ABSTRACT

This study takes place in the context of an Australian state bilingual (English-French) primary school located in Melbourne, Australia. The school constitutes a particularly insightful setting because not only is it bilingual, but it is also binational (Australian-French).

As a state school, it is managed by the Victoria Department of Education, with the French section of the school also run by the Agency for French Teaching Abroad (Agence pour l’Enseignement Français à l’Etranger - AEFE). The AEFE is a French national public organisation administered by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representing the French nation. Both these official organisations have an input into the bilingual program, and define the variety of English and French taught at the school. Consequently both languages are directly associated with the nations involved.

The aim of this research is to examine how, in this context, pre-adolescent (10 to 12 year old) multilingual students, attending the bilingual program of the school, relate to their identity, by focusing on:

- How children negotiate their way through the boundaries imposed by the various language and national ideologies and in particular how they deal with the monolingual discourses to which they are subject.

And

- The undifferentiated nature of the students’ multilingual repertoire in an educational context where both their languages are clearly separated.

This study aims to build upon the literature on multilingual education, concentrating on language attitudes and children’s language identity, by exploring multilingualism within and across national boundaries. This thesis adopts a holistic vision of multilingualism, considering all the languages as one rather than separate entities.
DECLARATION

This is to certify that

(i) the thesis comprises only my original work towards the degree of Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics,

(ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,

(iii) the thesis is fewer than 50,000 words in length, exclusive of words in tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

[Signature]

[Name]
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I wish to thank my eldest son, Léo, without whom my interest in multilingualism would not have been sparked, and his younger brother, Aden, for validating the complexity of multilingual upbringing!

I am grateful to my husband, Antony, for his support throughout the process of completing this study.

*A fictional name has been used in this study.
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“A unitary language is not something given [dan],
but is always in essence posited [zadan] –
and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia.”

(Bakhtin, The Dialogic Imagination, 1981)
1. INTRODUCTION

Multilingualism, as a multidisciplinary subject, has been the focus of many studies over the last few years. Contact between speakers of different languages is a front line topic in the globalisation debate and is in the spotlight in an increasingly connected digital world.

Speakers of minority languages considered as having an inferior status have recently attracted a lot of research attention due to the unequal power relationship between both languages, and the challenges such situation generates. Yet, in the last few years, there seems to have been less research related to early "prestigious" (Baker, 2000: 8) multilinguals and their identity.

This study looks at language attitudes and children's language identity in the context of a unique binational Australian-French primary school program, located in Melbourne, Victoria, Australia. The school is unique in that it teaches both the Australian curriculum and the French national curriculum side by side, within the context of a Victorian State Primary School. Teaching takes place in both English and French, with equal amount of time being spent in each language. These two languages are directly associated with the Australian and French nations involved, which confers a dual national identity to the school. This study is not simply about multilingualism, it is about multilingualism within and across national boundaries.

Both English and French languages are considered as prestigious and consequently benefit from a fairly equal status, within the school. The context of this particular program also has the benefit of dealing with two languages and curricula which are taught according to centralised national (in the French case) and state (in the Australian case) curricula, which are both legitimised within the boundary of the school.

A study taking place in such distinctive context can provide a valuable contribution to the literature on multilingual education in relation to children's identity construction and negotiation, in a setting where ideological centralisation and unification is exerted by each national side.

Definitions of multilingualism abound. In this study, being multilingual refers to the ability to communicate in more than one language, either actively though writing and speaking, or passively through reading and listening (Wei, 2008).
Most of the population on the planet is multilingual, a fact that is often overlooked in the Western world where monolingualism prevails as the norm, despite contacts among speakers of different languages becoming more and more frequent. However, a lot of the research in the past looked at multilingualism from a monolingual perspective, considering the multilingual speaker as a multiple monolingual. Although this is still a widely held view by the general public, academic research is now adopting a more holistic vision of multilingualism. This approach considers the multilingual’s entire language repertoire, rather than looking at each language in a compartmentalised fashion.

The reality of the students who took part in the study is multilingual, and for many of them, this is the case from birth. All participants speak English and French on a daily basis, and sometimes have an additional third language at home.

This research adopts a holistic approach, looking at multilingualism beyond the language boundaries imposed by the monolingual bias. The overall aim of this study is to look at the way multilingual children develop, negotiate and relate to their identity, in the context of an Australian state bilingual (English-French) primary school. This institutional setting provides an interesting environment to assess the impact of national ideologies on multilingual children. By examining how children deal with the two languages and national ideologies, this research delivers some clear insights into the holistic perspective of multilingualism.

This research looks at the complexity of identity formation by concentrating on the following:

- How students negotiate their way through the boundaries imposed by the various language ideologies to which they are subject (specifically monolingual discourses).
- The undifferentiated nature of the children’s multilingual repertoire in an educational context where both their languages are clearly separated.

Getting 10 to 12 year old preadolescents to discuss how they relate to their multilingual identity is not an easy task. Many studies have focused on adults and teenagers, but less has been written about this younger age group. Additionally, a lot of recent research has looked at multilingual children within monolingual schools, and has not focused on educational environments that cater for two or more of their languages.
In order to explore the student’s sense of their identity, children were asked to colour a human silhouette, according to their languages. This exercise took place in small groups, with the researcher, who recorded the whole process. The discussion which took place while the children were colouring, together with their interpretation of the drawings, provided as valuable an insight as the actual drawing itself.

A ‘daily language use’ questionnaire gave further information about the student's circumstances, together with some Australian and French national test results, which gave an indication of the student's proficiency.

The thesis is composed of seven chapters.

Following this introduction, chapter 2 provides an in-depth survey of the school, describing its ethnographic setting.

Chapter 3 will review the contemporary literature on multilingualism, more specifically looking at the role of language in the creation of nation-states, through the example of the French nation. The various trends in research on multilingualism will also be explored, before looking at the various methods used to research this topic.

Chapter 4 describes the sample and chapter 5 explains the methodology used to collect data.

Chapter 6 is the focal point of this study, presenting and discussing the data. It is divided into two main sections. The first deals with student’s reflections on the boundaries around them related to their multilingual and multicultural reality. The second section looks at how students cross linguistic boundaries through their multilingual language practice.

Finally, chapter 7 is the concluding section, which discusses the effect of languages being taught in a compartmentalised fashion on children’s identity.
2. ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

1. GREEN HEIGHTS PRIMARY SCHOOL

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study takes place in a unique educational environment in which an Australian primary state school (Green Heights Primary School) hosts a French educational program (the French Section - FS) managed by the French Republic, but mainly funded privately.

Green Heights is a Victorian Government Primary School located in a suburb of Melbourne in the state of Victoria, Australia.

In 2012 the school had 454 students enrolled from Prep to Year 6 over 22 classes. The majority of pupils (78%) belong to higher socio-economic backgrounds. The school has 26 teaching staff and 9 non-teaching staff.

The population of the school is very diverse, with 76% of the students having a Language Background Other Than English (LBOTE). Eighteen different languages are spoken in the home environment. Regarding the dominant language, 60% have a French speaking background.

The school is located in an area where 44.8% of the population elected Judaism as their religion in the 2011 census (the second religious groups being Christians, with 19.4% of the population). This dominant faith is the most represented at the school, with 42% of the pupils being Jewish.

The school follows the Victorian curriculum, using the Victorian Essential Learning Standards (VELS) to plan education, assess progress and report to parents. Teaching is carried out according to the Curriculum Standard Framework (CSF) and Key Learning Areas (KLA) set by the Victorian Department of Education. The development of numeracy and literacy are the main aims of the curriculum which covers the following areas: Mathematics, English, the Arts (art, craft and music), Language Other Than English - L.O.T.E. (French), Science, Thinking, Inquiry, Information and Communications Technology, Health and Physical Education, Design, Creativity and Technology. Religious Education (Catholic, Jewish and Protestant) is also offered but not compulsory.
1.2 SCHOOL’S PHILOSOPHY

Cooperation between age groups is encouraged, and students are trained to become independent and responsible individuals. High emphasis is also put on self-esteem. The key values of the school are reinforced at every opportunity: “Respect, Harmony, Responsibility, Love of Learning and Integrity”.

Students are encouraged to behave responsibly. A Student Council with two representatives from each year (except for Prep year) decides on its own mission in accordance with the school values, and organises activities such as fundraising and competitions.

Parents are involved in the running of the school. As in every government school in Victoria, the school is governed by a School Council, a legal body which meets regularly to discuss the curriculum, finance, infrastructure and community relations. The council is made up of eight parents’ representatives (elected by parents), four teachers and two co-opted members. The Principal acts as the senior executive officer of the council.

1.3 INTERNATIONAL ORIENTATION OF THE SCHOOL

A unique characteristic of the school is its international orientation. The school is accredited through the Council of International Schools (CIS), a not for profit organisation which rates schools in order to provide guidance to expatriate families while living overseas. Over 650 schools throughout the world are part of the CSI network. In order to qualify for this accreditation, schools have to meet 37 rigorous standards set by the CSI, show a strong commitment to their own philosophy and objectives, as well as dedication to international orientation.

The school offers two, fee paying, optional language programs, in addition to the VELS curriculum: a French Section (FS) and a Hebrew Immersion Program (HIP). These programs are tailored to accommodate the large French and Jewish population of the school. The Hebrew Immersion program is open to all the children in the school, and tuition takes place three times a week for 50 minutes outside school hours. The FS is a selective program opened to French speakers, which teaches the French curriculum in
French during 50% of the school hours (the other half being dedicated to the Victorian curriculum taught in English).
2. THE FRENCH SECTION (FS)

The aim of the French Section is to foster a balanced bilingual acquisition. The French Section is a unique program accredited by both the Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Development (DEECD) and the Agency for French Teaching Abroad (Agence pour l’Enseignement Français à l’Etranger - AEFE), a French national public organisation managed by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. AEFE schools have to follow the French national curriculum.

2.1 IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDING OF THE FRENCH SECTION

2.1.1 THE FRENCH CURRICULUM

There is very little variation in the curriculum between French schools globally; schools are under the obligation to follow a standardised curriculum which is set nationally from the capital, through the Ministry of Education, and decisions are communicated to teachers through an official monthly bulletin (Hélot and Young, 2006). The system is extremely hierarchical and the implementation of the curriculum is carried out by inspectors, who act as authoritative figures in the schools, throughout France and in French schools abroad. Although teachers can execute the official program as they wish, the curriculum is so demanding that variation or individual creativity on behalf of the teachers is difficult, because of the time constraint (Hélot and Young, 2006). Indeed, the French school system is famous for having a generous amount of holiday, determined at Ministerial level, with six weeks schooling followed by two weeks off, and two months holiday in the summer. This schedule puts pressure on teachers who have to deliver a crowded curriculum in a limited amount of time. The matter is regularly debated amongst Ministers.

Primary school in France starts with three years of pre-school (Australian 3 and 4 year old Kindergarten and Prep equivalent), followed by Cours Préparatoire – CP (Australian Year 1 equivalent), and concludes with Cours Moyen 2 – CM2 (Year 5 equivalent). Refer to Table 1 below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>French school system</strong></th>
<th><strong>Victorian school system</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary School</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSM – Petite Section Maternelle</td>
<td>3 year old kindergarten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSM – Moyenne Section Maternelle</td>
<td>4 year old kindergarten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSM – Grande Section Maternelle</td>
<td>Prep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP – Cours Préparatoire</td>
<td>Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE1 – Cours Elémentaire 1</td>
<td>Year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE2 – Cours Elémentaire 2</td>
<td>Year 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM1– Cours Moyen 1</td>
<td>Year 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM2– Cours Moyen 2</td>
<td>Year 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary school (Collège)</strong></td>
<td>Year 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND VICTORIAN SYSTEMS**

Primary school years are divided into two main progression cycles, with GSM, CP and CE1 on one side and CE2, CM1 and CM2 on the other. These cycles were put in place to offset the maturity differences between children, and allow consistency and continuity between the years. The fundamental learning principles are established in the first cycle, with an emphasis on numeracy and literacy skills. The next cycle reinforces what has been learnt in the first cycle, and develops investigation and strong working methods.

The first cycle is organised around seven main areas: full acquisition of the French language (speaking, reading, writing), learning how to live together (introduction of the concept of citizenship), mathematics (numbers, calculation, basic geometry, measures etc.), discovering the world (space, time, life, texture, objects, information technology), a foreign or regional language (not applicable in the Green Heights Primary School context), arts (visual and music) and sports.

The second cycle reinforces the first one with the mastering of the French language (grammar, conjugation, spelling and vocabulary), civic education (participating in school life, being a citizen in the community, discovering Europe and the world), literature, mathematics, history, geography and foreign or regional language, experimental science and technology, visual art, music and sport.
Due to time constraints, the French Section focuses mainly on the French and Mathematics subjects.

The French education system has high academic expectations which are meant to equip students with life-long learning. Learning is based on a series of complementary principles: the ability to learn by heart while being creative, the ability to reason while being imaginative, the ability to remain focused while being independent and finally respecting rules while being able to take initiatives.

Children also learn cursive writing (i.e. \( \text{a b c} \)), as opposed to printed style writing (i.e. \( \text{a b c} \)) on the Australian side.

In terms of resources, the school benefits from a French library containing over 2000 books.

In comparison to the Australian system, the French approach is more theoretical than practical. On the Australian side parents are also a lot more actively involved and students have a lot more responsibilities. For instance, visits to the school by prospective parents or guests are conducted independently by students themselves; delegating such responsibility to children would be inconceivable in a French context, where the school system is organised hierarchically top-down. The Student Council, on the Australian side, is also a way of directly involving students in the running of their school. As a result, the Australian system has generally a much stronger emphasis on individual responsibility.

2.1.2 THE AEFE (AGENCY FOR FRENCH TEACHING ABROAD)

The French Section is accredited by the AEFE, a public institution created in 1990, which is managed by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Over 490 French schools in 130 countries are part of this network in which 280,000 students are taught the French curriculum in French, with generally varying levels of input into an additional local language. Approximately 6,500 teachers qualified under the French education system are employed by the network.
There are many reasons why the French Section is keen to be part of the AEFE network. By being accredited, teachers can participate in regular development programs, which ensure a cohesive approach throughout the network. AEFE’s inspectors regularly visit the school, sharing their general expertise and guidance through reports, hence promoting constant improvement to the school. In the same way as inspectors within France control the implementation of the official curriculum, these inspectors sent to AEFE schools are also ensuring that the schools fit within the AEFE guidelines. The AEFE also facilitates the recruitment of new teachers. Teachers who work in an AEFE accredited school keep their French pension and remain on the same career path as if they were working in France, a very attractive prospect which brings in good teachers. Finally, the French Section is recognised in France, so children who return to France can smoothly transition to a new school.

The AEFE plays a key role in France’s foreign policy. It has two official missions: firstly to provide a rigorous education outside of France to French expatriate children, and secondly to offer a French education to locals and other nationals, as a way of spreading the French language, culture and education system. The key values of the organisation coincide with the French Republic’s ideals of humanism, tolerance, democracy and multiculturalism, providing a highly secular education. French is the prime language of instruction, in conjunction with the local language. The network is very successful, with a 50% increase in its student population over the past twenty years.

Consequently, the AEFE is a highly centralised organisation which aims at disseminating a highly centralised curriculum, throughout the world. By being extremely organised and well coordinated, the institution participates top-down, from the French government in power down to the teachers (with the help of regional inspectors on the ground), in the spreading of French ideals outside the country’s geographical borders.

Although this is not the case at Green Heights Primary School in its current configuration, two thirds of the population in AEFE schools are non French nationals, in other words locals who consider French education to be an attractive model which will open doors to their children. This is particularly the case in former French colonies or protectorates, such as Morocco. The motivation of these non French students (passed on by their parents) is also driven by a desire to be able to speak fluent French, a language seen as prestigious in many contexts, often considered as having a higher status than local
languages (in post-colonial contexts in particular). As a result, the French educational policy abroad, through the AEFE institution, plays a pivotal role in the spreading of the French Republic ideology together with a specific variety of the French language.

2.1.3 THE VARIETY OF FRENCH TAUGHT AT GREEN HEIGHTS PRIMARY SCHOOL

The variety of French taught at Green Heights is French from France. The school’s aim is to spread the official language and values of the French Republic.

The concept of nation started to spread in the 18th century, and with the nation state came the single official language used to unify it, transforming nations into monolingual countries.

In France, the official variety originated from the Parisian elite, who used it in its spoken and written form, unlike the many local dialects which were often only used orally. The spoken dialects were erased little by little (Goosse, 2000), becoming confined to the peasant population and saw their power reduced, becoming an insignificant language variety. In this manner the French variety from Paris was imposed as the legitimate one against the many dialects. This linguistic unification was a way of spreading and maintaining the republican ideals, following the French Revolution (Bourdieu, 1982).

The variety of French described above (i.e. Parisian French) is the variety that is still spoken today throughout the country, with a few dialects remaining in the countryside, and mainly considered as unprestigious, despite a regionalist movement which tries to develop their use. France remains an extremely centralised country with most decisions coming from the capital, including educational ones as described previously.

The education system plays an essential role in the legitimisation and in the maintenance of this variety of the French language, and the national curriculum is, as we have seen, designed top-down from Paris (Hélot and Young, 2006:71). This is a typical centralised education system used by the establishment to enforce their authority, by deciding on the “language education policies” (Shohamy, 2006:78). Language behaviours are imposed in this manner, dictating explicitly, through the curriculum, what the ‘correct’ way of speaking and writing is (Shohamy, 2006). Given that school is compulsory, education is a particularly powerful tool used to impose a language variety; the curriculum prioritises
some languages over others (Shohamy, 2006), with the official variety taking over any other varieties of the French language. These practices in the education arena symbolise the nation in a subtle manner, by marking its boundary and being reminiscent of its existence.

In such context, one can understand how the hegemonic place of the French language from France is maintained and reproduced through the educational system. The language is considered as being legitimately the prestigious language variety, the norm used at school and the reference all students should strive to achieve.

At Green Heights, the majority of students in the French Section have a link with France (because they have lived in the country and/or one or both their parents come from France). Students who are French nationals, are also entitled to a study grant from the local French Embassy, depending on their family’s income, a privilege not afforded to non-French nationals.

To conclude, we have seen how the French centralised curriculum, institutions such as AEFE, and the use of inspectors on the ground in France and abroad, all participate in the preservation and dissemination of national values, in France as well as overseas, embodied in a specific variety of the French language.

