**Translanguaging Identities.**
**Multilinguals using linguistic repertoires to construct everyday roles**


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## ABSTRACT

This interpretive ethnographic study provides rich accounts of identity construction through the exploration of language use in everyday performance of roles within a group of multilingual speakers. Importantly, it yields insights into the interplay between the front stage of the role performance and the evaluations and emotions in the backstage. The 'front stage', in this study, refers to the public role performance, while the 'backstage' refers to the invisible complexities of perceptions, evaluations and emotions that are private. They are two integral and irreducible parts of the role played.

My analysis reveals that there is an intrinsic link between context, the performance of roles and language use. Importantly, this relationship entails perceptions of self and others and carries with it a thread of power, evaluations, and emotions. That is, it became evident from the analysis that the participants' choices of languages involved emotions in that they chose the languages they felt suited the situation. Additionally, there was an element of power in their choices in that they, at times, opted for the languages they perceived had more status in particular contexts. There was a constant evaluation of their views of themselves and those of others, which results in choosing one language and concealing another and reflected in their role performances.

This research sheds light on the importance of recognising that multilinguals' choices of the language to use in a particular everyday role and with specific groups of people is complex and involves many factors. Thus, one should abstain from imposing any forms of definitions on 'native' and 'non-native' speakers, which preserve a division that is embedded by autonomous language systems and tends to be hierarchical and, essentially, racist. Significantly, in this study, the use of translanguaging as a paradigm supports a rich description of how multilinguals perform their everyday roles.

Data was collected in the southeast of England over four years. My participants were seven multilinguals who spoke English and Spanish, amongst other languages. They were from different nationalities and have been living in the UK for many years. I collected data using various tools including semi-structured interviews, homemade videos that participants recorded capturing everyday life interactions within their homes, and reflective languaging conversations wherein participants shared their thoughts while watching those videos. Homemade videos and languaging, especially, were significant means that allowed this research to tap into the private and nuanced lives of multilinguals.

This study put a number of concepts together to help frame and articulate the findings including: the dramaturgical analogy of role performance and identity construction (Goffman, 1959); the private and public use of language (Vygotsky, 1986).

This in-depth qualitative interpretive study, inspired by a translanguaging approach (García and Li Wei, 2014), offers fresh insights into multilinguals' performance of their everyday roles. My findings have several implications on the evaluative element and the emotional investment aspect of identity across language use and role performance. My research positions translanguaging as a purposeful approach to research that contributes to social justice.

# Contents

This study explores how multilinguals use their linguistic repertoires to construct everyday roles. To do so, the current study looks at language use and its relationship with identity construction in multilingual speakers. Emphasis is placed on how identity is linked to multilinguals' use of their linguistic repertoire in the performance of their everyday roles from the point of view of the speakers.

This thesis presents a qualitative inquiry into identity construction in multilinguals in Southeast England. It draws attention to the nuanced nature of role performance; in that it reveals its complex relationship between the front and backstage of language production. The complexity of role performance is further extended by the hybridity that emerges from the analysis of data across participants and within the narratives of the same participant.

I start this chapter with the research questions and the aims of the study. Later, this chapter introduces the study, its relevance and rationale. A brief discussion on the relationship between identity and language use that introduces the major theoretical paradigms and methodological orientation that inform the thesis is also presented. The chapter concludes with an overview of the thesis structure in a mapped summary.

## 1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research seeks to investigate multilinguals' identity construction through language use. More specifically, it sets out to investigate how multilinguals use their linguistic repertoire in their performance of their everyday roles. This is an interpretative qualitative study guided by the following research questions that emerged from the research process:

- What are the links between language use and identity construction?
- Is multilingual identity enacted across different languages or is it framed by language?

The secondary questions that accompany the present enquiry include: What is language for multilinguals? What is the relationship between identity and context?

The scope of the questions incorporates different fields. It draws from sociolinguistics, anthropology and psychology to look at identity through the representations of self and groups

as identity markers in the participants' use of language. The study takes identity as engendered and negotiated in discourse: it shapes and is, in turn, shaped by context and the dynamic engagement of the participants. This interpretation of identity, by looking at language, allows to yield insights into how speakers represent themselves and others within a certain context to perform their everyday roles and, thus, construct their identities.

