching efficiency and save more time for the teacher.

Compared to the monolingual classroom such as immersion instructional system, translanguaging could demonstrate its advantages on lecture delivery in a limited time (Wang, 2019).

Ensure the flow of interaction

At the end of the second lesson, the teacher elaborated on the theory and the application of multibeam sonar, a detection technology. In Excerpt 5, there was a conversation between the teacher and S3, talking about the calibration of multibeam. As shown in Line 2, S3 proposed his assumption in Chinese to answer the teacher's question in English. After confirming S3's answer, the teacher further explained this issue and translangauged from English to Chinese.

Excerpt 5

Line	Speaker	Utterance
01	T:	What causes this mistake? (3) Come on, come on, come on
02	S3:	呃是不是我们在前期校准它的时候假设海底是平的 < Er, is it that we assume the seafloor is flat in the earlier calibration >=
03	T:	=Yes (.) that is correct=
04	S3:	但实际海底可能并不是平的 < but in fact the seafloor may not be flat >=
05	T:	=Yes that is very correct. Because acoustic mapping is a remote sensing mapping. 平不平是与水面环境和其他因素相关的 < Flatness is related to the water surface and other factors >.

The interaction between the teacher and S3 informed that translanguaging performed not only as a pedagogical scaffolding approach, but more importantly, as dynamic naturally occurring flows (Lin & He, 2017), which went beyond the traditional monolingual instruction with strict MOI policies. More specifically, the teacher agreed with S3's opinion and made good use of his answer to further elaborate on some factors impacting the result of mapping (Lin & He, 2017), and thus indicated the necessity of calibration. Translanguaging of the teacher in Line 5 facilitated content learning, structured his discourse, as well as co-constructed meaning with S3 in a natural and spontaneous state rather than a planned and systematic environment (García & Li, 2014; Nikula & Moore, 2019).

This exploratory study provides an angle for us to observe the practices of the translanguaging approach in a CLIL class at a Chinese university. The analysis shows that the professor used the translanguaging approach with the purposes as follows:

1. providing background information to activate students' knowledge in L1;

2. deepening students' understanding and extending knowledge of both content and language;

3. engaging students to interact, providing translanguaging space to develop their creativity and criticality, and negotiating their multilingual identities to enhance their learning motivation;

4. improving the teaching efficiency; and

5. ensuring the flow of interactions between the teacher and students for pedagogic scaffolding and interpersonal communication.

Conclusion

This exploratory study offers an opportunity to enrich the understanding of the nature of translanguaging. The concept is distinguished from code-switching and code-mixing, as it empowers the language users (both the teacher and students in this context) to deploy their full multilingual and multicultural resources instead of isolating languages as different systems (García, 2009; Lewis et al., 2012b). It would be helpful for teachers to perceive that the nature of translanguaging is twofold: one is planned systematic pedagogical scaffolding (Liu, 2020), the other is a dynamic naturally occurring phenomenon (Lin & He, 2017; Nikula & Moore, 2019). In this sense, translanguaging can be seen as a powerful means to construct meaning, interact with others, offer pedagogic resources, affirm students' identities, and motivate students in CLIL (Lin & He, 2017; Liu, 2020; Nikula & Moore, 2019). The analysis can also respond to one of the challenges of CLIL, which concerns the use of L1. It would be reasonable to infer from the analysis that the judicious use of L1 (Lin, 2015a) may help students to recall their experience and knowledge learned through L1, enhance their engagement in class, and thus acquire knowledge more efficiently through L2.

Overall, this pilot study has presented some translanguaging practices in the CLIL context and has employed a qualitative data analysis on excerpts of audio-recording in the classroom, which aims at seeking minor contributions to explore the implications and the potential of translanguaging at tertiary education in mainland China. It is obvious that more research on the multimodality of translanguaging is needed in CLIL. As noted earlier, translanguaging is multimodal per se and can be associated with the notion of trans-semiotizing (García & Li, 2014; Lin & He, 2017). From the multimodal lens, it would be interesting to research how translanguaging and trans-semiotizing influence learners' language performance and content learning in CLIL. Multiple types of data such as video recordings and

students' multilingual assignments or notes would be helpful to investigate this issue. Teachers' qualifications in language teaching (Barbero & González, 2014; Tsuchiya, 2019) would also be a possible topic for further research. In China, most CLIL teachers are non-native speakers of the TL and are qualified as content teachers rather than language teachers. In this case, their perceptions of translanguaging would be impacted. Would teachers regard L1 and translanguaging as resources or recourse (Nikula & Moore, 2019)? How to improve teachers' expertise in teaching contents through L2 and to deepen their understanding of translanguaging? Further research focusing on CLIL teacher training would provide more insights into the implications of translanguaging and more pedagogical recommendations for CLIL at the tertiary level.

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Appendix A:
Transcription conventions here

(Adapted from Adger & Wright, 2015; Nikula & Moore, 2019)

T	Teacher
S	Student
.	sentence-final falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
?	sentence-final rising intonation
(.)	micro pause
(1)	timed pause
< >	translation
=	Latching
-	Truncated

Enseigner le français au Mozambique :
une intervention didactique innovante qui favorise la comparaison des langues en contact

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Résumé

Le contexte de notre étude est celui du Mozambique qui est caractérisé par un multilinguisme où le français cohabite avec des langues bantoues en sus du portugais. Dans ce contexte, le français est appris comme une langue étrangère mais sans aucune considération des autres langues connues et pratiquées par les élèves. Cette recherche réinterroge donc cette pratique.