2.2 PRACTICALITIES

2.2.1 FUNDING OF THE FRENCH SECTION

The FS is governed by a not-for-profit organisation which is managed and mainly funded by parents, with occasional donations from sponsors and the French government. In 2010 for instance, €10,000 was given as a one off payment by a French senator representing French people overseas. There are two types of yearly schooling fees. One for families established in Melbourne ($3,744 in 2011), for which French lower income families can get financial help from the French Consulate. A considerably higher yearly fee has to be paid by companies who expatriate their staff to Melbourne ($8,844). In 2011, this latest type of fee was only paid by 7.5% of the FS population. In the Australian private educational context these fees are considered as being fairly low.
The FS presents its budget to the Green Heights school council, and has to meet expectations of the Victorian Department of Education.

A head of the FS qualified under the French National Education System manages the French curriculum and the relationship with the section’s partners. The head also deals with the relationship with the wider community. For instance links have been made with other bilingual schools in Victoria (teaching materials were exchanged and visits between schools were organised).

### 2.2.2 STATISTICAL MAKE-UP

In 2011, 230 children attended the FS (60% of the overall school population). These children usually have at least one French speaking parent. In terms of nationality, in 2011 36% of children were French only, 23% were Australian only, 32% were bi-national Australian-French, and 3% were nationals of other French speaking countries. The remaining 6% related to other backgrounds (for instance children who are originally from non-French speaking countries but have learnt French as a result of living in a French speaking country for a while).

Most students enrolled in the FS are children of Australian citizens or permanent residents who are planning on completing their VCE (Victoria Certificate of Education which marks the completion of secondary education) in Australia.
### Class level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class level</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(divided into two classes for most levels)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSM (Prep)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP (Y1)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE1 (Y2)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE2 (Y3)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM1 (Y4)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM2 (Y5)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6e (Y6)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2 NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER LEVEL**

### 2.2.3 SELECTION CRITERIA

In order to join the FS, children have to either come from a French school (in or out of France) or go through an interview to demonstrate their ability to understand French. Unlike their mainstream counterparts, they do not need to live within the school zone. All students have to understand French when entering the section, as lessons in French as a second language are not provided. However, not all children necessarily speak English. A minority of children entering the FS are monolingual French because they have recently arrived from a French speaking country where they were not exposed to the English language. As part of the New Arrivals Program, the Australian government offers these children English as a Second Language (ESL) classes.

### 2.2.4 ON THE GROUND: TIME TABLE

Children follow both the Victorian Curriculum in English and two subjects of the French curriculum (French and mathematics) in French. Equal time is spent in both languages, with two separate teachers. Both teachers are approved by the Victorian education system.
and follow regular training offered by the Victorian Department of Education. The French teachers are also qualified under the French national education system and attend training provided by the AEFE in various locations around the world.

In terms of logistics, FS children attend their Australian class with the mainstream children of their year level. This allows for a better integration of the FS children with the rest of the school. The remaining 50% of the time, FS children integrate their French Section with other FS children who are pulled from other Australian classes of the same year level. For instance at Prep level, there are four classes (Learning Area [LA] 1, LA2, LA3, LA4) with approximately 20 children in each class. Three of these LAs are Australian classes and one (LA4) is the FS class. Two groups of 20 FS children, pulled from LA1, 2 and 3 alternate in LA4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LA1</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA2</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA3</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA4</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 groups of 20 children pulled from LA1, 2 and 3 alternate in this class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 3 CLASS ORGANISATION**

Secondary school in France starts with 6e (Year 6 equivalent), where teaching takes place with one teacher per subject. At Green Heights, Year 6 FS children do the French equivalent (6e) by correspondence through the French national centre for distance learning, with the help of an on-site teacher.

As far as timing is concerned, some years alternate with one week in the Australian class and one week in the French class. Other years switch language on the Thursday morning, so that students are exposed to both languages within the same week. Teachers felt that a gap of nine days (five week days and one weekend either side) between languages was too long. The school is still experimenting with various models at this stage.
In 2010 the *binôme* program was also introduced as an experiment, in order to simplify the organisation for FS students, offering one truly integrated bilingual program. Instead of being mixed with mainstream students, the same group of FS students alternated between an Australian class and a French class. These children only saw their mainstream counterparts in the playground. Such segregation was deemed inappropriate and some mainstream parents complained about the model, as it did not fit with the integrational philosophy of the school. However, the FS parents still felt that this model was best suited to their children’s bilingual learning. Consequently, in 2013, the *binôme* model was reintroduced, as the system described above was simply deemed too confusing for the children.

Coordinating both Australian and French programs is quite demanding. The FS team works closely with the Victorian teachers. Meetings are organised on a weekly basis in order to align curricula, analyse data and carry out some planning. The two teams follow different curricula but share a common curricular language. In 2013, as part of the restructuring of the FS, both Australian and French official programs were formally aligned in order to bring to light the similarities and differences between curricula. This allowed for an even more cohesive approach between the two sides.
3. COEXISTING

3.1 UNITY OF THE SCHOOL

School assemblies are a key moment in the life of the school where the unity of the school as an Australian state school is reinforced. Junior and Senior School assemblies take place at different times in a multi-purpose room. They include all the students and teachers, and most of the time the Australian Principal and the Head of the FS. Student Leaders direct the assemblies which are usually hosted by students from a specific class who present their work. Everybody has to stand up while the Australian National Anthem is being sung. Some of the teachers from the French stream also participate in the singing. The Assembly is first reminded about the traditional Aboriginal owners of the land, followed by the school values which are pledged by all the students. When present, the school principal makes a speech to underline the values of the school. Occasionally the Head of the FS also makes a contribution, saying each sentence in French followed by the English translation.

Other projects reinforce the unity of the school. For instance the Rainforest project was a shared initiative between the Hebrew Immersion Program and the French Section, aimed at raising awareness of environmental issues such as deforestation and global warming. The students involved presented their findings in a special exhibition open to the whole community, where students introduced their artwork, science experiments, posters etc. in three languages. Money raised as part of this exhibition was donated to a charity organisation (Rainforest Rescue). The school was hoping that this project would allow them to receive funding for connecting student’s learning with the wider community, and is planning on using this money to develop a better understanding of multilingualism and multiculturalism for the whole school community.

Other programs are carried out by both sections, such as the Perceptual Motor Program, which mixes physical education, language and maths in order to improve children’s motor skills and concept development in Prep and Year 1.

The shared facilities used by the school are an essential component which unifies all parties involved. A new building was inaugurated in March 2011, as part of a new flexible learning space, fostering teaching and learning in teams. This new space opened up the classic classroom space to foster a kinaesthetic learning approach, where students can experiment in a safe group-based environment. In this new building, the staff from the Australian and French sides takes collective responsibility for the students, so that
students can learn with different teachers. The portrait’s colouring task for this research took place in this new building.

The French Section also organises afterschool activities in French, which are open to the whole school (drama, sculpture, painting, guitar etc.). About 20% of the students enrolled in these activities come from the mainstream.

3.2 ‘BINATIONALISM’ THROUGH SCHOOLING

At Green Heights, children are taught two curricula, reflecting the official visions of two nations (Australia and France). Both curricula are taught separately, in a compartmentalised fashion, with equal amount of time being dedicated to each language. Students are socialised into these national identities through schooling, agreeing or differing with it, negotiating their own way (Barrett and Arcuri 2007), but in any case “subject to very particular discourses of identity” (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007: 9).

In addition to the curriculum itself, targeted school visits cement the national identities in the mind of the students. For instance Year 5 and 6 students visited significant Australian national institutions in Canberra, such as the Canberra High Court of Australia, the Australian Institute of Sport, the Electoral Education Centre, the Royal Australian Mint, Parliament House and the Australian War Memorial. The Australian Government believes that it is important for all young Australians to be able to visit their National Capital as part of their civics and citizenship education and provides each Australian student with a $30 contribution under the Parliament and Civics Education Rebate (PACER) program. Allocating funds for this purpose shows the desire by the authorities in power to reinforce the Australian national spirit in the mind of the students, in a context where their parents were often born overseas.

On the French side, whenever the opportunity arises, visits are organised to strengthen the link with the far-away French nation. For example, in 2012, students visited an exhibition on Napoléon organised by the National Gallery of Victoria; museums contribute to the shaping of a national ideology by presenting the vision of the dominating power as legitimate (Anderson, 2006). In 2011 some students were even able to set foot on a French military frigate which stopped over in Port Melbourne. The national symbolism of a
historical military leader or a war vessel is highly potent, geographical borders and national sovereignty being defined and safeguarded militarily, throughout history.

Symbolism is also present within the school grounds; the Australian flag is permanently on show in the playground, as in every other Australian State school. However the French flag is not flown on the school grounds, because the French Section only represents a segment of the school, and because the Australian side of the school is keen to downplay its French identity, so that everyone (particularly students who are not in the French Section) feels part of the same entity. Green Heights remains, after all, an Australian state primary school hosting a French Section.

Finally, rituals such as the singing of the Australian national anthem during school assemblies also cement the national spirit and a sense of shared identity. At Green Heights the Australian national anthem is sung in chorus once a week by all the students of the school, who stand up straight, all facing in the same direction. This is a very solemn occasion when greatest respect is expected from the children (the Principal of the school being very articulate on the matter when students are not showing the right level of reverence). This weekly event fosters, by its recurrence, the common Australian unity in an extremely diverse school, in a context where 18 different languages are spoken at home. It is the repeated usage of the national anthem and its mandatory nature during specific events in particular locations (here the weekly school assembly taking place in the school's multipurpose room) which converts it into a powerful tradition (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007).

National celebrations are also an opportunity to revive national consciousness through rituals at the school. This is particularly the case with ANZAC day, which takes place on the 25th of April and marks the anniversary of Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) fighting in Gallipoli during World War One. The day was chosen to remember nationally all Australians and New Zealanders who served their country throughout history.

At Green Heights, ANZAC day is celebrated with a special whole school assembly. The school considers that this is the opportunity to teach the importance of such an historical event to students, who are expected to show a great deal of respect while the assembly is being conducted. In April 2013 the event was further emphasised with poems, the playing of ‘Amazing Grace’, a wreath of poppies being laid at the foot of the Australian flag.
together with the playing of the Last Post and a minute of silence. All these highly emotionally evocative symbols play a key role in cementing the national consciousness for the extremely diverse population of Green Heights. The repetition of these rituals legitimises a tradition which was barely celebrated in the 60s and 70s, in the context of the Vietnam War, but went through a revival in early 2000 under the Liberal Prime Minister John Howard (Skrebels, 2006).

On the French side, the school aims at creating a sense of fraternity between the children enrolled in the French program and between them and a physically distant nation (i.e. France).

The French Section is involved in fun learning activities operating as rituals, taking place simultaneously in schools throughout France and in French schools all over the world, as a way of maintaining a link with the home country and feeling part of it. A good example of such an event is ‘Press Week’, during which Year 5 students work on newspapers and magazines sent from France, and publish their own magazine, which they share with Year 4 and 6 students.

The ‘Spring of Poets’ is another similar event (which in the Southern Hemisphere takes place in Autumn), where Year 5 students recite their own or their selected poems.

The ‘Kangaroo Math challenge’ (which despite its name is actually a French event) is also a yearly ritual in which the French Section takes part. On a specific day of the year, all French schools throughout the world participate in the same competition, answering the same 24 math related questions.

In order to consolidate the bridge between Green Heights and France, the French Section also receives periodic visits from inspirational French professionals, for instance a journalist from the French national newspaper Le Monde, or a children’s book writer. Senators from the French Senate also occasionally visit the school.

To summarise, the two school curricula, rituals as well as targeted school visits, all participate in the construction of two nations, each "imagined as a community" (Anderson, 2006: 7) in the mind of the students, in which all people share a sense of “fraternity” (Anderson, 2006: 7), despite not knowing each other. The overall school aims at strengthening this sense of Australian fraternity for all its pupils, while the French Section within the school creates and maintains a link between its students and the French mother
land. In doing so, both the Australian and the French side create a sense of “emotional legitimacy” (Anderson, 2006: 4) between the two nations on one side and the pupils on the other.
4. ASSESSMENT IN BOTH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

In Australia, the National Assessment Program – Literacy And Numeracy (NAPLAN) was introduced in 2008 to assess literacy and numeracy in Years 3, 5, 7 and 9. The examination assesses reading, writing, language conventions (spelling, grammar and punctuation), as well as numeracy.

In France, since 2009, every student going to a French school has to undertake a national evaluation literacy and numeracy test in CE1 (Year 2 equivalent) and CM2 (Year 5 equivalent). The aim of these tests is to measure student’s learning at two important times in their primary schooling, to identify and help students who are having difficulties, to inform parents by showing the progression of their children, and finally to improve the educational system whilst developing equal opportunities. Students are tested in French (reading, writing, vocabulary, spelling and grammar) and in mathematics.
The creation of such successful school was driven, from the very beginning, by a group of motivated parents.

The FS moved to its current location in 1998. It started initially in 1968, when a few French expatriates sent to Australia by their companies decided to provide a French education to their children. The philosophy of the school at the time was to allow children to continue studying the French curriculum so that they would be able to reintegrate into the French system upon their return to France, without, according to them, being disadvantaged. The school was first located in the home of the French Embassy’s Cultural Advisor, where his wife taught a few children. Between 1968 and 1997, the school moved many times. It was hosted by various schools throughout Melbourne (in Malvern, Armadale, Toorak, Prahran, Richmond and Camberwell). In some of the locations the children were able to socialise with Australian children in the playground and participate in some of the mainstream Australian school activities, but were nevertheless considered a complete separate entity.

In 1985, parents experienced frustration with the running of the school, and asked for some help from the French Education Ministry. In 1987 the school became part of what is now known as AEFE.

The lack of teachers at the time was still an issue, and attempts were made to create a bi-national French-Australian school. As a result, in 1990 the school moved to Camberwell Primary School, thanks to the enthusiasm of an Australian Francophile head of the school. A maximum of 30 students were enrolled, and in 1997 numbers were so low that the AEFE decided to close the school. One keen teacher, however, persevered and continued teaching the students, enabling the school to carry on. In the late 1990’s over sixty schools were surveyed in order to find a new location. The current Green Heights primary school was the most receptive, and started hosting the French Section at the beginning of 1998.

An important contributor to the school is the current French Honorary consul in Melbourne, who led the FS for five years, while the program was still in its infancy (Short, 2012). This pivotal contribution was rewarded with the Order of Academic Palms (Ordre des Palmes Académiques), a decoration originally initiated by Napoléon, which nowadays
recompenses individuals who have had a key role in French education. Once again, this official recognition offered to a key individual legitimises the link with the French nation. The fact that this personality is also married to a leading Australian investment banker and Chairman in key Australian institutions such as the State Library of Victoria, the Melbourne Cricket Ground and the Australian Sports Commission, may have helped in the successful integration of the FS in the Victorian educational landscape. Such powerful economic and political links may have facilitated the successful setting up of the French educational program, legitimising it in an Australian context.

Initially the French Section was very small (less than 10% of the school), but in recent years the school has seen a steady growth of around 15% per year, to the point where 60% of the children enrolled in the school are now part of the French Section.

5.2 CURRENT CHALLENGES

Since 1998, the school has been a successful synergy between two pedagogical and cultural approaches. Given the small size of the French population in Melbourne, it is surprising that the French community has such a large school. This shows the commitment of French speakers to their language, culture and education system.

The school is also very attractive for French companies who want to send staff to Australia, as it offers them an affordable and good quality option for their employee’s children education. Consequently there is no need for them to invest in a new school. To grasp the extent of the French presence in Australia, French companies such as AXA (insurance), Accor (hotel industry) and L’Oréal (cosmetics) employ over 85,000 people throughout the country, according to the French-Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2011).

The FS has been a great success, with children leaving the school as strong bilinguals and confident multicultural individuals. The stream has grown very rapidly, moving from being a minority population in the school to a majority one. This is creating tension amongst parents from the mainstream, whose children end up in a minority situation. Some parents have perceived the French stream as an issue and voiced their concern through the School Council. One example of perceived issue is the NAPLAN results which are seen as being pulled down by the FS students in the early years (in later years the
same students outperform mainstream ones, and therefore raise the overall score for the whole school). This trend is common in bilingual programs, where students initially have a lot of catching up to do in order to compare to their monolingual counterparts in literacy and numeracy, but they end up outperforming their monolingual peers in the later years.

Another bone of contention is the fact that many children from the French stream go overseas (mainly back to France) for extended periods (commonly one to three months) in the middle of the school year during the French summer holidays. This tendency is made clear in the Government School Performance Report 2009, which mentions that "student absence is considerably higher than the state average".

Criticism has also been voiced on the French stream side, where complaints have been made over the fact that the head of the FS is not represented in the Green Heights School Council, where knowledge about the French curriculum is lacking.

The integration of the FS within an Australian State school has at times been considered as controversial. The school has always been the target of criticism from the Victorian Education Department, who have in the past tried to close it because it did not fit into the norm of a Victorian school. The Department allowed the school to operate, considering it to be the Principal's responsibility. The AEFE also regularly challenges the accreditation of a dual program, as they would prefer to see one single program offered to all, from Kindergarten to VCE, rather than having children following two separate curricula. This has been a recurring issue, which seems resolved with the reimplementation of the binôme system in 2013.

The situation is complex and cannot be oversimplified. The parents of the French stream have many different allegiances. Depending on their circumstances, some disapprove of the Australian teaching methods which they find too relaxed. Others find that the French system does not take the child’s personal development into consideration and uses methods which are too rigorous and which do not allow for creative thinking.

In three years time, according to the predictions from an Ernst & Young feasibility study, there will be 350 students in the French stream, which is close to the total capacity of the school. A working group is currently looking at the different options. The first one would be to continue operating at just under 60% of the Prep intake. A second option would be to further develop the program in view of implementing a bilingual and bicultural French-Australian school open to all, where students who are early bilinguals would mix with
monolingual Australians in a French immersion program. Finally, an alternative option would be to create a new school in a new location. This is unlikely to go ahead, as it would mean raising the fees substantially, which would go against the parent’s committee’s commitment to affordability. In this sense the school is at a critical juncture in its history as a provider of bilingual education.
Primary school age multilingual children constitute a fertile ground for understanding multilingual identity. At a life stage of intense learning, children are absorbing the many ideologies conveyed by their immediate surroundings. In this study, the school is a binational one, where national and language ideologies from Australia and from France share the same space.