It was with these questions in mind that the first interview schedules were mapped. The first gathering of data brought back rich data. Some of the questions were answered and some unexpected findings emerged. It became apparent that the research needed to be refocused as the study developed to include not just the front stage of the role performance, but also the emotions and evaluations in the backstage. My thesis reveals that looking at both perspectives provides a holistic lens to analyse the nuances of identity construction.

The aim of this study was to look at language use to explore the construction of identity in multilingual speakers. The following section describes the background of the study and the theoretical concepts that support the framework of analysis. Centering the foci of the main themes of the questions that continued to grow as new findings lead to new themes.

## 1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This study started taking a wide look into language and identity, intrigued by my personal relationship with languages. Enquiring about how language relates to identity, some links between language use and identity traits of self-perception and belonging emerged. As the study developed, the emerging findings focused the research on deeper areas of language choice and identity: the emotional aspect of language use, the power at play and the complexities and nuances of role performance.

The study stems from my multilingual experiences from both my personal and professional life. I am a multilingual speaker of three languages. I have been living in the U.K for almost twenty years. The family I have formed is bilingual and I am part of a Spanish speaking community: a group of families that meet three times a year. I worked for twelve years as a teacher of English to migrant adults in a community college. For the last ten years, I have been teaching English as an Additional Language (EAL) in a secondary and sixth form comprehensive school with an international ethos where I teach EAL and support teacher training. I have seen people thrive and struggle as they embark themselves on an adventure

learning, living and functioning in a multilingual society with the predominance of English. Personally, the challenges and gains from the experience of living, working and studying in different languages played an important role in making me the person I am today.

Many, like me, immigrated to a place with a new language and a new culture. Speaking more than one language could be said to be quite common in the U.K where, every year, people from all over the world register to settle in the U.K. In 2017, there were 88,838 issues of registration certificates and registration cards made, which more than double the previous twelve months (41,615) (Home Office, 2017). Many people have similar stories about their relationship with English. The 2011 census showed that there were 850,000 people living in the U.K who could not speak English (Home Office, 2017). This study was conducted in the southeast of Essex where in the last few decades, from 1996 to 2016, the local community had seen an increase in the proportion of ethnic groups, particularly from Asia and Eastern Europe coming to the UK. This influx was analysed by the Thurrock Joint Strategic Needs Assessment for the Demographics and Population Change (2015) which point to the need for language support in local schools. Integration and language were closely associated. In fact, all those new arrivals are regarded as second language speakers and they are required to access English at one point if they want to access citizenship status, join the work market or function independently in the community. This double-sided reality brings to light a tension of inclusion and social independence. Tuckett (2014), citing the 2011 Community Cohesion report, contends that community tension is at its greatest when people do not build trust through day-to-day interaction. In our community in the last May 2016 election, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) won six seats. This reflects another tension in the community located in the context within which this research was conducted. Poor integration of settled minorities is clearly a heated political topic. After leaving the European Union, a process also known as 'Brexit', the topic has become more politically-charged, and the social and democratic stakes are higher than ever. The approach to integration seems to be a one-way monolingual approach.

This is the context where this study takes place. The next section discusses the relevance of the study and the translingual paradigm. Following that, the methodology of the study presents the steps followed and the reflection that is to accompany the researcher's decisions.

## 1.3 WHY HERE, WHY NOW, WHY US?

This section presents my personal journey as a multilingual speaker and the questions that moved me to embark on this PhD journey.

The concept of identity in the multicultural United Kingdom is not easy to define. I arrived as an overseas tourist, then I became an international student, a fiancée with the right to stay, a settled immigrant with the right to abode, and, finally, I was allowed to take the Life in the UK and the English tests to apply for citizenship. The journey was long and expensive, and I constantly felt the need to prove my worth by exhibiting my English fluency and my financial abilities. I, however, never felt I was contributing to anything by just being me. At the time of the first literature search, when there were many news and plans for the U.K to leave the European Union, the concept of identity in Britain in the literature reflected a mixture of cultural pluralism that is closer to citizenship and further from a shared 'Englishness' (Bagguley and Hussain, 2005). Their definition of identity is mostly a label for status in a host country, which relates to how the host country perceives the person arriving. This definition of identity represented me and it echoed identity as a social construct in relation to people and things outside ourselves within a sociocultural context (Burke, 1991), and through language (Pavlenko, 2006).

Questions around which language(s) to use as a family came into our house with our children. Before having them, the interaction between my husband and me was in English, which for me was an enriching language experience. It was when I had my first child that people started asking why I was not speaking to them in English. I could not help questioning them back: 'would you talk to your children in a foreign language?'. Nevertheless, I spoke English, I taught English, and I lived in an English-speaking country. I felt cornered by random people that would not concede that English alone did not cut it. Yes, English is an international language, but it is not my only language.