Ainsi, notre objectif est de voir l'impact qu'ont les autres langues de la région de Maxixe dans l'apprentissage du français. L'hypothèse majeure à vérifier s'appuie sur les recommandations des derniers travaux des didacticiens du plurilinguisme. Selon ces chercheurs, une approche plurilingue qui s'appuie sur les connaissances des autres langues favorise l'apprentissage d'une nouvelle langue.

Pour vérifier cette hypothèse, nous avons recueilli des données dans trois classes où nous avons comparé trois situations : la première dispense l'enseignement du français de manière classique, la seconde articule le français et le portugais et la troisième s'appuie sur la comparaison français vs langues bantoues régionales.

Mots-clés : plurilinguisme, apprentissage du français, approches plurielles, didactique du plurilinguisme, enseignement comparatif des langues

Abstract

Our study context is Mozambican, which is characterized by multilingualism, where French coexists with Bantu languages in addition to Portuguese. In this context, French is learned as a foreign language but without any consideration of other languages known and used by the pupils. This reseach re-examines this practice.

Therefore, our objective is to find out the impact of other languages in the Maxixe region to learning French. The main hypothesis to examine is based on recommendations found in the latest research by plurilingualism academics. According to their work, a plurilingual approach to learning

that is based on one's knowledge of other languages helps in the learning of a new language.

To examine this hypothesis, we collected data in three classes and compared their different situations: one provided the traditional way of teaching French, the second used French and Portuguese, and the third was based on comparisons between French and the regional Bantu languages.

Key words: plurilingualism, French language learning, approches plurielles, plurilingual pedagogy, comparative language pedagogy

Introduction

La didactique des langues évolue toujours et elle cherche à répondre à la réalité du moment faisant en sorte que les intervenants puissent jouer leurs rôles dans des meilleures conditions. « Le monde est plurilingue, c'est un fait », dit Calvet (1987, p. 43). À partir de cette constatation qui reste encore actuelle, on se rend compte que la pluralité linguistique est une règle et par conséquent, la prise en compte didactique s'avère incontournable. Les études menées par des chercheurs comme Candelier (2001/2018), Candelier et Castellotti (2013) et Molinié (2014), montrent que le plurilinguisme, loin d'être un obstacle dans l'apprentissage des langues, est un atout à prendre en compte en salle de classe. C'est dans ce sens que cette recherche propose une approche plurielle de l'apprentissage du français langue étrangère pour documenter l'hypothèse selon laquelle le répertoire linguistique déjà acquis/appris facilite l'apprentissage d'une quatrième langue (L4[1]) ou plus (L+).

Pour ce faire, nous avons proposé trois dispositifs pédagogiques d'enseignement/apprentissage du français : le premier dispense le français de façon classique, c'est-à-dire sans convoquer les autres langues. Ce dispositif de référence permet une comparaison avec les pratiques d'enseignement décloisonné des langues. Le deuxième est celui qui compare le français et le portugais dans une approche inspirée de l'intercompréhension entre les langues romanes et le troisième compare le français avec les trois langues bantoues de la région de Maxixe (le guitonga, le citswa et le cicopi), selon une approche inspirée de l'éveil aux langues. L'objectif est de voir l'impact de chaque langue et déterminer lequel des dispositifs proposés favorise l'appropriation du français.

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[1]Lorsque nous parlons de la L4 ou L+, nous faisons référence à l'ordre de leur acquisition. En l'occurrence, les élèves mozambicains ont une langue bantoue comme L1, le portugais comme L2, l'anglais L3, le français L4 et L+ pour les autres langues apprises après celles-ci.

Langues au Mozambique : le statut des langues

Le Mozambique est un pays riche en matière de cohabitation linguistique. Les études des linguistes mozambicains divergent quant au nombre de langues bantoues existantes. Selon Khatupa (1985), le pays a quatre langues bantoues, ce qui signifie qu'il compte seulement les zones linguistiques représentées au Mozambique. Les zones linguistiques sont un système alphanumérique conçu par le linguiste Maho (2003) pour indiquer l'espace géographique où chaque langue bantoue est parlée. Ces quatre zones sont G, N, S et P, chacune d'entre elles comportant un certain nombre de langues. De son côté, Firmino (2002) a recensé une vingtaine de langues, mais il admet l'existence de variantes de certaines langues. Ce décompte semble vraisemblable, puisque selon Macaire (1996), il serait confirmé par l'Institut National de Développement Scolaire[2] (INDE) et par le ministère de l'Éducation Nationale.