The school environment in general represents an important socialisation context for identity construction. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) distinguish between two types of socialisation. Primary socialisation takes place in the home setting in the pre-school years, during which the primary habitus is acquired through feedback and reinforcement. Primary socialisation constitutes the central part of the individual (Kramsch, 2009). Secondary socialisation is linked to institutional contexts such as school, in which the secondary habitus is formed. Consequently, the school learning context is a significant factor in children's identity development. Whether the school adopts a monolingual or multilingual approach to its teaching, it is transmitting national values to its students, and its discourse imposes one or several language(s) (or language varieties) over others. This is particularly the case in the present study, where two national identities coexist within the institution of the school and impose their own national language.

The school context, as a centralising force driven by the nation state, can be considered as having centripetal tendencies (Bakhtin, 1981), by imposing an official monoglossic form of language through a specific ideological positioning.

Bakhtin opposes this centripetal force to a centrifugal trend, which goes against the standardisation of language imposed by the state, and has a natural decentralising tendency. With the tension between these two forces (centripetal and centrifugal) language becomes dynamic, multiple, fluid and in constant evolution.

In order to understand the relation between nation state, language and schooling, this chapter will first describe the origin of nation-states, looking at the fundamental role of language and education in the birth of nations, as well as the symbols that commonly cement the national identity. The French nation will be used as an example to illustrate the
mechanisms that shape national identity, particularly the role played in this process by a unique standardised language and a centralised education system. France is a good example of a nation with powerful centralising centripetal forces.

The chapter will subsequently examine the relationship between France and other French speaking nations, namely Belgium and Canada.

Finally, the chapter will consider the monolingual context that goes hand in hand with the concept of nation-state, and the different trends (fractional, hybrid and holistic) in recent academic research in relation to multilingualism.
The idea of a unique language used to unify and centralise the state is rooted in history (Shohamy, 2006). The concept of nation emerged in the 18th century, during the Age of Enlightenment, the intellectual current which endeavoured to change society by promoting science and intellectual exchanges, and particularly after the French Revolution. This concept was opposing the then prevalent religious obscurantism exercised by the Church and the tyranny inflicted by state despotism. Religion up to then had provided the answer to human suffering, in the form of salvation and paradise. With the diminishing power of the church, the idea of nation was much needed to answer the existentialist questions, previously solved by religion (Anderson, 2006).

“Print-capitalism” (Anderson, 2006: 46) is one of the factors which allowed the concept of nation to emerge. With the development of printing techniques, documents started to be published in vernaculars understood by different groups, as opposed to the more selective Latin language; Latin had been the language of the Church since the Middle Ages, before becoming the administrative and educational language of the elite, until François Ier introduced the French language in the 1530s (Oakes, 2001). Ideas were therefore able to circulate in “national print-languages” (Anderson, 2006: 46), targeting a wider audience than the previously used Latin language which was only readable by a select few. Consequently, people who previously could not share the reading of printed texts became unified under the “print language” (Anderson, 2006: 45), the official language of the emerging nations. The idea of a distinct, unified and homogeneous state, with one single language started to become the norm (Franceschini, 2011).

Hence, the modern concept of nation was actually created through language (Anderson, 2006: 145). The spreading of printed documents created the “embryo of the nationally imagined community” (Anderson, 2006: 44): a community that is imagined, because its members cannot ever all know each other, but they can imagine the link that unifies them (Anderson, 2006).
Some elements contribute, through their symbolic value, to the building and strengthening of the nation. The cementing of national ideology takes place through symbols such as flags, which are present in daily life and represent one vision of the nation.

“...the symbolic reality of a nation-state...is produced and upheld through such symbols of banal nationalism as flags...” (Kramsch, 2006: 103)

The theme of flags was particularly prominent in this study, as students referred to them on many occasions.

The symbolic power produced by flags is such, that its desecration is banned in many countries. In France, for instance, vandalism against the ‘tricolore’ can be punished with a fine or even imprisonment, and legal texts are regularly being updated to protect further this symbol, with the latest changes to the law taking place as recently as 2010.

Symbols are the bearer of symbolic powers both through the extreme feelings that they generate, but also through the information that they communicate (Kramsch, 2009). For instance, using the expression ‘tricolore’ or ‘bleu blanc rouge’ will not simply bring images of these three colours to every French mind, but it will convey images of the French flag, the French Republic, the language and culture of the ‘hexagone’ (i.e. France) and the country's national ideals.

Overall, flags are used as part of rituals, during sporting events, national commemorations or international celebrations. A flag is therefore a sign which communicates not only the idea of a specific nation, but also, one or several specific language(s), with both the notion of language and nation being constructed simultaneously (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). This association between nation and language is particularly clear in the mind of the students in this study, as we will see.

The tradition of the flag is considered as being authentic and legitimate, just like the nation-state it represents. However, traditions are invented to create a notion of past which powerfully influences the present (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007: 6). Flags and nations are both inventions, just like the naming of languages, which took place as part of nationalistic campaigns, conducted through social and political processes (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007).
The national spirit and a sense of common identity are also forged through rituals, such as
the singing of national anthems during national celebrations. By and large, it is a moment
when nationals experience simultaneously the physicality of the nation, when all the
voices become one (Anderson, 2006). Language here becomes the cement of the imagined
nation, through the words of the anthem (Anderson, 2006). The "imagined community"
(Anderson, 2006) connects individuals with one another in these events, just like the
symbolism of the flag and the rituals around it. The repetition and the mandatory nature of
such rituals in specific contexts (such as the celebration of a national day) transform these
rituals into powerful traditions (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). They become symbols
which are "produced and reproduced" (Kramsch, 2006: 103).

Therefore, symbols and rituals, all participate in the cementing of the idea of a nation
"imagined as a community" (Anderson, 2006: 7), in which individuals feel a sense of
"fraternity" (Anderson, 2006: 7), despite not knowing each other, creating a sense of
"emotional legitimacy" (Anderson, 2006: 4) between the nation and its people.

2.3 THE EXAMPLE OF THE FRENCH NATION

2.3.1 THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN THE FORGING OF THE FRENCH NATION

Language had a particularly significant role in the creation of the French national identity
(Oakes, 2001).

From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the vernacular spoken by the Capetian Kings
spread from Paris to the rest of the country, challenging the widespread Latin language
and regional vernaculars. Paris in those days was already an important political and
commercial centre, with an already significant educational institution: The Sorbonne.

In the 16th century, the idea of a French language norm was already sustained, the
standard form of the language being the one spoken by the King and the privileged few
who surrounded him. This variety of French was further officialised with François Ier's
Ordinance in 1539 which imposed French, and also made it the official language in
education (at the Collège de France for instance), which as a result implicitly reduced the
power of regional vernaculars.

Further standardisation and codification of the language (in grammar and spelling)
participated in the construction of the nation through language. With this in mind,
Cardinal Richelieu founded in 1635 the *Académie française*, an institution created to regulate the French language, which still operates today.

With the French Revolution in 1789 came the concept of one single nation, as described in the previous section. The French language stopped being the language of the French royal elite, and became the language of the people. This was further emphasised with the choice of French to write the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

After the French Revolution, the concept of French nation was further solidified through language, within the context of the country's national school program.

### 2.3.2 NATION STATE THROUGH SCHOOLING

Schooling, wherever it takes place, has a fundamental role in shaping pupils into what they will ultimately grow to be, by telling them “who they are and what they are worth” (Kramsch, 2006: 103).

The education system plays a key part in the forging of a national identity. The school curriculum offers its own vision of the nation, which is considered as legitimate by teaching staff and students. School material itself is responsible for imposing and promoting the national discourse, and is commonly selected by the authorities in power (Busch and Schick, 2007).

France again provides a useful illustration showing how the nation has been and still is being shaped by the French educational system and its official language.

Education played a major role in defining the French nation, and continues today to spread the country's Republican ideals. During the Third Republic (1870-1940), the Minister Jules Ferry introduced compulsory, free and secular education for all. This was a way to further consolidate the nation top-down, by spreading the language through a national education which focused on the learning of the language, together with history, geography and the importance of the nation (Oakes, 2001).

An important part of language learning was spelling; as early as 1673, a specific unified spelling had been defined by the members of the *Académie française*, who made it compulsory for themselves, in the hope to apply it to the wider public at a later stage (Walter, 1988). In the late 19th century, the Third Republic was keen to impose this
unified spelling and grammar which it considered as synonymous with a strongly unified nation (Oakes, 2001). This remains the case today throughout French primary schooling, where dictations are still a widely used exercise to learn the standardised spelling. Children are initiated to this exercise from the age of 5, starting with short sentences which they have to learn by heart. Grammar is also learnt very early on in order to teach children how to spell, with grammatical categories taught from the age of 6. Dictations have even become a media affair, with spelling championships being organised by famous intellectuals, and broadcast on national television.

Through education, the state is able to strengthen the idea of a nation with a common language, thus crystallising a feeling of unity. The role of schooling should therefore not be underestimated, as it is essential in the construction and perpetuation of the nation.

2.3.3 LANGUAGE AND NATION IN CONTEMPORARY FRANCE

As described previously, the bond between language and national identity has been particularly strong in the case of France, and continues to be so. This association is essential in the construction of the nation as an "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006). There are three ways in which this relationship manifests itself: firstly the French language is extremely normative, secondly the myth according to which French is a superior language remains prevalent and thirdly there is a great deal of dedication towards a purist view of the language (Oakes, 2001).

The standard French language is invented (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007), just like the nation in which it is officially being spoken was imagined (Anderson, 2006) through the processes discussed previously. This invented language does not reflect the multiple language practices performed by people in real life. The role of the language in constructing the imagined nation is particularly significant when the language is normative, as it is the case with the French language (Oakes, 2001). The standardisation of the French language contributes to the feeling of belonging to the same French nation, because in people's consciousness, everybody speaks the same language. This concept is imagined, as in reality there is a great deal of variation in the way people speak.

Another aspect contributing, since the 17th century, to the imagined nation, is the myth of superiority of the French language, according to which French is a clear and logical language (Oakes, 2001; Dwaele, 2010). This myth is still prevalent nowadays (Dwaele,
2010), and the success of French education abroad amongst non-French speakers can be seen as a consequence of this belief.

Finally, a purist view of the French language is best embodied by the *Académie française*, the official national institution which advises through various means such as official dictionaries, with more or less success, on what can and cannot be used as French language, tightening further the language norms. Since its creation in 1635, the organisation has adopted a very conservative attitude and its current main concern is to control the Anglicisation of the French language, which is seen as ‘contaminating’ the language. The *Académie française* tries to contain this so-called ‘invasion’ by offering French alternatives to these widespread English words. Expressions such as *week-end*, *t-shirt*, *e-mail* have been used for many years and are now accepted as part of the French language, with some users not even aware of their English origin. But many still consider that these words pollute de French language. In the last few years attempts have been made to replace these with ‘correct’ French equivalents (such as *courriel* [*courrier* and *électronique* blended together] for *e-mail*). These measures are usually ineffective, especially when the wider public has already taken ownership of these words. The mission of the *Académie française* to keep the French language as ‘pure’ as possible also involves a crusade against regional languages in France, which the institution does not want to see being legitimised.

It is interesting to see how much energy is spent and how passionate individuals become when trying to control the French language, when for centuries the language has evolved by borrowing words from many other languages (*Arabic*, *German* and *Scandinavian* languages to name just a few). Also, one has to consider the fact that many French words have made their way into the English language, after three centuries of French speaking in England by the elites, following the Battle of Hastings (1066). Nowadays these words form an integral part of the English language (Treps, 2009).
2.3.4 THE FRENCH LANGUAGE OUTSIDE OF FRANCE – BELGIUM AND CANADA

The French language travelled beyond the boundaries of the French nation, partly through the country's colonial empire. Nowadays, these French speaking countries are united through the concept of francophone nations, and some of them have French as their official language. This is the case of Belgium and Canada, two countries related to some of the participants in this study.

This section provides background information on the relationship between France and these francophone countries, in order to illuminate some of the data presented and discussed in Chapter 6.

The relationship between Belgian French and French from France, such geographically close neighbours, is a complex one. French people like to joke about the Belgians, but generally, they are considered as being two nations with a friendly relationship.

However, this supposedly friendly relationship hides a power struggle whereby the variety from France dominates the variety from Belgium; this is particularly the case in the literary field (Dirkx, 2006), where the issue has been raised as early as the 19th century (Hambye and Francard, 2004). French imperialism has been imposed (not necessarily consciously) by French writers through the national variety, creating an unequal cultural relationship between the mother country (i.e. France) and its satellites, such as Quebec and Belgium (Dirkx, 2006). Being a French writer means being a writer of French from France, a doxa followed by the motherland and its satellites. One of the consequences of such perspective is the belief that Belgian literature is not legitimate (Dirkx, 2006), nor is the Belgian variety of French.

French speaking Belgians are very much aware of the difference between their variety of French and the one from France, which is often considered to be the norm (Hambye and Francard, 2004). Belgians feel insecure about their variety and believe that it is of lesser quality than French from France, a belief shared by both countries.

For this inferiority complex to disappear, some advocate a need to clearly identify the Belgian variety, which would allow it to become legitimate and independent from the French one (Hambye and Francard, 2004).

Like Belgian French, Canadian French is a variant of French from France, with quite distinct differences related to its geographical separation from France.
Quebec French speaking populations have felt insecure, from the beginning, about their variety, which was perceived as being of low quality in comparison to French from France (Oakes, 2001). The Quebec population had to decide whether to adopt what people in Quebec call ‘international French’ (French from France), or whether to keep their own variety (Oakes, 2001). The negative image of their French variety lasted up to the 70s, with the general public favouring French from France.

When Quebec became British in 1763, the proximity of the English language influenced the local French variety, which took on many Anglicisms. The language also started to differ from French from France, due to the isolation from the home country. As a result Quebecers found themselves in an uncomfortable position, unable to speak English, yet no longer considered as speaking French (Oakes, 2001). This part of Quebec history marked the national conscience, and as a result, the use of Anglicisms is still actively rejected. For instance, Quebecers still talk about fin de semaine to talk about the ‘weekend’, when people in France use week-end.

The Quiet revolution which took place in the 1960s was instrumental in modifying the perception of the local variety of French. This national movement worked at changing this negative view by shifting the official language taught at school from French from France to French from Quebec, and by promoting the local variety of French in plays, on television and generally in all media. Quebec started to be perceived as having its own characteristics in its own rights, creating its own Canadian French norm (Ostiguy and Tousignant, 1993; Poirier, 2000). From the mid-70s, Quebecers started to become proud of their language, thanks to the cultural revitalisation that was taking places (Oakes, 2001).

Today the Quebec variety of French is more established. Quebecers developed their own standard variety of French, a socially acceptable language in its own rights, independently from Parisian French. Quebecers are feeling more secure about their identity and variety of French in comparison to the one from France, while at the same time remaining a part of the French speaking world (Oakes, 2001; Poirier, 2000).
This section described how the concept of nation took shape, and how a unique centralised language, by being tangled with the concept of nation, plays a key role in its construction. A centralised educational system is also pivotal in the cementing of the nation. France is a significant example where national identity is intertwined with one single standardised official language and a centralised school curriculum.

Nations impose geographical boundaries (i.e. frontiers) as well as cultural and linguistic boundaries (a single standardised unifying language for instance). These limits are instrumental in controlling and preserving the nation. Each nation has its own ideology and discourse, to which citizens are expected to conform. However, nowadays, in the context of globalisation, where people move across borders, speak several languages on a daily basis and show allegiance to more than one country, the idea of one nation with firm boundaries becomes problematic.
3. MULTILINGUALISM IN A MONOLINGUAL CONTEXT

3.1 THE MONOLINGUAL PERSPECTIVE OF MULTILINGUALISM

It is widely acknowledged that there are more multilinguals in the world than monolinguals (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). Yet in Western countries, where monolingualism tends to be the norm, multilingualism is often considered as problematic.

With the ‘one nation one language’ equation being at the core of the nation-state ideology, the dominant national language became the norm in many Western countries, such as France.

In the French context, the mixing of English and French (also called Franglais) is contentious, just like Spanglish in the US context (Bartlett and García, 2007). As described previously, the official language is heavily protected, in particular against the ‘threat’ of English. Code-mixing between English and French is cautiously regulated by the Académie française institution, which endeavours to preserve the language.

This idealised vision of the national language is far from reality. Considering language as a fixed entity is a mistake, because language is fluid and constantly evolving in a dynamic manner, it has no set limits. Language is used to convey our unique personalities and realities, it is a reflection of people’s diversity, and therefore cannot be controlled (Shohamy, 2006).

Even when speaking one language, we express ourselves in individual ways. The term “languaging” (Shohamy, 2006:14) is used to describe “language as an activity” (García and Sylvan, 2011:389), that is the shaping of old previously learnt language for the needs of a new context. In other words languaging represents the way people adapt language strategically in a specific social context for their own discourse. The fact that we all speak differently, even within the fantasised boundaries of one language, is what creates diversity (Shohamy, 2006).

In the monolingual context which is common to Western societies, multilingualism is often perceived as an exception diverging from the monolingual norm imposed by the nation.

Multilingualism is often considered as a pluralised form of monolingualism. This is what some call the “fractional view” of multilingualism (Baker, 2000: 15). This viewpoint that prevailed in the 20th century (García and Sylvan, 2011) has had a negative impact on
multilinguals, who are still often compared to their monolingual peers, and therefore regarded as being deficient in one or several of their languages, because their language proficiency does not always match that of monolinguals. Fractional multilingualism, with clear boundaries compartmentalising each language, is a long way from reality and does not give justice to the intricacy and variety of the practices of multilinguals.

If monolinguals use their entire monolingual repertoire to express their subjectivity, the reality is even more complex for multilinguals, who have at their disposal an even richer repertoire made of several languages. When multilinguals speak, they use their entire repertoire to express themselves spontaneously. Although they are aware of the boundaries between languages, they often cross them to express their multilingual self.

Consequently, the fractional viewpoint of multilingualism is outdated and has to be replaced by a more dynamic vision of language.