Outside the multilingual homes, English is the language of the majority and, sometimes, it is the prescribed language or even the imposed language. I recall an incident that happened one day at the playground when a mother whose second language is English, like me, addressed me and seemed upset. The deputy head of our children's primary school had told her that she should not encourage the use of her language in her house, adding that television time and family talk should be in English. Otherwise, the deputy head argued, her children will not learn English, and will not succeed in school. The message received was that language use was not always a personal choice.

From those questions about language hovering around my daily life, I looked into research on multilingual identities and debates regarding power relations when it comes to languages (Norton, 2000), and what does being a 'legitimate speaker' mean (Bourdieu, 1977). My experience was telling me that people might not all be equal after all, and that 'some are more equal than others' (Orwell, 1945). Furthermore, the metaphor of the animals in the farm is relevant to this discussion, as it brings to light the power tensions that multilinguals encounter in the performance of their roles.

To look at how multilinguals perform their everyday roles, I needed a paradigm that moved away from the binary divides encountered. It is there that translanguaging enables an exploration of the fluid and dynamic practices that transcend the boundaries between named languages (Wei, 2018), and which this study requires to include the whole of the multilingual speaker.

## 1.4 THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

The purpose of this section is to provide a succinct overview of previous works on identity and language to justify the gap in the literature. The section introduces the literature that, like this study, investigated the relationship between identity and language. It highlights the theoretical constructs this work is going to explore. This is further discussed in chapter three.

Translanguaging as the paradigm in this ethnographic study enables a dynamic exploration of multilingualism in ways that expose the threads across narratives and the wider context. The complex relationship between language, culture, and identity has been at the core of the immigrant experience for centuries. Some studies present the languages available to a person as linguistic resources linked to identity through the tension resulting from the negotiation of being a self in between two conceptualisations of the world in two different languages: Bakhtin (1981) presents the individual as constantly choosing from the different available discourses; Todorov (1994) in argues that migrants' linguistic experiences of two (or more) languages of one speaker cannot be considered mere discourses from which he can chose. Other studies describe how migrant language learners construct their identities in the process of learning new language(s) and socialising with the host communities (Norton 1995; Miller 2000; Morita 2004; Baynham 2009). The trend described by the literature, using Holliday and Amadasi (2020)'s definitions of thread narrative and culture blocks, depicts that across previous studies

there is a narrative of cultural differences that has the power to carry these multilinguals over the boundaries encouraged by the discourses of essentialist culture blocks.

In the works presented above we can see the complexity of identity formation, and how with each new inquiry, there is a new discovery in the interplays of language, culture, and identity. Yet, they all contribute to the understanding of the relationship between language and identity. Although there were not many studies outside education that explored my questions from an insider perspective. I am interested in looking at the relationship between language use and the assemblage of everyday roles to explore the perception of self and others in multilinguals' identity construction. As identity constructs, and is constructed by language, I am induced to believe that looking at one enables a glimpse of the other.

To discuss and examine language is more accessible than to discuss and examine how we construct our identity. To explore identity, this study builds on Vygotsky (1978)'s inner and social use of language. Language is the basis of Vygotsky (1978)'s ideas on social interaction. He stresses the role of social interaction and cognition stating that context has a key role in the process of 'making meaning' (Vygotsky, 1978). He recognises two different uses of language: inner speech and social speech. He defines inner speech as a form of internalised, self-directed dialogue. It is the use of language to talk to oneself. In this private speech, the use of language is for the self-regulation of behaviour. Vygotsky (1978)'s social speech is the external use of an internalised language to talk to others. Language is, therefore, key to thinking and, therefore, the understanding of perception of self. To do this in context, I build on the 'interaction order' of face-to-face communication (Goffman, 1959). Goffman (1959) offers a dramaturgical analogy of identity and theatre performance to look in detail at how we behave in the company of others and shows the awareness and attention that individuals pay to the context of the role performance. This is further developed in Chapter 3.

The study aimed to explore the links between language use and context to then dig deeper into the links between identity and language, and between language and context to see whether it is possible to look at language in context to explore identity construction. The parameters of the study would then lay within language use and the intersection between language use and identity to later review the links between them. The work is broadly framed within the identity of multilingual speakers in the hope of gaining an understanding of multilingual identity. Under the paradigm of translingualism, this study looks beyond the language used into how language

is used to construct roles in context. This said, it contributes to García (2008)'s vision of social justice of diverse language practices beyond educational contexts.