    Comme on peut le constater, la question du nombre exact de langues bantoues qui cohabitent au sein du territoire mozambicain reste ouverte. Les linguistes du Mozambique doivent d'abord discuter et stabiliser la notion de langue car en fonction de la réalité, certaines langues sont considérées comme des variantes. C'est le cas du cironga, qui est vu comme variante du cixangana, car il y a intercompréhension et surtout un lexique commun, comme par exemple le mot *mova* pour se référer à *voiture*, qui est commun aux deux langues. Nous n'allons pas développer cette piste car elle dépasse largement le cadre de cette recherche.

    Il convient de préciser que certaines des langues bantoues sont parlées dans les pays voisins comme le zulu, qui s'étend de l'Afrique du Sud jusqu'à la région frontalière de Maputo, au Mozambique, le cishona, qui est aussi parlé au Zimbabwe et le kiswahile, qui est une langue parlée au nord du Mozambique et en Tanzanie. Notons qu'aucune de ces langues n'est parlée à l'échelle nationale, c'est pourquoi les langues bantoues ont seulement le statut de langues véhiculaires.

    Selon l'étude de Gonçalves (1996), au lendemain de l'indépendance, en 1975, les langues bantoues étaient les langues maternelles d'environ 98% de la population mozambicaine, mais aujourd'hui les chiffres montrent qu'environ 54% l'ont comme langue maternelle (L1). L'emakwa reste la langue la plus parlée avec environ 24% de locuteurs des provinces[3] de Nampula et Cabo

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[2]Les langues bantoues recensées par l'INDE sont les suivantes : le zulu, le cixangana, le tsonga, le swazi, le cicopi, le gitonga, le citswa, le cishona, le cisena, le cinyungue, le cisenga, le cinyanja, l'echuwabo, l'elomwe, l'ekoti, l'emakwa, le ciyao, le shimakonde, le kimwani et le kiswahili (Macaire, 1996).

[3]Il convient de préciser que du point de vue administratif, le Mozambique est organisé en provinces et en districts. Quand nous parlons de zones linguistiques, nous

Delgado. Ces deux provinces font partie des zones linguistiques P20, P30 et G40 (Maho, 2003).

Certaines langues bantoues sont (d)écrites mais elles restent majoritairement orales et folkloriques et sont employées dans des contextes informels comme les marchés et les lieux de loisirs, entre autres. Dans les marchés, par exemple, le vendeur peut parler dans sa langue bantoue et le client peut répondre dans la sienne. Ces échanges plurilingues sont possibles grâce à l'intercompréhension entre les langues bantoues d'une même région et surtout par le fait qu'il existe des bilingues bantouphones.

Du point de vue formel, rien n'empêche l'emploi des langues bantoues dans les institutions publiques pour ceux qui n'ont pas été scolarisés et qui ne parlent pas la langue officielle du pays. Ainsi, le fonctionnaire public fait des efforts pour résoudre le problème présenté par le citoyen qui lui fait face.

Il est vrai que les langues bantoues sont parlées par la majorité de la population comme langues de première socialisation mais le portugais a aussi le statut de langue maternelle d'un nombre non négligeable de Mozambicains. Cependant, son statut va au-delà de ça. Il est aussi langue seconde, celle qui n'est ni langue maternelle, ni langue étrangère selon Vigner (1992).

Après l'indépendance du pays, la constitution du Mozambique déclare le portugais comme seule langue officielle pour éviter tout conflit ethnique qui serait causé par le choix d'une langue bantoue au profit des autres. Le portugais est la seule langue de tous les actes officiels de l'État. Cela n'empêche pas l'emploi des langues bantoues pendant ces actes, mais dans un contexte très informel entre des gens ayant une relation de proximité ou si l'un des interlocuteurs ne maitrise pas le portugais.

Toujours dans le panorama sociolinguistique du Mozambique, mentionnons maintenant les langues étrangères : il s'agit, d'une part de l'anglais en raison de son statut international et surtout par le fait que le pays est entouré par des pays anglophones comme l'Afrique du Sud, le Zimbabwe, la Zambie, le Malawi, l'Eswatini et la Tanzanie. D'autre part le français qui est justifié par le voisinage avec la France d'outre-mer comme l'Ile de la Réunion et Mayotte. Ces deux langues étrangères sont parlées par des groupes très spécifiques, ceux venant des pays où ces langues ont un statut de langue officielle ou de langue seconde, et sont des langues enseignées (nous y reviendrons plus tard). Précisons également que le Mozambique fait partie des organisations internationales comme le Commonwealth et l'Organisation international de la francophonie.

Après ce tour d'horizon sur les langues du Mozambique, force est de constater que la cohabitation entre les différentes langues est pacifique car

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nous référons à un espace géographique qui peut comprendre plus d'une province de deux ou plusieurs pays.

aucun conflit entre les différents groupes ethnolinguistes n'est connu et chaque langue est acceptée dans les différents contextes de la vie de tous les jours.

Langues dans le systme éducatif mozambicain

Dans la majorité des pays ayant connu la colonisation, la langue du colonisateur est l'héritage le plus visible de nos jours car ces pays l'ont adoptée comme langue nationale ou langue officielle en fonction de la Constitution de chacun des pays. Dans le cas du Mozambique, émerge le portugais, langue officielle et langue de scolarisation à tous les niveaux au nom de l'unité nationale.