3.2 THE CONCEPT OF HYBRIDITY

Hybridity encompasses the idea that “identities are unstable, in flux, and overlapping” (Wallace, 2008: 63). The notion of hybridity has been the focus of many studies. For instance, Dallaire (2003) in her studies of minority Francophone youths in the English speaking part of Canada found that these adolescents were developing a hybrid identity which included a mix of both the Francophone and the Anglophone identities. This new type of integrated identity embraced both the minority and majority one, allowing these young people to be part of the majority while keeping their minority roots.

Bhabha, who is one of the founders of the concept of hybridity (Bhabha, 1994), also introduced the notion of third space (Bhabha, 1990), in which hybridity replaces the binary tensions between the minority and majority language (Bhabha, 1994). Hadi-Tabassum considers the third space to be “empowering” (1996:18), and defines it as a space where both languages are differentiated, yet connected to create a hybrid and flowing space, in which both languages and cultures benefit from an equal status. Gutierrez and Reyes (1995) see the multilingual classroom as a possible third space, a space constructed by the speakers which does not belong to either the minority or the majority language (Fuller, 2009). Bruck also demonstrates how her adult research participants had encountered specific contexts in their lives which offered the possibility
of a third space, “which provided individuals with a different kind of positioning in relation to their multiplicities” (Bruck, 2005:4).

However, the concept of hybridity can be problematic, depending on the way it is interpreted. Bruck, in her quote (above) talks about “multiplicities”; this suggests a monolingual perspective where several languages are being combined, rather than looking at multilingualism as a whole. If the term hybridity is taken literally, it conveys the idea of being half something and half something else (Block, 2006), which echoes with the notion of factional multilingualism. But recent interpretations by social theorists have come to consider the term more in terms of “creolization” (Block, 2006:21), where a new linguistic system is created, which is not simply the sum of all the languages involved, but a new unpredictable form of language (Block, 2006). This is what others also call the holistic perspective on multilingualism.

3.3 THE HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE OF MULTILINGUALISM

Rather than looking at student’s multilingual skills from a monolingual perspective, the holistic perspective offers an alternative which is more empowering for multilingual speakers. This vision of multilingualism is becoming more and more prevalent in the 21st century (Baker, 2000; Cenoz and Gorter, 2011). The holistic vision looks at multilingual practices as a whole, in a heteroglossic manner, considering the multilingual’s entire language repertoire as one single one, in order to reflect more accurately the complexity and richness of the multilingual’s spontaneous language practices (García and Sylvan, 2011).

However, this perspective remains controversial, in a context where boundaries between nations and their languages are hermetic and rigid, and are not to be crossed.

3.4 MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES

The fluidity and dynamism of language (Shohamy, 2006) becomes obvious when looking at multilinguals’ spontaneously displayed language practices; these can be extremely creative and resourceful.
When observing language behaviour from a holistic point of view, taking into account the richness of their entire multilingual repertoire, multilinguals stop being deficient monolingual speakers. Multilinguals draw on distinct discursive practices which allow them to use their complete repertoire to best fit their context. These practices have been the subject of many studies, in which various terminology has been used to describe these heteroglossic speech practices.

The term translanguaging is used to refer to the overall multilingual practice, which includes other phenomena such as crossing (Rampton, 1995), code-switching, code-mixing and translation. Translanguaging is languaging in several languages, that is the ability to shift without restraint between languages (Baetens Beardsmore and García, 2008; García and Sylvan, 2011). Translanguaging goes back and forth from one language to another, through the use of the many skills (such as code-switching, code-mixing and translating) that multilinguals have at their disposal to communicate (Canagarajah, 2011). It also goes further, by reaching beyond these languages through the creation of a new space, a “translanguaging space” (Li Wei, 2011:1222), in which the multilingual subjects can express themselves both in an imaginative and critical manner (Li Wei, 2011). In the translanguaging space, languages become fluid and are part of the same united system.

Code-switching is sometimes considered as one way of translanguaging (García and Sylvan, 2011), although some consider these as two separate things: Baker (2003) sees code-switching as a language practice that takes place between two separate monolingual systems, as opposed to translanguaging, where bilingualism operates in an heteroglossic manner and becomes a norm in its own right (Baker, 2003). In other words, translanguaging is a way of functioning bilingually, rather than evolving from one set of codes to the other (García and Sylvan, 2011). Indeed, the term itself ‘code-switching’ does suggest the idea of alternating from one monolingual system to the next, involuntarily giving credit to the idea of bilingualism being ‘monolingualism times two’, with clear boundaries between each language.

The distinction between code-switching and code-mixing is a complex one, and many definitions abound (Gardner-Chloros, 2009), with some academics even considering code-mixing to be a type of code-switching. Here we will retain Baker’s (2000) distinction, according to which code-mixing takes place when one or two words enter a sentence in another language, as opposed to a complete switch of language, as in code-switching. In
the case of code-switching, it is not simply a short move, but a complete switch of language, although one could argue that these definitions have common characteristics.

Another language practice which should not be confused with code-switching and code-mixing is language borrowing, where a word or an expression makes its way into another language, and becomes permanently used. For instance, in French, the English word *football* is commonly used, and there is no other French equivalent to describe this sport.

Ben Rampton (1995) also coined the term crossing, to describe the way speakers (teenagers in particular) borrow from language varieties which do not belong to their language group. His study took place in the UK, in the context of young people of Anglo and Afro-Caribbean backgrounds who borrowed from Panjabi and Indian English, and Anglos and Punjabis borrowing from Creole and Indian English.

And finally translation is another way of translanguaging, and should not be forgotten as it is an important metalinguistic skill, that shuttles between two linguistic systems (Jessner, 2006; García and Sylvan, 2011).

3.5 MULTILINGUALISM IN A MONOLINGUAL CONTEXT - SUMMARY

Multilinguals use all these heteroglossic speech practices spontaneously, crossing, deliberately or not, the rigid boundaries that were raised between languages by national ideology, as part of centripetal tendencies (Bakhtin, 1981). Heteroglossia takes place as a result of the tension between these centripetal trends and the centrifugal forces exerted by individuals.

The recent emphasis on the fact that multilingual practices take place within one integrated system has highlighted the specificity of multilinguals’ speech, which is not simply a dysfunctional form of monolingualism.

Multilingual practices can be considered as “acts of identity” (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985), which allow multilinguals to express their individuality as multilinguals, differentiating them from monolinguals.
4. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Forty Year 5 and 6 students (twenty five students in Year 5 and 15 in Year 6) from the FS participated in this study, with ages ranging from 10 to 12. All the Year 5 and 6 parents gave their consent for their children to participate in this study.

From Prep to Year 5, FS children follow the French national curriculum in a conventional classroom with a French teacher. The drop in numbers from Year 5 to Year 6 (25 versus 15) is explained by the fact that from Year 6, children follow the French curriculum through the French National Centre for Distance Education (Centre National d’Enseignement à Distance – CNED) with the help of the Year 5 teacher. This option is less attractive to many parents than the conventional classroom teaching, who therefore often decide to move their children to a mainstream Australian school with additional CNED tuition on the side (at home or with a tutor).

In terms of gender, the sample gathered nearly twice as many females as males (Table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total students</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year 5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4 Gender distribution

Their parents often have different reasons for choosing this school. A minority were living temporarily in Australia, and wanted their children to remain in the French educational system, to ease their return to France. Others (the majority) were of French origin, living permanently in Australia, and sometimes with local partners/spouses. This latter category were keen to transmit their French heritage to their children.

The English and French languages had entered these children’s life in many different ways. The participants came from different linguistic backgrounds (Table 5). The majority (twenty four) of the participants were early bilinguals, having acquired both English and French simultaneously from birth. The remaining sixteen students began to acquire either English or French as a second language, later in their lives.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Both French speaking parents</th>
<th>Mixed English-French speaking parents</th>
<th>No French speaking origins</th>
<th>One French speaking parent &amp; one parent of non English/French origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 born in Australia</td>
<td>12 arrived in Australia less than 3 years ago</td>
<td>9 with French speaking mothers</td>
<td>3 with French speaking fathers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 5 BACKGROUND OF THE PARTICIPANTS**
5. METHODOLOGY

1. AVAILABLE METHODS USED TO EXPLORE MULTILINGUAL CHILDREN’S IDENTITY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The method employed to explore the concept of identity had to suit the age group of the participants, pre-adolescent children, whose age ranged from 10 to 12 years old. What methods have been used, in the context of multilingual children, to explore identity?

1.2 METHODS USED IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

In social psychology, many studies have used surveys in order to collect quantitative data for measuring identity. One of the widely used identity scale is the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), originally created by Phinney in 1992, and revised in 2007 (Phinney and Ong, 2007). It was initially used with adolescents in the US ethnic context and has proven over the years to be a reliable tool used extensively across a range of different ethnic groups. Phinney based her measure on the hypothesis that the cultural identification process is similar across groups. The aim of the scale is to measure, through a self-report questionnaire, what is common and constant between ethnic groups, so that the instrument can be used on any groups.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) criticise such quantitative methods used in social psychology, which they consider as inappropriate to describe the richness of multilingual identities. They disapprove of the “over-reliance on self-evaluation, questionnaires, and numerical scales” (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:7), which may only show how individuals believe they should answer (what is expected of them) rather than how they actually feel. These instruments may not be comprehensive enough to prove the richness and complexity of identity.

Qualitative data are often used in identity studies (Abdelal, 2009), as they tend to give a less simplified vision of identity. These data allow a more comprehensive understanding of identity which may demonstrate the intricacy and wealth of multilingual and multicultural
identities, as opposed to looking at it from a monolingual perspective (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004).

2. LANGUAGE PORTRAITS

2.1 DEFINITION

Another method used to look at the subjective dimension of individual’s linguistic identity is that of language portraits. The idea initially came from Ingrid Gogolin and Ursula Neumann (Busch and Mossakowski, 2008), and was further developed by Hans-Jürgen Krumm and Brigitta Busch (Busch, 2006, 2010, Busch et al. 2006, Busch and Mossakowski, 2008).

Krumm initially used the method to make children (and the professionals working with them) aware of their linguistic richness (Busch, 2010). Getting children to talk about their languages can prove to be a difficult task. Children growing up in a multilingual environment are aware very early on of the different languages spoken around them, and learn very quickly (often at school) that our Western society does not always favour multilingualism (Krumm, 2008). Krumm used language portraits to allow children to freely represent their linguistic world.

The technique consists in giving a blank human unisex silhouette drawn on paper on which children can add their languages using colours (one colour per language). This method allows participants to express, in many different ways, where languages are spread on their body. The drawings are then interpreted by the children (Krumm, 2008).

Krumm has been collecting these portraits in schools around Vienna on a yearly basis since 1990, as part of teacher training, in order to make teachers aware of the linguistic diversity of their students.

This process aims at detecting the richness of multilingualism; the more languages there are, the more colourful the portraits become. The focus is not on assessing the linguistic abilities of the children, but on finding out about their hidden identities. The data collected with such methods are more comprehensive than if children had to answer questions. Children consciously draw according to what the languages mean to them, and often
become aware for the first time through the portraits of their linguistic multiplicity (Krumm, 2008).

Brigitta Busch has also used this method extensively with adults in South Africa, to make people think about the relationship between their languages and identities. Given the linguistic context of South Africa, the portraits were extremely colourful (50 different languages over 20 portraits), and sparked animated debates about the different languages (Busch, 2006).

The way participants relate to their languages through the portraits is not expressed verbally, in a linear manner, but instead visually (Busch, 2006, 2010). The simultaneity of the portrait highlights how the components of the drawing relate to each other (Busch, 2006, 2010).

An essential step in this methodology is the account that accompanies the drawings, when participants explain why they used such colours in specific parts of the body, by giving biographical explanations, describing the way they perceive their world and expressing their cultural and social allegiances (Busch and Mossakowski 2008).

In language portraits “colour becomes a signifier” (Busch et al., 2006; Busch, 2010) and the choice of colour is far from trivial. Patterns emerge with the language with most emotional significance in warm colours, marginal languages in pale colours and languages negatively connotated in grey type colours (Busch, 2006).

Linguistic portraits are an innovative way of reaching mechanisms which are not easily accessible: “processes that influence language tend to operate unconsciously and cannot easily be verbalized” (Busch, 2010:286).

2.2 DRAWBACKS OF THE LANGUAGE PORTRAITS METHODOLOGY

Although participants can spontaneously colour the portraits as they wish, they are restricted by the rule of using one colour per language. Such constraint has a major implication: using one colour at a time imposes and reproduces the traditional monolingual viewpoint on multilingual participants, because it looks at languages one by one, separately, when in fact, the multilingual reality may actually be a lot more complex. The methodology acknowledges implicitly the distinction between languages, leading the
participants towards separating their languages. Krumm himself explains how the children he worked with became aware of their linguistic multiplicity (Krumm, 2008) through the method, a conclusion that suggests a monolingual perspective, because the multiple languages are being counted in terms of well defined hermetic monolingual entities. This pluralisation of languages is more and more contested (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007) as it goes against current research which affirms that in practice, multilinguals use their multilingual repertoire as if it was one, rather than separate systems (Cenoz and Gorter, 2011).

This forced separation of languages also imposes a certain level of symbolic violence, by requesting from the participants that they allocate each language separately on various parts of their body (i.e. represented on the silhouette).

Consequently, at first sight the methodology appears to be problematic, as the children have to separate and articulate in categories which are forced upon them. But in fact, the method, as used in this study, helps to illuminate the discourses and ideologies to which the children are subject in the school setting. Exposing participants to the monolingual bias pushes them towards reflecting on the forced separation of their languages, and reveals the extent to which they resist this imposition in their colouring or in their verbal articulation of their choices. This method is therefore very much suited to the topic, and can be considered as a useful, deliberate strategy to see in what terms participants talk about the languages as distinct entities, pushing them to reflect on how they deal with this forced separation.

This methodology simply reflects the monolingual daily context which is represented in the ideology of the school they are attending, and has the benefit of promoting reflection. The method also has the added advantage of being easy to implement with children, as it is a fun and playful exercise.
3. INSTRUMENTS

3.1 COLOURING TASK

The language portrait method (Appendix 1) was used to look at the subjective dimension of participant's linguistic identity. It was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, by being a fun drawing activity, children would easily be able to take part. Secondly, the activity being straight forward and quick to implement would easily be able to take place during school hours. Finally and most importantly, the task is best suited to the exploration of the richness and complexity of multilingualism in the context of this binational school. Participants are able to discuss their own reality through the drawing itself and through the interpretation of the portraits.

3.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The children also completed a language background and daily use questionnaire (Appendix 2), inspired by Baker (2006). It contained a series of Likert scale responses on daily language use with family and friends, a description of the circumstances in which English and French had been acquired, other languages spoken, and parent's mother tongue.

The aim of the questionnaire was simply to provide some additional information in case some clarification was needed following the colouring task and interview, and did not constitute the focus of this study.

Two sets of test results from the Australian and French part of the curriculum, undertaken in Year 5, were available for each Year 5 and 6 students. The “National Assessment Program – Literacy And Numeracy (NAPLAN)” on the Australian side, and the national literacy and numeracy evaluation (known as “Evaluations nationales”) on the French side.

These results, like the Background questionnaire, were used merely as background data, to give an idea of the general level of fluency in each language.
4. PROCEEDURES - DATA COLLECTION

Permission was granted by all parents for their children to take part in this study. Students’ names, as well as the school name, have been changed to help preserve anonymity and confidentiality.

4.1 THE COLOURING TASK

A total of thirty eight students participated in the drawing activity, aged between 10 and 12 years old. The students were in Year 5 and 6, the last two years of primary school in Australia. Two Year 5 students were absent at the time of data collection. The task was undertaken at the school during school hours with the researcher.

Year 5 and 6 students share the same French teacher qualified under the French education system, on separate days (alternating with their Australian class). The French classroom is located in the school’s new building, where Year 5 and 6 Australian and French classes study in a relaxed atmosphere.

The collection took place while the children were taking part in the French class activities. Small groups of two to five children at a time were taken out of their classroom to participate in the study. The colouring activity took place in a small room in which the children and researcher sat around the same table. The partitions of the room were mostly made of glass, opening to the playground on one side and to the rest of the new building on the other, so that the students and teachers wandering around the building could witness what was happening in the room as they were passing by.

A small recording device was placed in the middle of the table amongst colouring pens and paper and was switched on before students entered the room, so that they would not pay attention to it. Most groups did not notice it except for one child who commented on it (after the researcher had checked that the device was operating). Another child asked what it was. The device was used to record the whole activity, from a few seconds before the students entered the room, until they left. It recorded the conversations while colouring was taking place, as well as the interpretation of the drawings given by each student.
Children were greeted in French as they entered the room. They were given blank silhouettes and asked to write their name behind it. As an icebreaker the researcher spoke in French about the fact that everyone in the room spoke both English and French and maybe other languages, which gave rise to lively debates amongst the children. Basic instructions were given in French on how to colour the silhouettes, the only rule being that only one colour of their choice had to be used per language. The researcher also explained to the participants that given that everybody spoke at least English and French, within the boundary of the room, both languages could be used and codes could be mixed. This comment was usually met with great surprise and excitement by the children, Franglais being the forbidden language of the classroom. The researcher spoke mainly French to the students, who in turn did the same with some code-switching. A few groups showed amazing awareness of the different varieties of English and French, frequently code-switching, imitating different accents (American, Australian, British), and using set expressions in Belgian and Quebec French which they found amusing.

The students did not consider this task to be work, and were very pleased to be missing classroom duties.

Many of the children took a long time to start drawing. Some needed clarification on what to do, and questioned whether they had to speak the languages fluently in order to include them in their drawings. Many were a little confused about the freedom they had to colour as they wished (except for the one colour per language rule). Most of them needed some time to reflect before starting. Some asked why they had to do this and why the researcher was not asking questions instead. Others stated that this activity was a lot more fun than answering questions.

4.2 THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND TEST RESULTS

The questionnaire was completed in English at the school during school hours, under the supervision of the French teacher. All but one absent student completed it.

Test results were provided by the French Section Director, after permission was granted by all parents. This shows how keen and open minded parents felt about such study taking place.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instruments</th>
<th>Participants (40)</th>
<th>Participants with complete data in each instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colouring activity</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(19 in Y5, 8 in Y6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Test results</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Test results</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 6 PARTICIPATION FOR EACH TASK**
6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 DEALING WITH BOUNDARIES: STUDENT’S REFLECTIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

National, linguistic and cultural boundaries define groups. They generally emerge within a specific context and as a function of particular interests. Although their emergence is linked to a process of invention, their effect on people is still very real (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007).