## 1.5 FOCUS OF THE THESIS

The focus of the study is on identity construction. More precisely, it focuses on the language aspect of multilinguals' performance of their everyday roles. To do so, the study looks at language use in multilinguals' everyday roles as an identity marker.

García (2009)'s advocates translingualism to break with the definition of languages as bounded wholes that can be added or subtracted. García (2009) instead uses the word 'dynamic' to describe how language is used:

> "...the world's globalisation is increasingly calling on people to interact with others in ways that defy traditional categories. In the linguistic complexity of the twenty-first century, bilingualism involves a much more dynamic cycle where language practices are multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act" (García, 2009: 53).

The definition of language as a verb prompts a dynamic approach to this research that privileges people's language practices over the standard rules and grammars of named languages. This perspective is also at the heart of translanguaging theory (García and Li Wei, 2014) which focuses the enquiry on exploring what multilinguals do with language.

Conceding that the scope of family language policy and intentions behind language use is not limited to bilingual or multilingual families, this study proposes to consider multilinguals' perceptions of self and others though their use of their linguistic repertoire to build upon García (2009)'s work on diverse meaning-making practices. I argue that diverse languaging practices should be at the heart of social practices.

## 1.6 RESEARCH AIM

As the aim of this research was to gain insights into identity construction through language, this study used a qualitative ethnographic approach. I deployed a number of data collection tools including semi-structured interviews, languaging, homemade videos, encrypted messages and reflections from the researcher's language journal. This allowed for a triangulation of data

and increased research rigour in this study. This is discussed more fully in the methodology, described in chapter four.

García (2009)'s lens empowers participants and restores their agency as multilinguals. Therefore, to seek possible answers, I interviewed a group of women from my community, a small minority currently living in the southeast of England, thirty minutes from London. I used semi-structured interviews; in that I had my interview schedules with a few questions that went in accordance with the themes I wanted to explore. The participants, nonetheless, led the way, triggering prompts with their responses. After the interviews, I had a glimpse of the participants' personal lives through the homemade videos that they shared. This method allowed for participants to share videos, if they wanted, and to pick the time and activity they wanted me to observe.

The comparison between the two sets of data shows that identity construction is highly complex. It also highlights key themes that oriented the research: a relationship between their language use and their sense of self: a complex assemblage of evaluations and emotion triggers between language choice and intentions that link to personal history and context at the time of speaking both at a personal and group level. The study incorporates languaging and homemade videos as data collection methods that, I describe, as participatory that encourage a researcher-participant relationship that is not hierarchical. In the five years that the study took place, I interviewed the participants who took the opportunity to choose the language of interviews and later provided me with videos of their daily life. I analysed the data and reported back to the participants the emerging themes in a reflective languaging session where the participants shared the evaluations and emotions in the backstage of their role performance. I understand that, as a researcher, I am both an insider and an outsider in this study and, I hope, that with the inclusion of participatory methods, I have shared this duality with the rest of the participants.

In the following chapters, this study is organised as follows:

Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework and paradigm and key concepts in the study.

Chapter Three discusses a review of the literature, it presents the current context of identity, how identity can be imagined from language use and the framework of analysis.

Chapter Four presents the methodology used in this study to achieve the aim of the present research. It delineates ethnography and the interpretative approach of this work. It describes the methods used to collect data and how data was analysed and presented through themes.

Chapter Five, entitled: 'The role of language in multilinguals', presents the themes of translanguaging, language as capital and the nuances found in the data.

Chapter Six, entitled: 'Individual identity: contradictions and superpositions of narratives', shares the themes of emotions, context and the influence of others that emerged from the participants' perceptions of self.

Chapter Seven, entitled: 'Family: where narratives of self and social roles converge', presents the family as defined by the participants and describes the family in the home and the roles performed outside the home.

Chapter Eight, entitled: 'Social identity: performing the multilingual self in wider contexts', presents my interpretation of the participants' roles from their narratives of identity in public contexts, the power of the bystander and the emotions and evaluations that take place in the backstage of language use and role performance.

Chapter Nine concludes the study with a summary of the findings, a discussion of cross-cutting themes and recommendations for future research.