Toutefois, compte tenu de la réalité sociolinguistique du pays où les langues bantoues sont les plus parlées, une question se pose : comment se fait-il qu'un élève qui a une langue bantoue comme langue de première socialisation puisse avoir le portugais comme langue d'apprentissage ? Ainsi, le portugais-langue seconde est simultanément langue à apprendre et langue d'apprentissage, celle à travers laquelle on a accès au savoir. Cuq et Chnane-Davin (2007) affirment qu'il y a enseignement/apprentissage d'une langue seconde quand ses apprenants ont la possibilité quotidienne de l'employer dans le contexte extra-scolaire. Cette situation est évidente par rapport à la situation du portugais au Mozambique. Il est vrai que le portugais est la langue d'enseignement mais un nombre très réduit l'a comme langue maternelle. Le portugais est surtout employé dans des contextes formels comme l'école ou dans les institutions publiques, tandis que les langues bantoues restent informelles.

Pour répondre à la question posée ci-haut, les autorités éducatives du Mozambique ont introduit l'enseignement bilingue où les langues bantoues sont convoquées dans l'enseignement primaire avec pour but d'aider les élèves qui ont une L1 bantoue, réduisant de ce fait le décalage dans l'acquisition du savoir par comparaison avec ceux qui ont le portugais comme L1. Cependant, cet enseignement s'inscrit surtout dans le cadre de la traduction, faute de matériel comme des manuels bilingues et d'enseignants formés pour mettre en place cet enseignement.

Dans le système éducatif mozambicain, deux langues étrangères sont prises en charge (le français et l'anglais) et nous nous appuyons sur la pensée selon laquelle « la maitrise d'une langue étrangère est un trait distinctif » (Beacco 2016, p. 122). Cela rend ces deux langues obligatoires dans le système éducatif mozambicain, surtout par le statut dont elles jouissent dans le panorama sociolinguistique international. Les objectifs fixés dans l'enseignement des langues étrangères consistent à fournir des outils permettant de communiquer dans la vie de tous les jours.

Les élèves ont un premier contact avec l'anglais au primaire, à partir de

la 6e classe à l'âge de 11 ou 12 ans et ils continuent aux niveaux suivants jusqu'à la fin de la 12ème classe, niveau équivalant du bac en France. Quant au français, les élèves ont un premier contact avec cette langue en 9ème classe, soit à l'âge de 14/15 ans comme matière optionnelle[4]. Au premier cycle, ils ont environ 120 heures sur deux ans d'exposition à la langue française et environ 330 heures dans le deuxième cycle.

Enseignement/apprentissage du français : quelle approche ?

Avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, rappelons que le français est appris comme langue étrangère. Depuis longtemps, la didactique des langues étrangères a toujours favorisé un apprentissage qui ne prenait pas en compte le déjà-là. C'est en suivant une approche cloisonnée que le français est appris sans considération pour les autres langues connues et pratiquées par élèves.

Avec un nombre considérable d'heures d'exposition à la langue française, les élèves sont censés avoir au moins le niveau seuil (B1[5]) pour communiquer sans trop de difficultés. En réalité, leur niveau est très faible et nous supposons que c'est dû à l'enseignement cloisonné des langues.

Des études menées par des chercheurs comme Moore (2006), Castellotti (2013), Candelier (2001/2018) pour n'en citer que certains ont montré que les langues déjà connues jouent un rôle important dans l'apprentissage d'une nouvelle langue et ces chercheurs accordent un statut important à la langue maternelle de l'élève. Moore (1996) considère ces langues comme une *bouée transcodique*.

Nous avons montré que notre contexte d'étude est multilingue et que le français est L4 ou L+ pour ceux qui ont plus d'une langue bantoue comme langue maternelle. Selon les études mentionnées plus haut, ces langues ne sont pas à séparer dans le processus d'enseignement-apprentissage d'une langue. Pour ce faire, nous nous appuyons sur le modèle dynamique du plurilinguisme de Jessner (2002). Ce modèle est intéressant car il montre les interrelations qu'il y a entre la L1 et les autres langues du répertoire linguistique. Selon ce modèle, l'apprentissage de la L3 et L4 est influencé par les autres langues du répertoire et pas seulement par la L1. C'est-à-dire que dans notre contexte d'étude où les langues maternelles sont, en général,

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[4]Cette matière est devenue obligatoire en raison du manque d'enseignants dans les autres matières.

[5]Le Cadre Européen Commun de Référence pour les Langues (CECRL, 2001 ainsi que la version complémentaire de 2018) organise les compétences dans une langue en six niveaux : A1 et A2, considérés débutants ; B1 et B2, considérés intermédiaires. C'est ici où l'on considère qu'avec le niveau B1, la personne peut s'en sortir dans diverses situations de la vie. Finalement, les niveaux C1 et C2, considérés avancés, sont pour les locuteurs qui ont une maitrise quasi parfaite de la langue.

des langues bantoues, les élèves peuvent y recourir pour apprendre la langue seconde (le portugais). Ces deux langues peuvent également servir comme une béquille dans l'apprentissage de l'anglais langue étrangère (L3 dans l'ordre d'acquisition). Pour le cas du français (L4 dans notre contexte d'étude), les langues bantoues, le portugais et l'anglais apportent des éléments qui peuvent faciliter l'appropriation du lexique ainsi que les structures syntaxiques du français. Ce modèle favorise l'interaction entre les différentes langues proposées/connues par l'élève.