This chapter focuses on the way children deal with the various boundaries, in particular the ones linked to their multilingual and multicultural reality. In order to do so, we will be concentrating on children’s reflections during the drawing task. We will also be taking a closer look at some of the portraits themselves.

The second section is a general discussion on the relation between national boundaries and language.

The third section focuses on the different varieties of English, and the fourth on several varieties of French. Both these sections consider students’ interest in mapping colours and language identities in categorical ways, and their differing approaches to resolving the blurriness of language boundaries.

Finally the last section looks at how the transgression of boundaries can allow multilinguals to find the space between these boundaries in order to express their multilingual and multicultural self.
Languages are tightly linked in the mind of the Green Heights students to the nations where they are officially being spoken. As a result, many children chose the national colours of flags in order to symbolise the languages that they speak.

*Well blue I kind of feel that it represents France - it’s in the French flag. And red represents Spain, also, it’s also in the Spanish flag. And then green too - it’s in the Italian flag. And white as in the English flag.*

(Benoit, 11)

When giving instructions to the students and during the interview, no mention, implicit or explicit, of national flags was made by the researcher. The students were told that they
could choose any colour for their portraits, the only restriction being to use one colour per language. By imposing this one rule, the students were pushed towards reflecting on the separation of their languages in the context of the school, in order to assess the impact of such categorisation (i.e. having two curricula taught separately).

In spite of the relative freedom of the students to colour their silhouettes as they wished, fifty percent chose a colour from a flag of one of the nation in which a specific language is spoken. And amongst these fifty percent some even believed that it was compulsory to use colours from a nation’s flag. A few students were surprised when they realised, as the discussion evolved, that they did not have to follow flag colours, as for them the instructions implied the use of the national colours.

Benoit’s portrait (Fig.1 and Transcript 1) is a good example, whereby each one of his languages is linked to a nation and to a colour of the nation’s flag. Benoit grew up in France and has a Spanish and Italian heritage through his grandparents. Benoit arrived in Australia with his French parents a year before the data were collected.

In his drawing (Fig.1), Benoit, uses white for English, as in the English flag. The silhouette is white before any colouring takes place, therefore choosing white may show that English is in the background for Benoit, with the addition of French, Italian and Spanish over the white background.

Benoit also added the following comment while discussing languages with his peers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Interview Transcript</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quand tu vas au Pôle Sud, tu vas sur la Terre Adélie, tu parles français.</td>
<td>When you go to the South Pole, you go to Adelie Land, you speak French.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This quote (Transcript 2) is illustrating the strong legitimate bond in the mind of the student between land (i.e. territory) and language, already exemplified by the link Benoit made in Transcript 1, between flag colours and nations. Adelie Land is a territory claimed by France on the Antarctic continent, with a permanent population of 33 people, and limited diplomatic recognition from other countries. This example is pushing to the extreme the notion of arbitrary but firm boundaries, whereby a specific language has to be spoken on a particular land, which has a border of disputed legitimacy, designated by a nation as its own. Benoit has made his language reality unambiguous by interconnecting in
a definite manner territory and language. This amalgamation may answer the need for a firm and reliable boundary between languages, thus avoiding any potentially uncomfortable blurriness.

By choosing national flags for their languages, students show the tight link in their mind between nation-state and language, reproducing the prevalent nationalistic discourse which is part of their daily reality, through which they are being socialised at school (through the curriculum contents, rituals and targeted school visits), in the media and with their parents. This reaction from the students is significant, as it demonstrates how the interdependence between language and nation is taken for granted and seems perfectly natural and legitimate to them.
The variety of English taught at Green Heights is Australian English, the language spoken de facto in Australia. During some of the interviews, students expressed confusion between Australian English and other varieties of English.

The interview with Benoit turned into a debate between four students related to the difference between the Australian, British and English flags (flags symbolising nations as well as languages for the students).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original interview script</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benoit: <em>Ben le bleu je trouve un peu que ça représente la France, c’est dans le drapeau français. Et le rouge ça représente l’Espagne, aussi c’est dans le drapeau aussi. Et puis le vert aussi, dans le drapeau italien. Et le blanc dans le drapeau anglais. Pas dans le drapeau du Royaume-Uni. Le drapeau anglais.</em></td>
<td>Well blue I kind of feel that it represents France – it's in the French flag. And red represents Spain, also, it is also in the Spanish flag. And then green too - it's in the Italian flag. And white as in the English flag. Not in the United Kingdom flag. The English flag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher: <em>D’accord. Très très bien. Et comment tu connais le drapeau anglais?</em></td>
<td>OK. Great. And how do you know the English flag?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benoit: <em>Bennnn... je le connais.</em></td>
<td>Well,...I know it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian: <em>Ben parce qu’il est là-bas, là-bas.</em></td>
<td>Well because it’s out there... out there.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

POINTING TO THE AUSTRALIAN FLAG IN THE PLAYGROUND

| Gilles: *Oui il est là-haut.* | Yes up there. |
| Researcher: *Ha le drapeau australien?* | Ha, the Australian flag? |
| Christian: *Ben oui mais c’est la même chose* | Well yes, but it’s the same right? |
The heated debate in Transcript 3 illustrates the confusion between the national symbols of Australia, England and the United Kingdom, through which the students are trying to identify boundaries. The students become passionate as they attempt to clarify the differences between the nations. At school, where English and French are taught, the English variety is simply known as English (implying Australian English given the location of the school). Therefore, the national symbol, in this specific context, for the English language is the Australian flag. This probably explains why Christian is pointing towards it in the playground. The English language flag is the Australian flag in the mind of the
children. This might explain the student’s difficulty in relating to flags from England or Britain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original interview script</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gilles: Anglais...c’est plus australien en fait. Je l’ai mis là car c’est près du cœur (EMOTIONAL TONE), donc c’est là où donc je suis né, ici, pas en France...</td>
<td>English...it’s more Australian in fact. I’ve put it there because it’s near the heart (EMOTIONAL TONE), so it’s where I was born, here, not in France...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher: D’accord...</td>
<td>OK...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian: Est-ce-que...</td>
<td>Is...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher: Attends...attends...</td>
<td>Hang on...hang on...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian: Est-ce-que anglais et australien c’est le même truc ?</td>
<td>Is English and Australian the same stuff?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher: Ca dépend pour vous...si vous avez vécu en Angleterre peut-être qu’il y a l’anglais d’Angleterre...l’anglais d’Australie... l’anglais américain si vous avez vécu aux Etats-Unis...il y a peut-être différents anglais...ça dépend comment vous voyez les choses.</td>
<td>It is up to you...whether you have lived in England, maybe there is English from England...Australian English...American English if you have lived in the United States...there might be different varieties of English...it depends how you look at it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilles: J’ai eu mes premiers cheveux ici, j’ai pu regarder la première fois ici et la bouche...j’ai pu parler ici.</td>
<td>I had my first hair here, I was able to look for the first time here and the mouth...I was able to speak here.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above transcript, Christian, who relied on Gilles to distinguish colours due to his colour blindness, interrupts Gilles’ interpretation of his drawing, at a point when Gilles is explaining that he speaks Australian English and not British English. Christian asks for clarification related to British English and Australian English, “Is English and Australian the same stuff?” as if the only adult in the room may hold the absolute truth about...
language varieties. The researcher replies by sending the question back to the student, in an attempt to let him find the answer for himself, explaining that different varieties of English are spoken in different contexts.

Christian was born in France and moved to Australia when he was one year old. Christian speaks English with his Australian father, and French with his French mother. Hence Christian’s reality from birth is bilingual, bilingualism being the norm at home, with his parents and older siblings. When describing his own portrait, Christian mentioned his Scottish great grand-parents and his English grand-parents who migrated to Australia. The colouring task was quite challenging for Christian, as he is colour blind. His friend Gilles assisted him in recognising the colours. Christian is confused about English varieties in a blurred context, just as he was about the different flags of English speaking nations (refer to Transcript 3). His colour blindness may make the matter worse. Christian’s question on whether English and Australian are the same thing illustrates the confusion about the different varieties of English, the differentiation being clear between English and French (partly because of the strict separation of both languages at school), but not so much between the two English varieties. Christian is looking for some cues to understand where the boundary should lie. Perhaps the confusion is due to the fact that the school teaches French, a language clearly associated with France in this context. Therefore, if Australian English is being taught, what is the relation with English from England (i.e. British English)?

By asking this question to the researcher, Christian is asking which category each language should fit in. Christian is wondering whether there should be a boundary there too. Christian, in questioning the researcher, is keen to find out how to relate to each variety.

By being multilinguals, the students are located on either side of the boundaries, outside the monolingual norm, which perhaps explains their desire to identify where the boundary lies.

The next section focuses on the different approaches adopted by children in order to resolve the ambiguity related to national and language identities.
3.2 VARIOUS WAYS OF RESOLVING AMBIGUITY

3.2.1 CHOOSING ONE IDENTITY

Gilles (10 years old) has lived his entire life in Australia. His mother is French and his father is Australian. Gilles also has a Scottish and Swedish heritage through his grandparents. Gilles speaks both English and French with his parents and siblings at home.

Gilles is interpreting his drawing with emotion (Transcript 4). He first explains that he speaks Australian English, not British English, thus clearing any ambiguity between British English and Australian English. He gives further explanation by saying that Australian English is in his heart, showing an emotional attachment to the language, underlined by the trembling of his voice when saying it. Gilles then offers as an explanation the fact that
he was born in Australia, not in France, emphasising further his strong bond with Australian English. An alternative possible logical explanation could have been that he was born in Australia, not in Britain, but Gilles takes the opportunity to oppose Australia to France, making a clear statement over the fact that he was not born in France. His voice trembles when expressing this, showing the emotional weight attached to this statement.

### 3.2.2 THE COLOUR BLUE FOR ALL ENGLISH VARIETIES

In a separate interview, Géraldine (11 years old) reflects on the same topic and finds her own answer. Unsolicited, she compared the flags of various nations in which English is being spoken, and came to the conclusion that the blue colour was common to almost every flag, and was therefore the right colour to symbolise English (Transcript 5). Géraldine explained her decision to use blue for English in the following manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original interview script</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Je trouve que l’anglais ça...ça...ça me fait penser à l’anglais quand je vois du bleu. Tu vois quand je vois ça. Surtout que tu vois à chaque fois tu vois presque dans tous les langues dans tous les drapeaux où il y a la langue anglaise il y a tout le temps du bleu, tout le temps beaucoup de bleu.</td>
<td>I think that English, it...it...it makes me think about English when I see blue. You see, when I look at this. Especially when you see...each time that you see, in almost every language, in all the flags where there is the English language, there is always some blue, always a lot of blue.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSCRIPT 5

Géraldine is solving the confusion related to boundaries between the different varieties of English by choosing one link between all the varieties, one colour common to all the flags of English speaking nations: blue. This way, any ambiguity between English varieties disappears.

### 3.2.3 SPORTING COLOURS

Another significant aspect related to national ideology is the widespread use, by the students, of sporting colours, for representing Australian English in particular. The official sporting colours of Australia, yellow and green were chosen by 33% of the children, who
chose either colour or both to symbolise Australian English. Sporting colours symbolise a nation, just like flags, and are worn by the athletes representing a country. The choice of the blue sporting colour to symbolise the French language is less obvious, as it overlaps with the blue colour of the French flag.

In many ways, these colours take away any ambiguity between Australian English and any other form of English, as they are unique to Australia, thus giving the Australian English language its own separate identity.

![Figure 3 Léopold's Language Portrait](image)

**Figure 3** Léopold’s Language Portrait

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original interview script</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Bleu pour le français, parce que c'est un peu la couleur de la France...J'ai mis le vert et le jaune pour l'australien car c'est un peu les couleurs de l'Australie.</em></td>
<td><em>Blue for French, because it’s kind of the colours for France...I’ve put green and yellow for Australian, because it’s kind of the colours for Australia.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Transcript 6**
Léopold (12 years old), in Figure 3 and Transcript 6, used both yellow and green in his portrait for Australian English (in the face and hair), to distinguish it from English from England (in red). Léopold here has resolved the much debated issue between Gilles, Benoit, Antoine and Christian, who made an attempt at identifying the boundaries between the Australian, English and UK national identities through their flags (Transcript 3).

Besides, Léopold dealt with boundaries by joining all of his languages in the head, thus considering them as a whole. The languages are not simply divided in each body part, but are combined in the part of the body where thinking takes place. This combination contrasts with Géraldine's strategy to use one colour for all the varieties of English, looking for commonality between the different varieties, in order to eclipse any form of ambiguity.

---

3.3 SUMMARY

To summarise, children’s reflections convey a clear need for well-defined boundaries between languages. They have shown awareness of the different national ideologies around them, and have expressed a desire to clear any uncertainty related to boundaries. Students solved the issue of blurred boundaries in different ways: by prioritising one identity while rejecting the other, by grouping several language varieties under one colour, and finally by choosing sporting colours to avoid a potential overlap between national colours.
4. Boundaries between Different Varieties of French

**Figure 4 Géraldine’s Language Portrait**

**Figure 5 Nadia’s Language Portrait**

*Not her real name*
The French language is not solely spoken within France's geographical border. Belgium and Canada, as discussed in the Literature review, are examples of countries which have adopted French as one of their official languages. A minority of students at Green Heights have ties to French speaking countries other than France. Five of the forty students from the sample had links to Belgium and one to Quebec. This is the case, for instance, of Géraldine and Nadia (both 11 years of age), two students who were interviewed as a pair. Both are friends and enjoy a common Belgian heritage.

Géraldine arrived in Melbourne at the age of four with her parents and four siblings. Before migrating to Australia, she spent 6 months at preschool in Belgium where she learnt Flemish. At home, Géraldine speaks French with her parents, who are both Belgian, originally from the French speaking part of the country. Géraldine goes back to Belgium on holiday every year.

Nadia was born in Montreal (Quebec) and her parents come from Romania. She spent the first six years of her life in Quebec before moving to the French speaking part of Belgium. Nadia arrived in Melbourne three months before the data were collected, where she started to learn English. Nadia migrated to Australia with her parents and younger brother.

4.1 BELGIAN FRENCH

Figure 4 and 5 show two portraits which are once again, inspired by flag colours, a recurrent theme amongst the informants. When colouring their silhouettes, Nadia and Géraldine questioned which French variety they should include (Transcript 7).
**Original interview script**

Nadia: *On va mettre aussi le français alors ? Le belge et le français ?*

**Translation**

We are going to put French then? Belgian and French?

Researcher: *Le français belge et le français de France alors ?*

Belgian French and French from France then?

Géraldine: *Oui, oui, parce que le français belge c’est pas la même chose en fait.*

Yes, yes, because Belgian French is not actually the same.

**TRANSCRIPT 7**

Through queries formulated in Transcript 7, students reflect on whether the two varieties are the same. Géraldine clearly decides that they should be differentiated and puts a firm boundary between Belgian French and French from France. Géraldine resolves any ambiguity between the two varieties by categorising them.

One of the obvious differences in vocabulary between the two varieties was pointed out while interviewing other students in two separate interviews: the children commented on the way Belgians say number 70, 80 and 90 (*septante, octante* and *nonante*), which is different to the French from France (*soixante-dix, quatre-vingts* and *quatre-vingt-dix*). The students had learnt this alternative way of saying numbers from their Belgian peers. Géraldine and Nadia also reflected on this issue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Belgian French</th>
<th>French from France</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>septante</td>
<td>soixante-dix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>octante</td>
<td>quatre-vingts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>nonante</td>
<td>quatre-vingt-dix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 7 BELGIAN AND FRENCH NUMBERS**

Firstly, they mentioned the numbers on both drawings (Figure 6).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Géraldine</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ninety (Belgian French)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am (Flemish)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hello (Australian English)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One, two, three (Spanish)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hello complicated numbers (French from France)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nadia</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hello, (Italian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my name is Nadia* (English)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am 11 years old (Romanian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I lived in Belgium with 90 and 70. (Belgian French)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But I am in a French school. (French from France)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And I like (English) dogs, cats and horses (Flemish).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Not her real name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Géraldine is finding the subject matter of numbers “complicated”, and Nadia explains that she lived in Belgium with these numbers; in other words, she spoke differently when she was living there, associating geography to this particular variety.
Secondly, during the interview, the students reflected further on the number issue (Transcript 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original interview script</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nadia:</strong> Et en fait on va mettre aussi le belge? Il y aura beaucoup de couleurs...Et le français aussi avec les quatre-vingts, soixante-dix... c'est trop bizarre.</td>
<td>And in fact we are also going to put Belgian? There will be lots of colours...And French as well, with ‘quatre-vingt-dix’, ‘soixante-dix’...it’s too strange.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Géraldine:</strong> LAUGHTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Researcher:</strong> Qu’est-ce que c’est?</td>
<td>What is it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Géraldine:</strong> Ben nous on dit nonante et quatre-vingts euh...septante...septante.</td>
<td>Well, we say nonante and quatre-vingts hmmm...septante...septante.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nadia:</strong> Oui c’est bizarre.</td>
<td>Yes, it’s strange.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Researcher:</strong> Et ici on vous laisse dire ça ou on vous demande de dire euh...</td>
<td>And here, do they let you say this or do you have to say, hmmm...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Géraldine:</strong> Ben...enfin...bon...même si je suis là depuis tout longtemps, ben je suis même pas encore très habituée. Mais en tous cas, eux...les autres ils commencent à s’habituer quand je dis ça. Alors maintenant ils s’en fichent un peu.</td>
<td>Well...actually...well...even if I have been here for a long time, well I’m not even used to it yet. But in any case, them...the others, they are starting to get used to it when I say this. So now they don’t quite care as much.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By pointing to this obvious difference between ways of saying numbers, the distinction between both varieties is being simplified. The students are recognising the difference by putting a boundary between the varieties, thus clarifying differences between both. In other words, whoever says octante is speaking Belgian French, and whoever says quatre-vingts is speaking French from France. It is clear cut and unambiguous.
Géraldine's final comment points to the fact that she is portrayed as the different one in class, because of some of the expressions that she uses. However, she sticks to her own Belgian way of saying these numbers, as the French way seems too foreign to her; Géraldine explains that she is still not used to it, despite being at the school for a long time. Her last sentence implies that although her friends used to be bothered at first by her way of saying these numbers, "now they don't quite care as much". But they still care enough to raise this in other interviews with the researcher, which shows how any transgression from the French national standard draws attention to itself. Again, this is a likely consequence of the way the centralised French curriculum is imposing, top down, one specific language variety, imposing clear language boundaries.