The theoretical framework is the scaffolding of the enquiry. It is prior to the literature review as it relates to my views of the world from which the answers to the research questions are drawn.  The approach taken to explore the literature and arrive at the key constructs is informed by the researcher's beliefs and previous concepts of identity and a set of philosophical assumptions (ontological, epistemological, and axiological) that make the paradigm of this work. It is, therefore, important to first describe the paradigm that leads to the theoretical framework. This section starts with the theoretical framework and later moves on to present the theories that ground this study. Once the paradigm is presented, the next chapter reviews the literature and discusses the current research on identity to arrive at a definition of identity and language use in multilinguals and a framework of analysis to explore identity construction in this research project.

Although the theoretical framework emerged from the review of related literature, it was led by the research questions. This allowed a list of the constructs and variables that make up the conceptual framework of the study to emerge. The result is a unique combination of perspectives that merge theories from psychology and dramaturgy in a framework that explores identity construction in its multi-layered complexity. From those two fields, the study uses Vygotsky's concepts of inner speech and social use of language from cognitive psychology, and Goffman's metaphor of the theatre performance that delineate the different aspects that are at play in language use and support identity construction. From there, the study's framework of analysis was developed to explore identity construction.

The discussion of previous research supported the identification of the key concepts to find an answer to the research questions. There is a thorough description of how the literature was reviewed and an evaluation of the relevant theories and how the key concepts are defined and interconnected. The literature review helped me determine the current state of knowledge in identity and how this research advances the knowledge in the identity construction of multilingual speakers. This was led by the paradigm described in the next section.

The study takes a hermeneutic approach, relying on the researcher's subjective interpretations of the social phenomena and thinking. Considering the similarities between the participants' background and my own, I sit on a hinge between being a participant and a researcher, an insider and an outsider. The data is analysed in my interpretation of the triangulation of data between historical facts, participants' data and my personal narrative. Thus, the research findings are associated with my interpretations in the formation of knowledge.

The paradigm supports this study focusing on identity construction in the performativity of language. This research adopts the view that social interactions and the language used in them are context related. That said, the paradigm aligns with the fluidity of identity and language use in context. This paradigm relates to a way of knowing the world and how, in this case, it is negotiated through social interaction over and in relation to contextual social structures and resources. Unlike the myriad of studies on multilingual identity based in or around education, this research seeks to understand and describe short moments in relation to identity and language, rendering the thickness of everyday instances of role performance at the centre of the study. This is intrinsic to the ontology of the study. My researcher's views on reality, which are based on my personal experiences and contexts, led me to see the world as a place where there coexist multiple socially constructed realities, where knowledge is subjective and truth is contextual (Creswell, 2003); (Mertens, 2009). This view drives the epistemology of current research. The philosophical underpinnings are informed by the interpretative approach: reality as it is perceived or understood at a point in time. It follows that the methodology in the next chapter, as well as the methods, employed to answer my research were qualitative in nature: an ethnographic approach, using semi structured interviews, observations of the participants' homemade videos, their reflections and my researcher and language diaries. The techniques to analyse the data are also subjective and interpretative.

The poststructuralist paradigm holds all meaning to be fluid rather than universal and predictable. So, it requires an approach that moves away from a structuralist approach that identifies patterns in social arrangements, mostly notably language and identity. This alignment will have an impact on the definition of language and identity as the key constructs in this study and, thereafter, on the approach to the literature, the methodology and the data analysis. Following the paradigm and the research questions, this research takes "the purpose of an exploratory investigation is to move toward a clearer understanding of how one's problem is to be posed, to learn what are the appropriate data, to develop ideas of what are the significant

lines of relation and to evolve one's conceptual tools in the light of what one is learning about the area of life." (Blumer, 1969: 40, quoted in Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 65). The qualitative approach focuses on theory being a product of the research process. My work, and my focus on human behaviour, is led by interpretivism. Furthermore, as a researcher, I become the instrument of analysis, one more social actor interweaved and interweaving, constantly creating social phenomena and their meanings. In that frame, language is not perceived as an objective reality, but rather a point of reference and a product of social interaction that is in a constant process of being revised and formed. Rather than being explored in language as a structured code, identity is examined in translanguaging. The paradigm expands our current knowledge on identity as it prompts a new knowledge, a new making sense of the world. The alignment with the paradigm perspires across the study.