Pour ce faire, nous proposons une rupture avec l'approche cloisonnée, celle qui privilégie un enseignement classique des langues. Les partisans de cette approche croient que les langues maternelles sont sources d'interférences négatives lorsqu'on apprend une nouvelle langue. Les approches plurielles, celles qui articulent les langues du répertoire des élèves, permettent de tirer profit du déjà-là et de faire des transferts positifs, car les langues ont des éléments communs. C'est à cet égard que nous nous inspirons sur les démarches proposées dans la vidéogramme *Comparons nos langues* d'Auger (2005) ou sur les divers travaux sur l'éveil aux langues, par exemple celui de Candelier (2003), pour le cas de l'appui sur les langues bantoues. Étant donné que le portugais est également convoqué pour être comparé au français, pourtant deux langues romanes, l'intercompréhension est largement exploitée.

Méthodologie et terrain de recherche

Pour vérifier l'hypothèse de départ, nous avons choisi de comparer les productions d'adolescents de 14 à 15 ans, faux débutants en français, de 10ème classe, dans une école secondaire du centre urbain de la ville de Maxixe. Les élèves de cette école ont une L1-langue bantoue, L2-portugais, L3-anglais et L4-français. Nous proposons trois situations pédagogiques :

Situation 1 : enseignement classique est une classe traditionnelle où on suppose que seule la langue française est utilisée, mais en réalité les enseignants utilisent parfois le portugais pour expliquer des difficultés. C'était notre classe de référence ;

Situation 2 : mise en place d'activités qui s'appuyaient explicitement sur la comparaison avec le portugais ;

Situation 3 : mise en place d'activités qui s'appuyaient explicitement sur la comparaison avec les langues bantoues de la région de Maxixe, à savoir : le guitonga, le citswa et le cicopi.

Sur le plan strictement didactique, dans la situation 2, nous nous appuyons sur les stratégies de l'intercompréhension entre les langues romanes (la transparence lexicale et la proximité sonore) afin de tirer parti des

connaissances acquises dans l'apprentissage du portugais. Dans la situation 3, sans que cela soit véritablement de l'éveil aux langues, nous nous inspirons des stratégies mises en place dans cette approche comme l'analyse et la comparaison qui sont les noyaux durs de cette étude.

Il convient de préciser que c'est l'enseignant des trois classes retenues qui a mis en place ce dispositif et les mêmes activités qui ont été proposées à chacune des trois classes. Avant la mise en place du dispositif proposé, les élèves ont produit un texte de départ qui avait pour but de dégager le niveau des élèves dans un contexte d'enseignement cloisonné. Après le dispositif, les élèves ont également produit un texte écrit pour comparer avec celui de départ. Il s'agit donc d'une recherche expérimentale et les résultats présentés ne sont que préliminaires. Leur analyse sera uniquement qualitative.

Recueil de données : deux campagnes

Pour le recueil de données nous avons procédé en deux temps. Nous avons fait une première campagne exploratoire qui avait pour objet de vérifier la pertinence du dispositif et d'avoir une idée des compétences des élèves en production écrite. Pour le texte de départ, nous n'avons recueilli que les productions d'une classe comme étant représentative de toutes les autres classes, car tous les élèves avaient eu un enseignement cloisonné du français. Nous avons recueilli celles des trois classes pour la production finale.

Pour la deuxième campagne, qui est celle que nous privilégions dans cette recherche, elle s'est étalée sur 9 mois, ce qui a correspondu à 36 heures de cours dans chacune des trois classes retenues. Nous avons récolté 55 textes en début d'expérimentation et 106 en fin d'expérimentation. Ce décalage est dû au fait que le texte de départ avait été demandé sans que les élèves soient prévenus et certains n'ont pas voulu le réaliser mais par la suite, ils ont suivi les cours et ils ont produit un texte final. Il convient de souligner qu'il s'agit d'élèves d'une école publique dont le français est une matière obligatoire. Cela fait que les élèves n'ont pas d'autre choix que de suivre les cours. Nous avons tout de même obtenu l'autorisation des autorités éducatives locales pour mener ce projet en salle de classe. Pendant les cours, nous avons suivi le programme conçu par les autorités éducatives qui prévoyait quatre thématiques : le sport, les loisirs, la télévision et les vacances.

Modalités d'enseignement

Situation 1

À partir d'une phrase en français, dans cette classe, le professeur reformule avec des paraphrases en français, comme par exemple :

  (1) À onze heures, Corine fait ses devoirs.

Ensuite, il dit :

« *onze heures*, c'est une période de temps » ;

« *Corine*, c'est la personne qui fait quelque chose » ;

« *ses devoirs*, c'est son occupation, ce qu'elle réalise à l'heure indiquée ».

Toutefois, dans l'exemple 2, il a recours au portugais de manière ponctuelle pour traduire la forme verbale *fait* qui se dit *faz*. On voit bien que l'apparition du portugais n'est pas didactisée, c'est juste pour combler le manque de stratégies pour expliquer le verbe *faire*.