It is not clear from Géraldine and Nadia whether the Belgian expressions that they use are accepted by the French teacher, or whether they are expected to use the French standard ones instead. Another interview brings some degree of clarification on the matter. In Transcript 9, Dominique and Maeve, two students originally from France, discuss the issue of Belgian numbers with Sonia, a student who has spent part of her life in Belgium.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original interview script</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dominique:</strong> Ha bon tu parles cinq langues, oui...</td>
<td>Really, you speak five languages, yeah...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maeve:</strong> Ha non, attends. Un, deux, trois, quatre si. Belgique.</td>
<td>No, hang on. One, two, three, four yes. Belgium.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dominique:</strong> Moi je dis pas nonante et septante. Moi je suis pas français belge, je dis pas nonante et septante. Tu dis nonante et septante ?</td>
<td>I don't say nonante and septante myself. I'm not Belgian French, I don't say nonante and septante. Do you say nonante and septante?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maeve:</strong> Nonante et septante.</td>
<td>Nonante and septante.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAUGHTER.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dominique:</strong> Eh Maeve !!</td>
<td>Stop Maeve!!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sonia:</strong> Quatre-vingt-dix...je déteste dire ça.</td>
<td>Quatre-vingt-dix...I hate saying this.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This above interview shows a great deal of reflection on the two varieties, related to one of the most obvious difference with numbers. The debate erupted when the three students were discussing which languages to include in their portraits. Maeve tried to compete by selecting as many languages as possible. As a result, she was teased by her girlfriend, Dominique, who explained to her that since she is not normally saying nonante and septante, she could not add the Belgian variety of French to her portrait. Maeve takes the meaning of ‘saying’ literally, and repeats the two words, teasing Dominique in the process. According to Maeve, if she can say it right now, she speaks Belgian French, and therefore can add the language to her portrait. In other words, Maeve is playing with boundaries.

Choosing this one difference is obviously showing a great deal of oversimplification between the two varieties, as the reality is more complex. Some advocate a need to clearly identify the Belgian variety, which would allow it to become legitimate in relation to the French variety from France (Hambye and Francard, 2004). The student’s debate is therefore reflecting this identification concern from which the Belgian variety suffers, and Maeve’s comment points to this issue: if these numbers are the only difference between the varieties, she can actually speak Belgian French. The students made the boundary clear, helping in the process Belgian students to identify themselves as such. But they also made the boundary very easy to cross through oversimplification, and Maeve is taking the opportunity to jump across it in a playful way (although she does not go as far as including the variety on her portrait).

Humour is often used to deal with boundaries; Sonia and Géraldine make a similar slip of the tongue in two distinct interviews:
Géraldine: "Well, we say nonante and quatre-vingts hmmm...septante...septante." (Transcript 8).

Sonia: "Yeah, but in the classroom, we have to say quatre-vingt-dix...I nearly said nonante dix." (Transcript 9).

The official variety imposed at school creeps in when students are pronouncing numbers using their Belgian variety. Géraldine corrects herself promptly with the Belgian variety, and Sonia explains that she nearly said nonante dix which triggers laughter between herself and the others. Nonante dix is a combination of the Belgian nonante and the French dix (as in quatre-vingt-dix). This slip of the tongue is again demonstrating the complexity of the children's linguistic world; they are finding their way between linguistic boundaries, and are able to joke about and play with them.

Géraldine goes one step further in describing her relationship with the French variety, while interpreting her portrait (Transcript 10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original interview script</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noir pour le français.</td>
<td>Black for French.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le noir parce que je sais pas...Français c'est plutôt...c'est</td>
<td>Black because, I'm not sure... French is more...it’s a little...it’s...it’s less than Belgian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un peu...c'est moins que le Belge pour moi, parce que le Belge</td>
<td>language, it’s the one I speak all the time,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c'est ma langue principale, c'est celle que je dis tout le</td>
<td>and black makes me think a little sad, but at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temps, et le noir ça me fait penser un peu tristounet, mais</td>
<td>the same time a bit happy. I do like black...it’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en même temps un peu content. J’aime bien le noir...c’est un</td>
<td>a bit like all the feelings at the same time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peu tous les sentiments en même temps.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un pied français, et un pied flamand et belge.</td>
<td>One French foot, and one foot Flemish and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parce que ici là le français ben c’est une part de moi alors</td>
<td>Belgian. Because here...well French is a part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j’utilise le pied parce que le pied je marche avec. C’est</td>
<td>of me, so I am using the foot, because, I walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>déjà bien.</td>
<td>with the foot. It’s already a good thing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TRANSCRIPT 10

The black colour is chosen to describe the French variety. Initially, Géraldine considers it as a sad colour. Maybe Géraldine sees her schooling in the French Section as a sort of
betrayal to her Belgian identity? Nevertheless she corrects herself, describing black as a happy colour too. Again, there might be some ambivalence there. Géraldine reiterates the fact that she is Belgian, something that is essential to her. French from France is still important to her, as it is represented by one foot (the other foot being Flemish and Belgian French). Géraldine explains that she needs this foot for walking, a very expressive metaphor, which illustrates how the French language from France is a useful tool, necessary at school.

The challenge of being a Belgian student in a French school, which perhaps creates the ambivalent feelings expressed above by Géraldine, are also summed up on Nadia’s portrait (Figure 6):

“I lived in Belgium with 90 and 70. But I am in a French school.”

Nadia uses But here, which marks the boundary between the two varieties.

To summarise, the student’s reflections on the Belgian variety illustrates two things:

Firstly, how the school imposes the French variety from France through its curriculum, which creates a degree of ambivalence for the Belgian students between their Belgian variety and the one taught at school.

Secondly, how students resolve the ambiguity between varieties by establishing a clear boundary between categories, oversimplifying the differences between varieties. The students, through their reflection, identify the boundary between both varieties and position themselves in relation to it.
Nadia was born in Quebec, and talks, unsolicited, of the French variety spoken there in the following terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original interview script</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Et puis c’est vraiment trop bizarre, par exemple il fait froid c’est « il fait fret », c’est très bizarre, ouais et parfois, avant quand je lisais un livre, je demandais aux parents « Maman tu peux me lire un mot québécois ? », puis « Oui bien sûr », et c’est vraiment étrange l’accent, c’est, on ne comprend pas vraiment, c’est un espèce de...de...de...français un peu mélangé.</td>
<td>And it’s really too strange, for instance “il fait froid” (it is cold), it’s “il fait fret”, it’s very strange, yeah and sometimes, when I was reading a book, I was asking my parents “Mum can you read me a word from Quebec?” then, “Yes of course”, and it is very strange the accent, it’s, we don’t really understand, it’s a kind of...of...of... mixed-up French.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word strange is repeated many times in Nadia’s recollection of the Quebec variety. She also used it previously to describe the way French people say 70 and 90, as opposed to the Belgian way that she is used to. Nadia’s first language is Romanian, and her French is not quite as fluent as her school peers. This could explain why the word strange is repeated so often, as she cannot think of another way of expressing her feelings. Nevertheless, it describes in a straightforward, simple and direct way how she feels. She compares the Quebec variety with the French one, saying that the language in Quebec is a bit of a “mixed up French”. Here again, the French variety comes as the reference point, the standard imposed by the educational system at Green Heights.

Nadia also has an epiphany while reflecting on her Quebec personal history (Transcript 12).
Mais c’est bizarre, parce que depuis quand je suis petite je...je parle comme ça bizarre, et je...je me demande pourquoi. Justement je viens de découvrir. Parce que comme je suis née là-bas au Canada, j’ai l’accent québécois, c’est...c’est trop bizarre.

But it is strange, because since I am little, I...I speak like this, strange, and I...I am wondering why. Actually I have just found out. Because I was born there, in Canada, I have a Quebec accent, it’s...it’s too strange.

Nadia suddenly realises that she has a little bit of a Quebec accent when she speaks French, and finds herself strange as a result. She had been wondering for a long time why she spoke slightly differently from her peers. Through her reflection, Nadia is identifying a boundary that she feels ambivalent about. Canadian French is the variety in which she was born, an important period in her life, but also the variety that is depicted as being strange by the national French discourse employed at school.

Finally, Nadia and Géraldine enjoy comparing the varieties, and playing with them (Transcript 13).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original interview script</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nadia:</strong> Ma maman m’a fait une feuille de traduction, et puis quand je lis la « Fret. Fait fret ». C’est trop bizarre. Fret, fait fret.</td>
<td>My mum made me a translation sheet, and when I read there « Fret. Fait fret » (« Cold, it’s cold » in the Quebec variety).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Géraldine:</strong> Après au bout d’un moment tu t’habitudes à un autre accent.</td>
<td>After a while you get used to another accent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nadia:</strong> Puis je me rappelle...on était en France à la Tour Eiffel. Il y avait d’autres québécois, des amis qui étaient venus. Et puis on était dans le train, et un Monsieur devait partir, et notre copain il lui a dit « Casse-toi, casse-toi». Ca veut dire bouge.</td>
<td>Then I remember...we were in France at the Eiffel Tower. There was other people from Quebec, friends who were visiting. And then we were in the train, and a man had to leave, and our friend tells him “bugger off, bugger off”. It means get going (in the Quebec variety).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The students are amused by the Canadian French expression “casse-toi”, which in French from France would be the equivalent of “bugger off” in English, a slang term with negative overtones, which would not be appropriate in the school context. There is an overlap between both varieties: the expression exists in French from France, but in a different register. They are having fun by comparing this major difference in meaning and in register between the two varieties and use this opportunity to say aloud an inappropriate expression, which entertains them.

4.3 SUMMARY

The discussion arising from the portraits highlighted the complex situation of Géraldine and Nadia, whose French language varieties are distinct from the one taught at school, where French is clearly associated with the French nation. Their reflections on Belgian and Canadian French illustrates how they are either aware of the boundaries, looking for them or discovering them (such as Nadia with Canadian French).

Both students were able to put the differences between language varieties into perspective by playing with the boundaries and joking about them. In doing so, students have disturbed the firmness of what is considered as standard French (Oakes, 2001), the variety taught at school (i.e. French from France).
Dominique (10 years old), created her own flag, and described it as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Interview Transcript</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Les deux langues que j’utilise le plus jaune et bleu (français et australien). C’est un peu un fond. L’américain : de temps en temps je fais un peu un accent américain : mes cousins sont américains. Je ne sais pas pourquoi j’ai fait un drapeau. Jaune pour les équipes de sport. Rouge parce qu’il y a des lignes rouges.</td>
<td>The two languages I use most are in yellow and blue (French and Australian). It’s a bit like a background. American – occasionally I put on an American accent. My cousins are American. I’m not sure why I did a flag. Yellow for the sport teams, red because there are red lines in the American flag. It is</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dominique created, consciously, her own flag, in her own terms - "It is as if I was inventing a new flag with these three colours". She did use official colours (blue from the French flag, red from the American flag and yellow from the official Australian sporting colours), but organised them in her own way. The silhouette fits within an actual flag, drawn by Dominique.

Dominique moved to Australia when she was four years old, and both her parents are French. Despite being extremely proficient in Australian English, Dominique does not consider Australian English to be her main language: "I have a little bit of Australian."

American English stays on the periphery, as it is only occasionally part of Dominique's life (through her American cousins) - "The surrounding is American because I don't have much of it." However, when looking at the portrait, the red colour is central to the silhouette, occupying quite a substantial part of it. During the drawing task Dominique enjoyed imitating the American accent with her peers and using American slang, describing for instance her drawing as a "flag dude". Therefore the large proportion of American English on the drawing may show a great deal of admiration for this variety of English. American English heavily influences young generations throughout the world, as it is vastly represented in the media (music, cinema, television and the Internet), making it a very attractive language.

Focusing so much on American English may also be a way of distancing herself from Australian English, a language she may feel ambivalent about, given her personal background.

The pole which supports the flag is French, being an essential part of her self: "The pole is French because it is a little bit of everything." It is as if the French language filtered through all her other languages, and was part of it, representing the base (the pole) for the whole structure of the flag.
National ideologies are still present here, but reinterpreted to suit Dominique’s reality. Unlike the previous examples where the colours of the flags were used in a normative fashion, Dominique is using the same theme resourcefully. By finding the space between boundaries, Dominique is able to creatively express her multilingual subjectivity. All the languages seem to be mixed and united in the picture, with blurred, uneven and flexible borders. This is a rich illustration of the “multilingual holistic approach” (Cenoz and Gorter, 2011: 342) where the whole repertoire is taken into account, considering all the languages as a whole, rather than separating each one of them and considering them one by one through the monolingual lens.
J’ai mis du noir pour l’arabe parce que c’était à Oman que j’habitais. He ben les filles elles mettaient des Abayas et des grands habits noirs. Et pour le français j’ai mis du bleu parce que c’est sur le drapeau et aussi leurs maillots de foot ils sont bleus. Et aussi j’ai fait un coq français. Et l’anglais c’est en jaune parce que aussi sur le le le maillot des australiens, hé ben c’est jaune et vert, et voilà, et donc je pouvais pas mettre les deux couleurs et donc j’en ai mis qu’une. Dans les pieds parce que en fait c’est ma dernière langue que j’ai apprise. C’est parce que je connaissais pas vraiment avant l’anglais quand je suis arrivée en Australie donc ça c’est ma dernière langue. C’est ma deuxième année en Australie.

Translation

I have put black for Arabic because it’s in Oman that I used to live. Well girls were wearing Abayas and large black clothes. And for French I have put blue because it’s the flag and also the football jerseys are blue. And Also I have done a Gallic cockerel. And English in yellow because also on the the the Australian Jersey, well, it’s yellow and green, that’s it, so I couldn’t put both colours, so I’ve chosen just one. In the feet because it is the last language that I have learnt. It’s because I didn’t really know English when I arrived in Australia, so it’s my last language. It’s my second year in Australia.
In Mathilde's example above, the blue colour for French does not simply represent the colour of the flag. It represents the Gallic cockerel, the French national symbol for sport. The yellow colour in the feet represents Australian English, and black represents Arabic.

In Mathilde's portrait, the cockerel contrasts vividly with the black outfit in the portrait. Mathilde was born in France from French parents, and moved to Oman with her family when she was seven. Two years prior to the interview, Mathilde moved to Australia, after spending two years in Oman. Mathilde really enjoyed living in Oman, where she had to take one hour a week of Arabic lessons, outside school.

Mathilde is showing her own reality, with the French language occupying a central part on the portrait, Australian English is in the feet, and Arabic is occupying a largest part of the drawing with the robe.

This portrait would be considered as inflammatory if drawn in the context of a French school in France (this was confirmed by the reaction of a French member of staff when seeing Mathilde's portrait). The French education system is highly secular, unlike the Australian system which offers optional religious education. Any sign of religion has to be kept at home. The Muslim veil (chador) has been the source of many polemics, with students being expelled from schools for wearing it. This is a highly controversial issue in France (and in the Muslim world overseas, which is highly critical of France on the matter) and is often reported in the media.

Mathilde, by representing her own language reality, is, without knowing it, being highly provocative within the French educational context. The symbol of French national pride, the Gallic cockerel is depicted within a black Abaya (the cloak worn by women in the Arab Gulf countries), which hides the woman's hair and mouth.

This portrait shows how Mathilde is making her own way through the French national ideology showing her own vision, having lived in the Gulf region. In her mind the French identity is merged with the Arabic and the Australian one to form her own language reality, independently from national ideologies. Mathilde is, unconsciously, transgressing boundaries to convey her language reality.
The data presented and discussed in this chapter show, first of all, how the children are aware of the national ideologies around them and often use the official national colours to authentically represent their languages. Students go further, by reflecting on the notion of boundaries between languages and the separateness of nations. This was in many ways imposed by the task of asking them to choose one colour per language, compartmentalising each language.

Secondly, students have different ways of dealing with these nationalistic ideologies, negotiating their own way through the discourses, some abiding more than others, some questioning them, and all reflecting on it through their portraits and discussions.

Finally and most importantly, the data illustrates how students are able to express their multilingual self through the boundaries themselves, by transgressing them. By overstepping them, students show that their reality is more complex, many adopting a “holistic approach” (Cenoz and Gorter, 2011: 339) to their languages, considering them as a whole, rather than looking at them separately from a monolingual perspective. Consequently, the boundary is needed, so that it can be, at times, infringed, in order to allow the multilingual self to be (Kramsch, 2009).
6.2 CROSSING LANGUAGE BOUNDARIES THROUGH MULTILINGUAL LANGUAGE PRACTICE

“Ah, j’adore parler en franglais.”
(Ha, I love speaking Franglais.)

Dominique, 10

1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, student’s reflections gave an insight into how they perceived the compartmentalisation of languages as being related to boundaries raised by national ideologies. By contrast, this chapter concentrates on spontaneous language practices, focusing on how students deal with boundaries in their actual speech.

Language itself constitutes a boundary:

“As music needs measure and painting needs perspective, so language needs grammar, spelling, conversational maxims, discourse conventions, genre, style, register, and an identifiable voice.” (Kramsch, 2009:185)

In other words, the boundaries (i.e. the rules) that define a language are a necessity and have to be learnt to speak a language. In the context of Green Heights, the teaching of both English and French takes place separately, thus imposing a discipline which aims (and in most cases succeeds) at having students reaching near native level proficiency in both English and French when they leave the school, at the age of 11 or 12. The strict separation of languages is perceived as being responsible for the high proficiency achieved by the students in their final school year.

However, as we will see in this chapter, the two codes (English and French) do not merely coexist as separate entities in the mind of the students, but rather blend. Students evidently know how to separate both languages when needed (in the context of each classroom for instance), but can and do use all the linguistic resources available to them (i.e. their entire language repertoire) strategically, in a way that will benefit them, depending on the context (Li Wei, 2011).
At the beginning of each interview, following a brief introduction, the researcher re-stated that all the students in the room spoke both English and French, and that unlike in the classroom, everyone could speak English and/or French as they wished, within the boundaries of the interview room. The students often reacted with great excitement ("Yessss!" "Lucky!") about being able to use "français anglais", as they called it (i.e. a combination of the words français [French] and anglais [English] to describe the mixing of both codes).