The study takes the view that language is contextual, and meaning is not fixed but a construct that resides in the spaces where, through dialogue, ideas, thoughts are exchanged.  It is through language that perceptions are also shared, making it possible to explore identity construction by observing multilinguals' use of their language. This dialogical view of meaning-making of language in context builds upon the work of the psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1978) who argues that human cognitive development is grounded primarily in dialogue with others. The theoretical stance aligns the work on the sociocultural approach to multilingual language use within the interpretivist paradigm. From this perspective, the data comes from observations and comparisons made from within the social context of the participants with a focus on what the user is doing with language rather than with a focus on which language is being used. The take on reality is that it is constructed inter-subjectively through the meanings and understandings developed socially and experientially, the study's ontology is relativism; the epistemology is subjectivist, i.e., this is a study of subjective experience and, therefore, needs to be understood subjectively/inter-subjectively with an interpretative methodology.

The paradigm is suitable to consider the questions leading the research. The question: 'how do multilinguals use language to construct their identity?' required the study to look at how identity is built through language in context and how that progresses in time. Previous research has demonstrated that identity is not a fixed, a stable concept, but rather a construct that is achieved through discourses in society (Holliday & Amadasi, 2017) consequently, it makes sense to explore language use in context to observe how identity is constructed using ethnography. Previous research on language use followed a structuralist approach to observe which language was used for which activity. This takes language as a set code used at one time,

not taking into account that multilinguals have access to a rich linguistic repertoire at all times. To keep our discussion on paradigms here, this is discussed more deeply in the next section. More recently, there is an expanding area of knowledge on multilingual use of language that challenges the monolingual approach, moving the paradigm away from structuralist orientations (Yang and Peng, 2019, Canagarajah, 2018, Wei, 2018), proposing translanguaging as a paradigm.

Translanguaging as a paradigm has an impact on the conceptualization of an individual's communicative competence and development in language learning, and on the reflection of new approaches to explore identity construction. As the study sets out to look at multilinguals living in the U.K, ethnographic translanguaging is a good approach to provide a deep insight into the multilingual identities. The data is to be collected from a series of periodic observations and interviews with participants and organised into recurrent themes. After this, a discourse analysis would focus on perceived gaps in the themes. A triangulation of data with a personal reflection on language use and the context will serve as an interpretative tool. This is a valid approach that is in line with the interpretative paradigm.

Translanguaging in this qualitative approach is more suitable as, on the other hand, a positive approach would focus on making sure that the participants were given the same questions under the same circumstances. Under that paradigm, the aim is to make a study explicit and standardised so it can be replicated by other researchers, strengthening the reliability of their findings. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that social world studies exceed universal laws and causal relationships this is a valid point in a social study like this one as it would have been impossible to replicate the everyday in standardised conditions. Not only because participants are from different countries and it is possible that they might use the same language in different ways, but because if we were to manipulate the variables, we would be interfering on a 'naturally occurring' conversation and tapping on the naturally occurring values made in conversation, tainting the data and altering the course of the away from the research questions.

As data analysis would look at language using language to explain it, it became apparent that there is an important piece that goes beyond the context, the participants and the transcripts and the impact, or insight, of the researcher. This role might derive from different positions that might be highly contingent, with sometimes more than one at work at the same time (McGinity, 2012). One way to acknowledge that is to look at the complexity of the researcher that shifts across identities using the concept of the 'liquid researcher' (Thomson and Gunter,

2011), moving from insider to outsider in a multi-layered, fluid positioning. In the same way, I intend to take inspiration from the social theorist Bauman (2000) to explore identity giving 'form to the formless' by reflecting on the 'fluid identity' of the researcher to reflect upon the language used by others while talking to me as both researcher and member of the same community. That position enables my identity as a researcher to remain in a state of constant becoming, not settled. Ethnography is a suitable method to integrate the researcher as it merges in the role of the researcher, rescuing the study from the 'us'/'them' view of culture (Holliday, 2017). The researcher needs to work at different levels: looking at data and managing their professional and personal integrity. In agreement with Law's (2004) assertion that research is a 'mess' and that the reality of conducting research in a dynamic setting, as in this study, might create challenges of logistics as well as interferences. The aim is to maintain a researcher position that questions and problematises aspects of identity construction through the observation of language use. The approach is similar to Holliday (2016b)'s description where Holliday and Amadasi describe their 'personal trajectories' (Holliday, 2016b:4) as a core element linked with the social structures within which we are brought up and that mediates and filters how our responses. In their interpretative work, Holliday and Amadasi distinguish grand and personal narratives; they acknowledge the researchers' varying degrees of awareness of the presence of the grand narratives in the research event. Reflecting on their work, to keep my awareness, I add notes from my researcher journal to invite the reader to observe my personal journey in my work.