Situation 2

Dans cette situation, les cours étaient inspirés des stratégies de l'intercompréhension comme la transparence lexicale et la proximité sonore car il s'agit de deux langues romanes. Ici, l'enseignant partait également d'une phrase en français et ensuite, à l'aide de la classe, il demandait son équivalent en portugais comme dans l'exemple suivant :

(2) a. À onze heures, Corine fait ses devoirs.

b. *Às onze horas, Corine faz os seus deveres.*

C'est à partir de ces deux phrases où l'enseignant commençait l'activité de comparaison explicite pour trouver ce qui est commun aux deux langues et qui peut, de ce fait, servir comme un tremplin pour apprendre la langue cible. D'ailleurs, on réalise que tout n'est pas transférable.

Situation 3

Ici, l'approche employée était inspirée des stratégies de l'éveil aux langues surtout la comparaison et la discrimination. À partir d'une phrase en français, les élèves étaient invités à trouver des équivalents dans leurs langues bantoues. Ensuite, les élèves devaient observer, analyser et comparer les langues.

(3) a. À onze heures, Corine fait ses devoirs. (français)

b. *Khu dzi onze hora, Corine aguira mithumu yayena.* (guitonga)

c. *Hi ma onze hora, Corine amaha minthiru yaku.* (citswa)

d. *Ngua ma onze hora, Corine othuma mithumu yakwe.* (cicopi)

On découvre ce qui est commun à toutes les langues convoquées : *les chiffres*, *le prénom*, *l'heure* et *la structure de la phrase*. Ce qui est proche dans les trois langues bantoues : *les verbes* et ce qui est différent : *les adjectifs possessifs*. Il convient de préciser que le fait que les langues bantoues sont surtout orales a suscité une réflexion métalinguistique très intéressante en classe, puisque chaque intervenant croyait que sa façon de dire et/ou d'écrire était la bonne.

Selon nous, c'est là où réside l'intérêt de comparer les langues : les apprenants prennent conscience de la diversité linguistique et culturelle et, plus important encore, les langues de leur première socialisation sont valorisées.

Présentation des résultats

Avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, rappelons que le dispositif pédagogique proposé dans cette étude a favorisé l'articulation entre le déjà-là et la langue cible. Après le recueil des textes écrits (avant et après la mise en place du dispositif), nous avons choisi une copie du texte de départ que nous considérons comme représentative de toutes les classes pour montrer les difficultés qu'ont les élèves dans un enseignement classique, celui qui se fait de façon cloisonnée. Enfin, par une analyse qualitative, nous avons comparé le texte de départ avec un texte final de chacune des trois classes afin de voir l'impact qu'a le répertoire linguistique des apprenants dans l'apprentissage du français. Ya-t-il des emprunts, des calques, des transferts ou la structure syntaxique (in)correcte ?

Texte de départ

Réalisé avant la mise en place du dispositif comparatif, ce texte avait comme consigne : « tu es au cinéma avec un ami, il veut aussi visiter le jardin botanique mais tu ne peux pas l'accompagner. Explique-lui comment y aller ». Cette consigne était accompagnée d'une carte de la ville avec l'indication des noms des bâtiments et des rues pour faciliter l'indication de l'itinéraire

Situation 1 : Enseignement classique

> Pour allez au cinéma tu use la rue que parcé du restaurant de Avenue Americo Boavida et tu *encontrer* une *curve* du (avenida Zedeuias manganhela e continue) que passe hôtel é on foce de hôpital e contuinue use la rue de Avenue Samora machel e *econtro* la casa de ferro pour aller.

Il s'agit d'une production très courte avec une syntaxe non structurée. Il y a également une intrusion non contrôlée du lexique emprunté du portugais, langue de référence des élèves, comme *curve* et *encontro* et surtout un empilement des mots. On note également des tentatives d'emprunt au lexique portugais comme *encontre*, francisé en ajoutant la terminaison de l'infinitif du premier groupe *-er*, pour se référer au verbe *trouver*.

Texte final

Ce texte avait pour consigne : « tu pars en vacances avec ta famille et tes amis. Écris une carte postale à ton professeur pour lui raconter comment se passent tes vacances en expliquant ce que tu fais et tes impressions : ce que tu aimes et ce que tu n'aimes pas ».

Situation 1 : Enseignement classique

> *Le vacances avec a ma famille* a Maputo zonz Machaquene B je aimes la ville
> *pas que e* bom je adore la forme que brinque *in* vie a estado de Zepeto, Mozeu,
> Maputo Chope … *pas que* le *bon* a *visit conhecemon* le varios sitio je adore a
> la paisage la natureza pas que e *bom*.

Dans la rédaction finale, on voit aussi une syntaxe non structurée comme
les vacances avec a ma famille, des mots mal graphiés comme *pas que* ou *bom*.
Ici, l'apprenant a transcrit ce qu'il entend à l'oral dans les deux cas. Nous
voyons encore des emprunts lexicaux comme *conhecemon* pour se référer à
connaissons, ce qui est un emprunt du portugais. Ainsi, lorsque l'on compare
le texte de départ et le texte final, force est de constater qu'il n'y a pas eu
de progression dans la classe de l'enseignement classique. C'est-à-dire que
sans appui sur le déjà-là, les apprenants font des transferts non contrôlés de la
L1 au français. On note que la production finale de la classe d'enseignement
classique a les mêmes caractéristiques que celles du texte de départ : rédaction
non claire, car la syntaxe n'est pas structurée et en raison des emprunts
lexicaux.