When considering the fact that in the classroom, codes could not be mixed, one student exclaimed in English: "Oh. That's not fair!", and another declared "Sad!", in order to express their disappointment about having to keep both languages apart in this context.

During the interviews, the researcher spoke French (her first language) to the students, who mostly used French to respond back to her, but mixed language codes to chat with their fellow students.

A group of students (Dominique, Maeve, Sonia and Zohra) were particularly playful with language, spontaneously mixing codes during the drawing task.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student (all females)</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Countries lived in (chronological order)</th>
<th>Languages spoken</th>
<th>Parent's origin</th>
<th>Languages spoken at home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominique</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>- France until the age of 2&lt;br&gt;- Australia for 8 years</td>
<td>English and French</td>
<td>Both French</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maeve</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>- France until the age of 4&lt;br&gt;- New Zealand for 3 years&lt;br&gt;- Australia for 3 years</td>
<td>English and French</td>
<td>Both French</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonia</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>- US until the age of 6&lt;br&gt;- Belgium for 2 years&lt;br&gt;- Australia for 3 years</td>
<td>English and French</td>
<td>English father&lt;br&gt;French mother</td>
<td>English and French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zohra</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Born in Australia</td>
<td>English, French and Moroccan&lt;br&gt;(specific Moroccan language unknown)</td>
<td>French father&lt;br&gt;Moroccan mother</td>
<td>English and French</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 8 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDENTS

Dominique and Maeve (both 10 years of age) seemed to enjoy a great friendship. They appeared to be extremely confident, and enjoyed competing with each other to show how much they both knew about languages, all with good humour, which created a great dynamic. Both were extremely fluent in both English and French, and Dominique was particularly proficient in *Franglais* (the unpredictable combination of English and French), compellingly mixing codes, and having fun with it.

Sonia (11 years old) seemed more independent, and participated in the discussion when she felt like it. She had a preference for English, which she spoke more fluently than French.

Zohra (11 years old) remained silent during most of the task, while her fellow students took full stage by being extremely chatty and exuberant all along. Zohra provided a brief description of her amazingly intricate drawing, in a very discreet manner.
FIGURE 9 FOUR PORTRAITS
3. MULTILINGUAL LANGUAGE PRACTICE

This section shows how students use their entire repertoire, by languaging (within the same language) from one register to another, and by translanguaging from one language variety to another and from one language to the next. This constant switching and blending happens naturally during the conversation in a fluid manner. The students use all their linguistic skills, shuttling between codes and mixing them to powerfully convey a meaning that goes beyond words.

3.1 FRANGLAIS: THE FORBIDDEN LANGUAGE

Franglais is a typical example of code-mixing and code-switching, and is a way of translanguaging with English and French. In French Franglais also refers to the many language borrowings from English (such as week-end, football, marketing etc.) which are standard practice in French. This latest definition differentiates Franglais from translanguaging, as the move into English is standard practice for specific expressions.

In the school context of Green Heights, Franglais is undesirable in the classroom. The aim of the school is to create highly proficient bilinguals, reaching a similar level to monolinguals in both languages. Ordering languages through a strict separation is considered as instrumental in reaching this goal. Reducing interference from the other language is seen as the most efficient way of teaching the official variety of each language. Franglais is perceived as being anarchic, and as having a negative impact on the children’s proficiency.

Additionally, the French side of the school is managed by the French authorities via the Agency for French Teaching Abroad (Agence pour l’Enseignement Français à l’Etranger – AEFE); through its network of French schools abroad, the AEFE is part of a mechanism used to maintain and reproduce the prestigious variety of French from France, a variety which should not be ‘polluted’ by the English language.

In this context, Franglais, as a mixed language, is classified as unacceptable as it is viewed as a threat to the official variety of French taught at school.
Students are very much aware of the lower status of *Franglais* within the institutional context of their school, and avoid using it in class. However, in the playground and outside the school, they actively use it with their peers.

During the interview, students were explicitly told that they could mix codes, in other words they had a license to speak *Franglais* (although this term was not used by the researcher). After a few minutes of doing so Dominique exclaimed (L103) "Ah, j’adore parler en franglais." (Ha, I love speaking *Franglais*.)

| L71  | Dominique   | Ohhh. Y’a un skate board dessus hmmm… |
| L73  | Dominique   | Tu vas lui mettre quoi des roller blades après sur les pieds, ou quelque chose. |

**TRANSCRIPT 16**

Examples of *Franglais* can be found in Transcript 16, when Dominique mentions the words "skate board" and "roller blades" in the middle of a French utterance. *Skate board* and *roller* (for *roller blades*) being commonly used in French, with no French words having replaced it. This use of English words is widely accepted by the French public, even if the French Academy disapproves of it and suggests its own equivalents. These standard language practices relate to the French meaning of *Franglais*, which considers language borrowing as a form of Franglais.

| L 67 | Dominique | Voilà j’ai inventé un flag. |

**TRANSCRIPT 17**

| L 80 | Maeve      | Là je fais juste un outline pour l’instant. |

**TRANSCRIPT 18**

*Franglais* is also often unpredictable, whether it is part of code-mixing or code-switching. For instance, Dominique mentions “flag” (Transcript 17) and Maeve talks about an “outline” (Transcript 18) within a French utterance. The students probably know the French for *flag* and for *outline*, but code-mix to English.
Two of the students, Maeve and Dominique, display a great deal of awareness of the different registers in each language, just as a monolingual subject would be expected to. The participants occasionally switch from one register to the next.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Interview transcript</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L104  Trop quoi Dominique.</td>
<td>Too cool Dominique.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(DOMINIQUE PRONOUNCED WITH AN ENGLISH ACCENT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L115  Ouais tout le temps.</td>
<td>Yeah all the time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L177  Pourquoi on doit faire cela en fait ?</td>
<td>In fact why do we have to do this?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(FRENCH UPPER REGISTER)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For instance, Maeve uses "Ouais" (Transcript 19, L115) the relaxed form of Oui (yes) often used by younger generations, as well as "Trop quoi" (L104), a typical interjection used by the same age group, meaning too cool. However, when addressing the researcher at the end, Maeve uses a more formal register (L117). She could have used “ça” instead of “cela”, which would have been consistent with the informal register used all along with her peers. But because Maeve is addressing the researcher, she chooses “cela” which is formal and more likely to be used in written language (the language promoted by the school). To heighten her register Maeve also uses "en fait" (in fact) rather than au fait (actually). Maeve is perfectly comfortable with the different levels of formality in French demonstrating a great deal of pragmatic skills.

Dominique is also very comfortable in French and shuttles effortlessly between registers:

| L 52 & 53 | Lovely...lovely translation “blue people”! Oh la la la la, vous racontez n’importe quoi. Les gens bleus. (UPPER CLASS FRENCH ACCENT) | Lovely...lovely translation “blue people”! My goodness, you are talking nonsense |

TRANSCRIPT 19

TRANSCRIPT 20
When she says “Oh la la la la, vous racontez n’importe quoi” (Transcript 20), she is using a French upper class accent and register, using a superior voice to disapprove of her peers. It is as if she was detaching herself from the light debate in which her friends are engaged about blue people in a film, by switching language and moving to a French upper register.

Dominique also displays criticism when her peers lower their register in French; for instance she mentions one of her sister’s friends who keeps on using the word “genre” (like) at the end of every sentence (L111 to 125, Appendix 3). Ironically, she starts using the expression herself (L144), and is reminded of it by Sonia (L145).

Dominique’s condemnation of lower registers also extends to English when she tells Sonia off for using the English word crap (“That’s a crap drawing” L60). Dominique asks: “That’s what?” (L61). Maeve eagerly repeats Sonia’s words, as if to emphasize her friends’ inappropriate language: “Crap drawing” (L62), to which Dominique responds with a reprimand: “Oh. Bad girl.” (L63).

One could wonder if this criticism from Dominique towards an unacceptable expression within a school context is not a way of getting some approval from the researcher, whom she may associate to her teachers, in a schooling environment where formal register is highly valued. This could also explain why Dominique switched to French in Transcript 20.

These examples show how the students are aware of the different monolingual registers, actively monitoring each other’s utterances. They also demonstrate how high language proficiency (i.e. a good knowledge of the rules referred to by Claire Kramsch [2009]) is needed in order to be able to travel between registers. Sonia is less proficient in French than Dominique and Maeve, and as a result is not able to manipulate the language by moving from one register to the next as her friends do.

3.3 SWITCHING BETWEEN LANGUAGE VARIETIES TO ANIMATE AND FOR HUMOUR (GARDNER-CHLOROS, 2009)

Students demonstrated a great knowledge of the various varieties of English by imitating different accents and using set expressions, sometimes in a stereotyped manner. For instance, they enjoyed enacting a cliché of an American tourist visiting Australia, putting on a broad American accent: “I saw this kangaroo in Australia.” (L16)
Australian English is also represented through caricatural expressions, such as “crickey” (L3) or “crickey mate” (L57), an expression made popular by the late Australian presenter Steve Irwin, who spread a stereotyped image of Australia around the world.

British English also gets a turn:

| 30 | D: Yes lovely, she’s got pink hair. That was funny. Pink and purple hair...interesting. |
| 31 | Lovely, Lovely. (UPPER CLASS BRITISH ACCENT) |
| 32 | M: Totally. (BRITISH ACCENT) |
| 33 | D: Totally. (BRITISH ACCENT) |
| 34 | M: Totally. (BRITISH ACCENT) |
| 35 | D: Ok let’s stop. It’s a very bad imitation of British accent. |
| 36 | M& British accent? S: |
| 37 | M: British accent? Are you talking nonsense. (BRITISH ACCENT) (LAUGH). |
| 38 | D: Nonsense. Oh that’s jolly good! (BRITISH ACCENT) |
| 39 | M: Jolly good of you. (BRITISH ACCENT) |
| 40 | D: Fancy some tea Darling? (BRITISH ACCENT) |
| 41 | M: Yes I would thank you. (BRITISH ACCENT) |

Dominique imitates a British person Line 31. Maeve uses Dominique’s initiative as a springboard, and continues with a British accent saying “Totally”. Dominique and Maeve carry on their British playful dialogue with some set British expressions such as “nonsense” (L37), “jolly good” (L39), with Dominique’s stereotyping act culminating with: “Fancy some tea Darling?” (L40). In this rich and fast exchange between Dominique and Maeve, there is a certain amount of competitive fun, where the two students try and come up with new expressions to demonstrate how much they know of each variety. There is a clear pattern in Maeve and Dominique’s light-hearted conversation, with one new
utterance being pronounced by one then repeated straight after by the other, adding some personal touch to it in order to sound even more knowledgeable and therefore dominate the debate (Line 32 to 39).

To sum up, using different varieties of English is used here for fun, but also for competing with each other, in terms of how many varieties they know.

3.4 SWITCHING TO COMMUNICATE CHARACTERISTICS OF THEIR IDENTITY

Multilinguals sometimes switch between languages to emulate a group they would like to belong to, an identity they aspire to. This is often a group which in their eyes benefits from a certain prestige (Gardner-Chloros, 2009).

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>D: Moi j’ai beaucoup de couleurs. Français. Français...français, anglais australien et anglais américain.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>M: C’est quoi...c’est quoi anglais américain ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>D: Moi j’ai anglais américain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>M: Speak, speak it. Dis. Allez Dominique !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>D: Saturday and taalk. I sawww and taalked. (BROAD AMERICAN ACCENT) Je fais ça des fois.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>M: I taalked to Dominique totally. (BROAD AMERICAN ACCENT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>D: I saw this kangaroo in Australia. (BROAD AMERICAN ACCENT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>M: Yeahh, totally.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>D: And on Saturday... (BROAD AMERICAN ACCENT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>(LAUGHTER FROM Maeve and Dominique.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>D: C’est trop bizarre leur accent. C’est trop bizarre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>M: I’m just going to do a dude with brown hair.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Transcript 22, students show a definite fascination for the American English variety. First of all, Dominique announces that amongst her languages, there is American English (L9 and 10). Maevé finds this allegation dubious, and tests her friend to prove how legitimate her claim is, by asking what American English is (L11). Dominique responds by saying that she has American English, in other words, that the variety belongs to her (L12). Maevé continues testing her friend by asking her to speak American English, daring Dominique to speak with an American accent. The request is made in English, followed by French (L13), using all of her repertoire by code-switching to make her request more urgent (Speak it, speak it. Say it. Go on Dominique!). Here Maevé is using all her languages to put her pressing request across.

Dominique makes her first attempt at imitating American English (L14), followed by Maevé (L15) doing her best imitation (L16). The game continues between them, until Sonia, who grew up in New York (and may therefore want to claim some degree of legitimacy in relation to the American variety) describes how the word 'hot dog' is pronounced in New York (L23). Maevé and Dominique repeat the expression in tune (L24), followed by Maevé claiming that she can speak like a New Yorker.

Dominique corrects her by saying that she doesn't do the New York accent (L26), meaning that in normal circumstances, Maevé does not speak with this accent, and therefore cannot claim to be a New Yorker. To which Maevé replies in a provocative and teasing fashion that she doesn’t care, she just said it; in other words, by saying it here and now, she can claim to be a New Yorker.
The fascination for the American variety of English continues with American expressions being used by the students, such as “dude” (L21, 107, 108, 176). This fascination is common for this age group throughout many parts of the world, where young people are being familiarised with the American variety through the media.

In addition to expressing a desired identity, code-switching can also be used to express part of the speaker’s actual identity (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). For instance, Dominique expresses openly the fact that she loves speaking Franglais (L103 in Appendix 3), which best illustrates what she is: a speaker of both English and French.

Sonia also intervenes in the debate about American English, by impersonating the American accent (Transcript 22, L23); having grown up in the US, she may be wanting to express that side of herself.

3.5 CREATIVITY THROUGH MULTILINGUAL PRACTICE

Multilinguals are often able to be very creative with language, a skill which appears to be more prevalent amongst multilinguals (Cenoz and Corter, 2011).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Maeve:</th>
<th>I’m a POM. I’m a POM. POM POM.</th>
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</table>

TRANSCRIPT 23

In Transcript 23 students often enjoy playing with sounds, simply for the sake of it. For instance the expression POM (a humorously pejorative term for an English person in Australian English) is a source of fun, by being repeated several times: I’m a POM. I’m a POM. POM POM (L6).

The Australian brand Bonds (an underwear manufacturer) is also repeated several times by Dominique, to create an effect (L160).

Or else, by switching between languages, some expressions are repeated for creative fun.
For instance:

**L57** Maeve  
Crickey mate, would you like to come for tea. Thé, for thé.

**L58** Dominique  
For thé, for thé?

**TRANSCRIPT 24**

In Transcript 24, "tea" is translated with the French equivalent "thé", but is still preceded with the English "for". Associating both words becomes "for thé", thé being pronounced in French with an English accent. This transforms the expression into the musical term *forte*. The students must be aware of it as both repeat it joyfully.

In a separate interview, Géraldine shows creativity when describing how she relates to her original country, Belgium, in comparison to her new country, Australia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Interview transcript</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tu vois quand je suis en Australie, je me sens toute a l'aise avec l'école, c'est bon ya le camping. En Belgique ya pas vraiment de camping c'est plutôt campagne moi quand je vais en Belgique.</td>
<td>You see, when I am in Australia, I feel comfortable at school, it's great, there's camping. In Belgium, there's no camping really, it's more countryside for me when I go to Belgium.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSCRIPT 25**

In Transcript 25, Géraldine is opposing the reality of the Australian wild bush (when she talks about camping), to the rural landscape of Belgium, playing on the words *campagne* (countryside in French) and *camping* (an English word commonly used in French). Both words are phonetically similar but express opposite realities. By being creative in her word choice, Géraldine has depicted her own reality, full of contradictions, yet all part of the same person.

**Belge c’est un peu comme beige**  
Belgium is a little bit like beige

**TRANSCRIPT 26**

Raphael, another student of Belgian background, chose the colour beige to represent Belgium (Transcript 26). This is yet another creative use of language, where a colour is associated to a country, because both names are phonetically similar.
3.6 LANGUAGE CROSSING: WORDS BELONGING TO BOTH OR NEITHER LANGUAGES

It is not easy to put a line between what is intentional language practice and what is not. The use of language so far was more or less conscious, translanguaging being used to the speaker's benefit. The practices described in this section are a consequence of the children's multilingualism, and are unlikely to be intentional.

Sometimes the switch between languages is not an obvious move from one code to the next. At times one language appears within another. This is sometimes attributed to lack of competence in one language, because the utterance is considered as non-standard by monolinguals. For example, Dominique describes Sonia's drawing in the following terms:

| L73 | Tu vas lui mettre quoi des roller blades | Are you going to put roller blades on his feet, or something. |

TRANSCRIPT 27

In Transcript 27, "ou quelque chose" is a literal translation for "or something". Although it is common usage in English, it makes perfect sense in French but is not standard. Line 76 (Appendix 3), Dominique uses the same expression again, transferring a standard English expression into French through literal translation.

There are many instances of such blending. Dominique also says:

| L173 | ... ça fait pas du sens ce que je raconte ...it doesn't make sense what I am saying. |
|      | moi. |

TRANSCRIPT 28

In Transcript 28, "...ça fait pas du sens" is a literal translation of "it doesn't make sense", which is incorrect standard French, but is understandable.

In Transcript 29, Maeve brings French into an English utterance.

| L175 | This is the most weird drawing ever, from my part. |

TRANSCRIPT 29

"Most weird" (Transcript 29) corresponds to a literal translation from standard French (plus bizarre). "From my part" is a literal translation from the French "de ma part".
In Transcript 30, Dominique who has realised that she was being taped, creates the expression “to tape” in French, when the standard expression would be “enregistrer” (to record).

Parce que je sais qu’on est en train de faire...de nous taper la, la, la voix mais... us...taping our, our, our...voice....

Because I know what they are doing to us...taping our, our, our...voice....

TRANSCRIPT 30

Taper means to hit (in the context of hitting someone) or to type (a document). Here Dominique makes a lexical creation with “to tape”, by adding er at the end to transform it into a French verb. She adjoins “la voix” (the voice) to ensure that the expression is not confused with hitting someone or typing a document.