Would the findings that come from this approach ensure that we get a better understanding of identity construction in multilingual speakers? Yes. Would it represent identity construction in all multilingual speakers? No. It goes against the view of this research to generalise the findings and claim that they apply to all Latin women, or any others whose native language is Spanish, and that they construct their identities in the same way. This would be an essentialist, perhaps even racist, concept that could only feed into the normalisation of stereotypes. It is my responsibility as a researcher to protect my participants from that.

The literature review that follows in the next section continues the interpretivist approach, leading the search through previous studies on the main topics of the research questions to define the main concepts of the study. The alignment with translingualism as a paradigm continues in the description of the context of the study and the researcher positionality and later in the methodology and the data chapters maintaining this theoretical approach to develop the understanding of multilinguals 'construction of identity in their everyday role performances.

This chapter provides a thorough review of the literature to support the present study. It aims at defining the main constructs in this research, discussing the current knowledge on identity construction, identifying the gaps in the knowledge of language use by multilingual speakers in everyday situations, and providing the elements that form the theoretical framework of this thesis. Following the paradigm described in the previous chapter, I interweave self-representations and inner and social use of language from cognitive psychology and a theatre metaphor from sociology to explore identity construction through language use. A backbone of positioning theory and languaging perspectives in the narrative enable both data and interpretation to emerge during fieldwork, interpretation, and the weaving of the overall writing.

## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

A thoroughgoing or all-inclusive review of the literature of identity construction even narrowed by language use would be impossible. Different sciences from sociology to psychology and anthropology have had plenty to say about identity construction. Therefore, my goal is to provide an overview of the literature within the paradigm of this study, to the present. Translanguaging as a theory of knowledge recognizes that multilinguals construct new understandings and knowledge, integrating their whole linguistic repertoire (Wei, 2018). There is an underlying hypothesis that the participants use their language to actively construct their identity.

Identity is known to be complex and is defined differently in various fields. For me identity is who I am. The dictionary defines it as the fact of being who or what a person is. As simple, and as convoluted, as that. Researching the literature, the reviews on identity construction are scarce and in previous studies, identity has different meanings where the identity of bilingual speakers is a complex construct usually aligned with the area of second language acquisition that this study addresses in looking beyond what language is used into how language is used. Identity relates to a bifold perception: the perception of self and the perception of self in relation

to others. Perceptions are rooted in thoughts and those thoughts are enacted in language (Vygotsky, 1986).

This chapter starts reviewing the current literature on identity and how it relates to language. After that, I define identity and explore identity construction for this study. I locate the current literature on language use and the links between identity and multilinguals to assemble the framework of analysis.

Identity, described as the self, is a complex phenomenon produced in and by individuals and their interchanges with others mediated by language and sign systems (Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky (1978) believes that language developed in and from social interactions to transmit information and intellectual adaptation is a cooperative development. It is important to notice here that from its definition, identity is linked to language. Language is where identity is presented, enacted, constructed and communicated through words. Language represents the thoughts of the individual. In his studies on the psychology of language, Vygotsky (1978) studies the dynamic social surroundings. In his observations of teacher and students, Vygotsky (1978) describes a relationship between thought and language where language has a double role: it is a psychological function and a tool that helps to form other mental functions. Vygotsky (1978) shows the inter-functional connection between thought and speech that even though they have different roots, they merge in the early stages of development, after which these two functions develop together under reciprocal influence. Vygotsky (1978) distinguishes two different types of speech: a private and a public speech. In external speech thoughts are embodied in words. In inner speech, words must sublimate to bring forth a thought. In both forms of speech, there is an association of language and thought where thought precedes language

Vygotsky (1978)'s sociocultural theory includes two aspects: the social and the psychological, with a focus on the dynamics of the social surroundings. His findings are still used in teaching and learning – inside and outside classrooms – to explore identity construction through language use. His work interrelates context, behaviour and the individual; the latter, although might be able to engage actively in learning, is dependent on the social context.

One critique that could be argued of the theory is that the socio-cultural context mediates learning and that might imply that the individual is attached to the collective and that all socio-cultural contexts would work in the same way which, for this study, brings here the question of what happens when a person emigrates to a country with different sociocultural background.