Après cette brève analyse, les difficultés présentées dans le texte de départ
(des phrases syntaxiquement maladroites et une forte présence du lexique issu
de la L1 des apprenants) sont aussi des caractéristiques saillantes dans cette
production. Elles sont associées à des modalités d'enseignement classique
dans lesquelles les cours suivent une approche monolingue. Toutefois,
consciemment ou non, les apprenants mobilisent leurs capacités cognitives et
emploient les autres langues pour combler des lacunes.

Passons maintenant à la comparaison des résultats des classes d'enseigne-
ment décloisonné.

Situation 2 : Classe français-portugais

> Les vacances

> Les vacances je passé bian et visition famille. Je joue au footbal as amis. Les la
> vacances et ce ocorreu bian. Je aime jouer lu footbal on amis. Nous passons du
> vil en famille la vacances et ocoré bian. Je conhece la madame Lucie on parla
> on munic. Je dane bwan et ecole passe et la ecole de vilancules.

L'analyse de cette production repose sur une étude comparative de la structure
syntaxique du portugais et celle du français ainsi que du lexique dans les deux
langues. Malgré l'intrusion du lexique portugais, nous pouvons retenir deux
aspects essentiels : d'abord des phrases avec la structure sujet + verbe + objet,
(*je joue au footbal*), qui a fait l'objet de comparaison dans tous les cours. Cela
laisse supposer que les apprenants ont bien tiré profit de cette proximité en

suivant le 5e tamis[6] qui postule que les langues romanes ont un parallélisme dans leurs structures syntaxiques fondamentales.

Ensuite, le deuxième aspect non négligeable est l'appropriation de la langue lorsque l'apprenant écrit « je joue *au* », ce qui a constitué un grand défi dans le cours. L'enseignant, a expliqué que le verbe *jouer* est toujours suivi de la préposition *à*, tandis qu'en portugais, celui de la variante mozambicaine, les apprenants ne mettent pas de préposition. Dans le cours sur le sport, on retient les phrases suivantes : *Eu jogo futebol* qui est comparé à *je joue au football*.

Cet extrait est un bon exemple de ce que Lüdi (1987) appelle des formulations potentiellement conscientes, auxquelles nous référons par *transferts didactiquement guidés* parce que l'apprenant a eu l'occasion de tester ces opérations sous guidage de son enseignant pendant les cours. Ces évidences corroborent l'idée qui est à l'origine de cette recherche, soit la pertinence d'articuler les langues dans le cadre de cette étude. Cela rejoint les conclusions de Patricio (2020) qui a confirmé qu'il était pertinent, lorsque l'on apprend une nouvelle langue, de convoquer et de comparer explicitement le déjà-là et la langue cible.

Situation 3 : Classe français-langues bantoues

> Pendant ma vacance, je faire beaucoup choses, je passe un temps avec mes amis et ma famille, la première semaine des vacances. Tous les week-ends je joue la cocheia avec mes amis, et la objective c'est de gagner le joue, nous jouerons par divertissement. En mon temps libre, je faire une visit par ma *famille*, je faire choses *maintenan*t avec ma famille. La deuxième semaine de la vacance, *je vais à la bibliothèque* faire le travail de l'école.

> Pendant ma vacance j'aime beaucoup le temps avec ma famille, se conté les moments que nous faire quand fille, je regarde à la *tèlévision* avec ma mére adore regardé la *feuileton*. Je n'aime pas ma vacance parce que je arrêté mon temps de loisirs et de divertissement par faire le travail de l'école. Je passe triés bien ma vacance, j'adore beaucoup. C'est bien un moment avec la famille et amis.

On voit dans cette production un effort remarquable de la part de l'apprenant pour faire une rédaction exclusivement en français et surtout d'une longueur considérable. La structure syntaxique est révélatrice d'une maitrise de la formation des phrases, comme on le voit dans la phrase *je vais à la bibliothèque faire le travail de l'école*. Cependant, il faut rappeler que le français et les langues bantoues ont la même structure (SVO), ce qui pourrait avoir facilité les transferts.

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[6]Dans le cadre de l'intercompréhension entre les langues romanes, Meissner et al. (2004) ont proposé des stratégies de compréhension appelées « les sept tamis » qui peuvent opérer dans toutes les langues romanes. Ces tamis mettent en évidence l'origine commune de ces langues.