These expressions do not actually belong to either language. They are neither English nor French, but make perfect sense. It is as if the children made up their own language out of the two, without complying to any official standards.

Another word belonging to neither languages is Englais (for English).

Amongst the 38 drawings, 27 included the word English (in either English of French) in the key/legend describing the drawing. Eleven children either omitted the English language or used the name of a country (for instance Australia for English). Amongst the 27 who did use the word English, 8 used the word Englais (the word English in French, which correctly spelled, starts with an A, not an E). The students seemed unaware of this spelling mistake, which does not affect the pronunciation of the word. It is as if in their mind, they had merged the word English with Anglais, and produced a lexical creation:

Englais+Anglais=Englais
Following one of the many interviews, a French teacher came into the interview room, where the researcher showed some of the most recent drawings (some of which happened to have the misspelled version of Anglais). The teacher noticed it straight away and was appalled, commenting on the fact that by now students should know how to spell Anglais properly. This immediate negative reaction (after all, this could have been interpreted as a rather creative use of language) shows how the school is strict on applying the monolingual standard, and any deviation from it is corrected. This very high expectation to match the monolingual standard leads the students to being highly proficient in both languages when they leave the school at the age of 11 or 12 and the pupils outperform their monolingual counterparts in both English and French national tests in the later years of primary schooling.

Some students translanguaged further on their picture, in the key describing their colours.

Dominique spelled Légend (Figure 10 Drawing keys) in a mix of English and French. Her aim was to write Légende (the French equivalent for Key) followed by the English translation Key. Dominique blended English and French in the word Légend by putting an accent on the letter e (French) and by omitting the final e in the correct spelling of Légende, which is a trace of English.

In the content of the legend, American English (anglais américain) and French (français) are both spelled in the French language (with a lower case which is standard practice), but Australian English is spelled in English with the French standard lower cases (australian english), which is incorrect spelling in English.

This shows that the boundaries between both languages are not as firm as the school's discipline is aiming for. Both languages are quite integrated in Dominique's mind; she is blending them, creating her own perfectly understandable language.

Maeve (Figure 10 Drawing keys) gives us a good illustration of the spelling of Englais described above. For New Zealand English, Maeve is unsure as to how to write it in French. She writes her own French version (Nouvelle-zélandé), which written in the standard way would be Néo-zélandais. Australian is written in English with the standard upper case and French is written in French, with the standard lower case (français). American (for American English) is written in French, again in lower case (américain).
Maeve is moving freely from one language to the next in her language key, showing how both languages are combined and overlap in her mind.

3.7 A FEW WORDS ABOUT ZOHRA

Zohra remained silent during the drawing task. Sonia asked her "You're doing a Moroccan thing Zohra? Tu fais un truc marocain là." (L85 in Appendix 3) in both languages, as if she was putting double the effort in order to get an answer. Zohra remains silent and nods instead in agreement, which is interpreted by Sonia who utters: "He ben ouais." (L86) (Well yeah).

Zohra, despite being silent, expressed her language reality in a very powerful way. The Moroccan dress that her character is wearing (Figure 9) has intricate and repetitive patterns, most of which are linked to each other, and coloured with all her languages, perhaps a way of describing the holistic vision of multilingualism, where languages are continuously blended and evolve in a fluid manner, with a fuzzy beginning and end for each language. Zohra’s languages seem present together everywhere, rather than being clearly separated and split on different body parts.
4. SUMMARY

We have seen, throughout this chapter, how students use the whole spectrum of their entire knowledge in order to compete with each other and have fun, showing a great deal of symbolic competence (Kramsch, 2009). The more proficient students are, the more they are able to be creative and have a powerful impact that goes beyond words, by crossing language boundaries, using their entire language repertoire.

Schooling plays an important role in dictating the appropriate language usage (Shohamy, 2006), in particular in terms of “formal written languages” (Shohamy, 2006:11). At Green Heights, from the very young age of five, children are taught two languages, separately, and are expected to reach monolingual proficiency in each language. In this context, students are submitted to a strict discipline. Firm boundaries between languages are imposed by the school and sometimes reinforced by parents (through the “one parent one language” approach for instance).

Even in such context, students have a tendency to cross language boundaries through their langue practices. The above data of spontaneous speech between three extremely vocal students confirms the holistic vision of multilingualism, where a lot of crossing and blending occurs between languages and varieties. Students show a great deal of creativity when translanguaging, by constantly crossing language boundaries, deliberately or not. This richness and creativity is not as widespread amongst monolinguals (Cenoz and Gorter, 2011). The multilingual students find their way between the repertoires and languages through various means, including their own linguistic creations.

These students often perform at school better than the average monolingual in each language in the later years of primary schooling (as their high Australian and French national test results confirm), and are also able to express their true multilingual identity by translanguaging. These transgressions, although discouraged in the school context, are what defines them as multilinguals.

It could be argued that the categorisation of languages in the school is beneficial as it results in high language proficiency in the students. In addition, by learning at school where the boundary lies, students are able to decide when and how to cross the language boundaries, thus expressing their real multilingual selves (Kramsch, 2009).

Additionally, by speaking several languages, students have more linguistic knowledge and are consequently more able to express their identity (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). The
more boundaries there are, the more opportunities there are for rebellious acts, the more subjectivity can be expressed. Both the concept of language boundary and the crossing of it are interrelated. Kramsch, (2009:185) talks about "powerful infidel heteroglossia", to express the idea that a great deal of subjective power can emerge from the rebellious act of translanguaging.
7. CONCLUSION

The bilingual program offered at Green Heights Primary School has the benefit of legitimising the French language by embracing it in a specific place (the spatial boundary of the school) and at a specific time. In many ways, the French Section redefines the spatial boundaries of this Australian state school, by adding a French reality to it.

Schooling here takes place between two languages of similar power, and the children benefit from such bilingual education by acquiring additional symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), through the learning of two languages, cultures and ways of thinking (García and Baetens Beardsmore, 2008). The participants in this study came across as highly competent empowered individuals, who had been enriched by such program.

The French Section allows students to reach near native competency in French by the end of their primary school years, when mainstream monolingual Australian schooling would have probably resulted in French attrition for many of the children (in particular for those living permanently in Australia with only one French speaking parent).

If we consider that languages have been invented, together with the nation states in which they are being spoken, the bilingual program described in this research is actually based on the same paradigm as monolingualism (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007), delivering two monolingual curricula side by side, in the context of two separate national discourses. Multilingualism, in this case, can therefore be considered as several forms of monolingualism.

Yet there is a discrepancy between the way languages are taught at the school (in a compartmentalised fashion) and children’s actual language practice, which is heteroglossic (Busch, 2007). The children’s interviews confirmed that the more language proficient they were, the more they could shuttle at ease between languages, using their entire repertoire as if it was one unified one. In the interviews, students, through their play with language, demonstrated how they were able to actively negotiate their identity, crossing language boundaries when they felt like it. Their translanguaging clearly disrupted the language categories imposed by the monolingual bias.

Students, through their comments and drawings, were also able to reflect on the separate national ideologies present at the school. Many of them seemed keen to locate where the boundaries between languages and national ideologies lie.
However, these boundaries are essential. The school, through its bilingual teaching, has a great impact on children’s identity, by providing them with additional language and cultural boundaries. The more boundaries there are, the more opportunities students have to transgress them (through translanguaging for instance), and the more they are able to articulate themselves, by expressing what they want to be. These transgressions allow the students to take an active role as agents. Boundaries are a prerequisite to enable multilinguals to grow, as they need these limits to be able to find the space between them in which to develop their own multilingual subjectivity; these occasional transgressions are highly beneficial to multilinguals and define them as such. In the words of Claire Kramsch (2009: 185)

"The ability to decide how to attach oneself to the world does not come from a lack of boundaries, but from the choice of which boundary to transgress" (Kramsch, 2009: 185).

Agence pour l'enseignement français à l'étranger [online] Available at: <www.aefe.fr >


Caulfield Junior College [online] Available at: <www.caulfieldjc.org.au>


Council of International Schools [online] Available at: <www.cois.org>


Ecole française de Melbourne [online] Available at: <www.efm.org.au>

'École française de Melbourne’ General Assembly, March 2011, personal notes


French National Education [online] Available at: <www.education.gouv.fr>


Naplan [online] Available at: <www.naplan.edu.au>


APPENDIX 2 - QUESTIONNAIRE

Background and language use questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In which language do YOU speak to the following people?</th>
<th>French all the time</th>
<th>French most of the time</th>
<th>French sometimes</th>
<th>French rarely</th>
<th>French not at all</th>
<th>English all the time</th>
<th>English most of the time</th>
<th>English sometimes</th>
<th>English rarely</th>
<th>English not at all</th>
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<td>Father</td>
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<td>Brothers/Sisters</td>
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<td>Friends in the Classroom</td>
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In which language do the following people speak TO YOU?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In which language do the following people speak TO YOU?</th>
<th>French all the time</th>
<th>French most of the time</th>
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<th>French not at all</th>
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<th>English most of the time</th>
<th>English sometimes</th>
<th>English rarely</th>
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<td>Father</td>
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<td>Friends in the Classroom</td>
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<td>Friends in the Playground</td>
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<td>Friends outside school</td>
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How old are you? ____________________________

When and how did you start learning English? ____________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________

When and how did you start learning French? ____________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________

Do you speak any other language? If yes, which one(s)?______________________________

What is your mother’s mother-tongue? _______________________________________________

What is your father’s mother-tongue? _______________________________________________
Transcript key

D: Dominique
M: Maeve
R: Researcher
S: Sonia

1  M: Dominique, Dominique, is... is... is Australian different than English? *(LAUGH)*
2  D: No. It’s the same thing.
3  M: Not really. It’s like “crickey me!” *(AUSTRALIAN ACCENT)*
4  D: I speak a lot of different languages. New Zealander, Australian, English, French
5      and... and Belgique... Belgium.
6  M: I’m a POM. I’m a POM. POM POM.
7      ...
8  M: Y’a français, y’a... y’a y’a y’a français Belgique, y’a y’a Nouvel Zélandais, y’a Australie.
9  D: Moi j’ai beaucoup de couleurs. Français. Français... français, anglais australien et
10     anglais américain.
11  M: C’est quoi... c’est quoi anglais américain ?
12  D: Moi j’ai anglais américain.
13  M: Speak, speak it. Dis. Allez Dominique !
14  D: Saturday and taaalk. I sawww and taaalked. *(BROAD AMERICAN ACCENT)* Je fais ça des fois.
15  M: I taaalked to Dominique totally. *(BROAD AMERICAN ACCENT)*
16  D: I saw this kangaroo in Australia. *(BROAD AMERICAN ACCENT)*
17  M: Yeahh, totally.
18  D: And on Saturday... *(BROAD AMERICAN ACCENT)*
19      *(LAUGHTER FROM Maeve and Dominique.)*
20  D: C’est trop bizarre leur accent. C’est trop bizarre.
21  M: I’m just going to do a dude with brown hair.
Mommy, Mom. (BROAD AMERICAN ACCENT)

And they say “hot dog” (AMERICAN ACCENT). That’s how they talk in NY.

Hot dog. (BROAD AMERICAN ACCENT)

Ok I can talk New...New...New Yorkee thingy.

But you don’t do it.

I don’t care I just said it (LAUGH).

Hmm interesting.

Very totally Dominique.

Yes lovely, she’s got pink hair. That was funny. Pink and purple hair...interesting.

Lovely, Lovely.(UPPER CLASS BRITISH ACCENT)

Totally. (BRITISH ACCENT)

Totally. (BRITISH ACCENT)

Totally. (BRITISH ACCENT)

Ok let’s stop. It’s a very bad imitation of British accent.

British accent?

British accent? Are you talking nonsense? (BRITISH ACCENT) (LAUGH).

Nonsense. Oh that’s jolly good! (BRITISH ACCENT)

Jolly good of you. (BRITISH ACCENT)

Fancy some tea Darling? (BRITISH ACCENT)

Yes I would thank you. (BRITISH ACCENT)

This is so random. (AUSTRALIAN ACCENT)

Ok, let’s stop doing the accents. It’s a bit weird.

Crickey! No I won’t.

Yes no crickeys either. (AMERICAN ACCENT)

Mine is going to be an Avatar person.

Avatar person! Laughter

What?
S: It's going to be from that movie thing, Avatar.

M: Avatar, you mean the blue people?

D: Lovely...lovely translation "blue people"! "Oh la la la la, vous racontez n'importe quoi". Les gens bleus. (UPPER CLASS FRENCH ACCENT)

M: Quoi les jambes bleues ? Ha j'ai cru que tu avais dit les jambes bleues.

D: Oui, c'était bien un accident ça.

M: Crickey mate, would you like to come for tea. Thé, for thé.

D: For thé, for thé?

M: Crickey mate, would you like to come for tea. Thé, for thé.

D: That's what she said!

M: That's what she said!

D: C'est pas très bien, hein ?

M: It's an object of some sort (AUSTRALIAN UPPER CLASS ACCENT). I feel like making him have animal ears.

D: Ohhs. Y'a un skate board dessus hmm.

M: Ouais, trop quoi (LAUGH).

D: Tu vas lui mettre quoi des roller blades après sur les pieds, ou quelque chose.

M: Mais c'est déjà des...no. Anyway, I feel like making him have...animal ears.

D: Tu vas pas lui faire des oreilles d'un ours ou quelque chose.

M: Non, pointy ears.
S: Mine is just a random alien.
M: Là je fais juste un outline pour l'instant.
S: Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq. Yes. That's right.
M: It's just random. I don't care, it's just like a devil or something.
S: I'm going to give it a bunny tail. (AMERICAN ACCENT)
S: You're doing a Moroccan thing Zohra? Tu fais un truc marocain là.
D: He ben ouais.
M: Cat woman, no it's a bunny woman now.
D: Bunny woman? Interesting.
S: Non c'est le...c'est le...c'est le bleu.
M: No that's bunny blue woman.
D: Avec des cheveux roses et...et violets.
S: It's blue bunny cat woman.
M: Oh my God, it's so weird.
D: Oh yes, agreed.
S: But...yeah (AMERICAN ACCENT).
D: Well mine is not any better, he is like a flag or something (AMERICAN ACCENT).
M: What?
D: Yes. Funny weird flag.
M: I keep failing to put my finger like that.
D: Moi aussi.
S: I'm going to keep it really like weird (AMERICAN ACCENT). Ca va être un très...choquant.
M: I'm going to make him have claws.
D: Ah, j'adore parler en franglais (LAUGHTER). Franglais...
M: Trop quoi Dominique (DOMINIQUE PRONOUNCED WITH AN ENGLISH ACCENT).
S: He is going to have black hair in his...like... He is going to have a tail. (AMERICAN ACCENT)
D: A tail?
M: Ya a tail. I know, I saw that...I saw the book...it’s like this sort of dog person dude. Like dog person dude (AMERICAN ACCENT). Because like...it was like...
D: Like, like (AMERICAN ACCENT).
M&S: Like totally (AMERICAN ACCENT).
D: C’est trop marrant. Moi je connais quelqu’un qui est trop énervante, attends, c’est trop zénervant. Elle sait pas dire une phrase sans dire « genre ». « C’est genre ».
M&S: Elle a dit « genre...genre quoi ». « Genre genre genre ». Elle casse la tête celle-là.
S: C’est genre, elle dit « genre ».
M: Ouais tout le temps.
D: Heureusement que ce n’est pas mon amie hein ? C’est celle de ma sœur.
S: C’est qui ?
D: C’est horrible. Tout ce qu’elle dit c’est « genre », « genre ».
M: C’est hmmm. Pas Marie, attends c’est Joséphine. La sœur de Géraldine.
D: Genre, Genre, Genre, Genre. C’est comme si quelqu’un disait « like » tous les deux secondes. Like, Like, Like this. She said like, like.
S: I do that sometimes.
D: Oui mais bon genre c’est encore plus horrible parce que c’est genre GENRE, GENRE avec son petit accent GENRE. (GENRE PRONOUNCED WITH A SOUTHERN FRENCH ACCENT)
(GENERAL LAUGHTER)
...
S: It’s going to be a princess. A cat thing.
M: What? Princess cat thing bunny person now?
D: Oh mon Dieu qu’est-ce-que tu nous fais ?
M: Oh my God that looks pretty. For some reason. (AMERICAN ACCENT)
D: Il est trop bizarre le tien Maeve.
M: Ben toi encore plus. (LAUGHTER)
D: Oui bon c'est vrai, c'est vrai, c'est vrai.

S: Et moi encore plus.


S: No, bunny cat princess thing with long hair Avatar.

D: C'est trop long. Eh faut lui faire un...faut lui faire un nickname. Sinon on ne va pas y arriver hein ?

S: Yeah. BonCatAva person. It's BonCatAva person with pink hair.

D: C'est toujours trop long. Not very short for a nickname.

S: Oh, I'm going to give the bunny tail purple spots.

D: Oh interesting.

M: Oh I know already what I can give him a name. Dog man or something.

D: Dog man seriously? T'as combien de couleurs sur ton truc, t'en as genre 4.

S: You just said “genre”!

D: I knowww! I'm getting used to it now!

M: Oh juste cinq phew. Exactement.

D: It's all her fault, not me.

M: Phew, parce que... I lost count of all like how many colours I was doing. And I was like, phew... (AMERICAN ACCENT).

... 

S: I'm going to give it undies on the outside.


S: Yeah, some big...some Bond's undies yeah.


M: Why is it always Bonds?

D: I don't know.

M: Especially for boys.

D: Yeah well Bonds...Bonds, Bonds is the Australian brand (AMERICAN ACCENT).

M: Who cares?
Even though they make it in China too, but you know. Everything is made in China.

It's like the making place.

Made in China.

Yeah it is so annoying.

It's like, it's like it's like a...

The industry.

C'est comme...C'est comme un pays industriel quoi. C'est...c'est le pays comme une industrie. Leur pays. Bon, ça fait pas du sens ce que je raconte moi.

What shall I use? Purple?

This is the most weird drawing ever, from my part.

Yes, agreed. Well mine is pretty weird too. The flag dude.

Pourquoi on doit faire cela en fait ? (FRENCH UPPER REGISTER)

Ben on va en discuter après. On va en discuter toutes les 5.

Parce que je sais qu'on est en train de faire...de nous taper la, la , la voix mais....
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