On note également des mots transparents (*tèlévision*, *famille*) pour le portugais qui ont été bien employés. Nous étions sceptiques quant à l'appropriation lexicale : nous pensions que les élèves auraient des difficultés importantes mais cette production nous prouve le contraire. Toutefois, le lexique très éloigné du portugais et des langues bantoues qui a constitué un défi chez les apprenants pendant le cours apparait ici bien maitrisé, malgré le petit écart du manque de la deuxième consonne *l*. C'est le cas de *feuileton* qui s'écrit *novela* en portugais et pour lequel les élèves n'ont pas d'équivalent dans leurs langues bantoues, ainsi que *maintenant* qui se dit *agora*. Comment expliquer cette appropriation ? La réponse ne semble pas aisée mais on peut faire l'hypothèse que c'est grâce à un enseignement comparatif entre le français et les langues bantoues qui ne possèdent pas d'équivalent de ce mot ; il a été donc facile de retenir le mot français.

Nous avons vu que les apprenants n'ont pas su traduire certains mots français en langues bantoues, ce qui en théorie serait un problème, mais s'est plutôt avéré un moyen pour mieux retenir le lexique très complexe. On peut donc dire que la méconnaissance du lexique dans la langue maternelle ne constitue pas un frein à l'apprentissage du français. Qu'en est-il alors de la structure syntaxique ? Nous trouvons l'influence du portugais du Mozambique dans la phrase *Tous les week-ends je joue la cocheia avec mes amis* dans la mesure où le verbe *jouer* n'a pas pris la préposition *à* comme c'est le cas en français et en portugais standard. Bien sûr, nous n'oublions pas que le portugais a une influence importante sur toutes les autres langues parlées.

Tableau 1

Formes linguistiques fréquentes dans les textes des élèves

Type de texte	Situation 1	Situation 2	Situation 3
Texte de départ	Curve, encontro, encontrer ; *tu encontrer une curve*		
Textes finaux	– *bom* – pas que – *conhecemon* – *in*	– je joue au football – amis – famille – football	– je vais à la bibliothèque faire le travail de l'école – feuileton – maintenant

Le tableau 1 montre certaines formes linguistiques issues des productions des élèves avant et après la mise en place du dispositif pédagogique comparatif des langues. Le texte de départ choisi comme représentatif montre un recours fréquent au portugais pour garantir la suite du raisonnement et une syntaxe non structurée. Quant aux textes finaux de la situation 1, le recours, non seulement au portugais, mais aussi à l'anglais est visible. L'apparition de ces langues

nous paraît être le résultat d'une action spontanée. Dans les situations 2 et 3, la syntaxe est mieux structurée et les mots transparents (situation 2) ont été presque bien graphiés. Dans la situation 3, la graphie des mots *feuileton* et *maintenant* est quelque peu étonnant car les deux mots ne sont pas transparents avec leurs équivalents en portugais (*novela* et *agora*).

Discussion des résultats

Selon les évidences apportées dans l'analyse des données, parmi les trois dispositifs proposés, il semble que l'appui sur les langues bantoues est plus pertinent pour s'approprier le lexique non transparent tandis que le dispositif de la classe qui a comparé le français au portugais s'est avéré pertinent pour la maitrise de la structure syntaxique du français. Nous attribuons cette réussite au fait qu'il s'agit de deux langues romanes qui ont la même structure et beaucoup de ressemblances. Cependant, nous reconnaissons l'existence de variables non contrôlables liées à la dynamique du groupe, aux compétences individuelles et surtout à la durée de cette étude.

Conclusion

Cette recherche a voulu analyser l'impact de l'appui sur le portugais et sur les langues bantoues sur l'apprentissage du français. Après l'analyse des productions écrites avant (celles résultant d'un enseignement sans prises en compte des autres langues pratiquées par les élèves) et celles écrites après les cours comparatifs des langues, on peut conclure que le portugais et les langues bantoues ont un impact positif sur l'apprentissage du français.

Dans la classe de référence (situation 1), celle où le français a été appris suivant une approche classique, il n'y a pas eu beaucoup d'indices de progression. Nous supposons que c'est le résultat du mythe selon lequel tout doit être en langue cible pour apprendre la langue cible, ce qui n'accorde pas une place prépondérante aux langues mieux maitrisées. Dans cette classe, nous pouvons dire sans ambages que, même si l'enseignant l'accepte, l'apparition des autres langues n'a pas pour but de mettre en place une approche plurielle. Il s'agit seulement d'assurer la continuation d'une idée que l'apprenant est en train de présenter.

Dans les situations 2 et 3, les autres langues connues par les élèves ont été explicitement mises en comparaison. Cela a été inspiré des approches plurielles pour favoriser l'apprentissage du français. Ce dialogue des langues et les résultats présentés valident l'hypothèse formulée au début de cette recherche sur la pertinence de prendre en compte les langues du répertoire des élèves pour apprendre le français.

Toutefois, le manque de temps a constitué une limite dans cette recherche et a un impact non négligeable sur les résultats, c'est pourquoi nous avons

choisi un texte représentatif pour chaque situation d'enseignement. Il aurait été pertinent d'avoir eu beaucoup de temps d'exposition à la langue cible et de comparaison des structures syntaxiques et du lexique. Cela peut faire l'objet d'une étude postérieure plus fine pour compléter le puzzle que nous avons commencé à rassembler.

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Centre canadien d'études et de recherche en bilinguisme et aménagement linguistique (CCERBAL)

Canadian Centre for Studies and Research on Bilingualism and Language Planning Centre (CCERBAL)

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