Identity has been looked at in the literature in relation to bilingual speakers. Khan (2020), for instance, in her narrative review considers the identity of students of English as a Second Language. She stresses the problem of the labelling of participants when researching identity in bilingual speakers and views it as an oversimplification of a sector of the population. She disagrees with the labelling of participants as English is their second language so they must be learners of English and therefore research in that area should feed into language acquisition pedagogy. In her study she describes how even though an ESL student is expected to be an immigrant, those who have recently migrated to the United States are in fact a mixture of immigrants, migrants and that most ESL students in the public schools were first generation students, U.S. citizens, born in the United States. She explores identity around five thematic points: generation, community, othering, transcaring and national identity concluding that the language classroom is a place of power struggle, where despite migration and education policies, students are subject to an othering labelling that separates monolinguals and bilinguals, where English is the most powerful language. This connects identity not only with the idea of who the person is, but how others perceive them which makes identity a place that is not static but contextual and, perhaps, not always connected with just a thought but with struggle (Khan, 2020).

With the question as a caveat, the cognitive approach feeds into this study as it connects inner thoughts with language use; therefore, identity construction and language use could be explored with a framework that takes into account how language is used, instead of what language is used, to explore the individual's perception of themselves and their relations to others to get a glimpse of their identity construction.

## 3.3 TRANSLANGUAGING

Language use in the twenty-first century involves a dynamic use of multilingual resources often characterised by the transient, momentary occurrence of creative features. That use of language by multilingual speakers is not the use of one code or another, or a choice of hierarchical

resources, but rather a dynamic, organic use of linguistic resources called translanguaging. In this section, I argue that translanguaging as a multilingual approach to language use is the most accurate approach to explore identity construction in this study.

In the previous sections, I presented the current context on identity construction and studies that looked at identity and language that inform the theoretical framework of analysis in this study for the exploration of language use to observe identity construction. I also showed how the use of the terms 'native speaker' or 'non-native speaker' perpetuate the monolinguistic approach to multilingual studies and that a change in terminology does not suffice, that there is a need for a multilingual paradigm. I have advanced the discussion to show that data on multilinguals' identity construction in language use cannot be fully understood as simply the use of separate conventionally named languages or separate modes. I also demonstrated how the use of terms such as 'native speaker' or 'non-native speaker' perpetuates the monolingual approach to multilingual studies. I further argued that a change in terminology does not suffice, requiring a multilingual paradigm that focuses on the actions of multilingual speakers and goes beyond traditional. In this section, I present how current literature lays the path to data collection through languaging and data analysis in terms of languaging.

With the dynamics and complexity of communication – in person or virtual – where people from various and diverse territories encounter one another, language and identity became a focal point in recent studies. This body of research into language and identity critically reflects on developments in language use and argues for the need to shift the paradigm of language research in multilingual speakers from a monolingual perspective to languaging: more of a holistic and organic approach. The term languaging was introduced by Swain, (2006a) to refer to "the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language" (Swain, 2006a: 98). Since then, an increasing amount of empirical research has examined the occurrence of languaging and its impact on subsequent language learning. While there have been significant paradigm shifts in conceptualising language in applied linguistics and in critiquing the historical monolingual bias in the discipline, monolingual approaches continue to dominate language exploration. To carry out an exploration of language use by multilingual speakers with a monolingual approach would limit and, quite possibly, have negative consequences for the positioning of multilingual speakers. Instead, the use of languaging and translanguaging perspectives offer an opportunity to study meaning-making that challenges the dominant monolingual orientation and instead favours a paradigm shift in the conceptualisation of language use and identity construction.

Growing up, speakers learn to vary their language based on their participation in various peer groups, social situations, or differences in their peer's race, class, and/or gender. This is in any language. I use various languages in different situations. For instance, I do not use the same language to talk to my children that I use to talk to the children I teach in school and that language is different from the one I use in school to talk to fellow teachers. The proposal of languaging does not challenge here code switch. In my experience to switch languages is 'normal' in the sense that it is not unique, this is not unique to multilingual speakers, and it can be a case in monolingual speakers. The root of the problem is to perceive language as static individual places into and out of which speakers go. An alternative perspective involves thinking about language as an action to perform many tasks. One of the uses of language as action is to enact relations with others—known as languaging (Suzuki and Storch, 2020). The approach of using languaging as a lens fosters a critical perspective to explore language use that is not judgemental.

The concept of languaging has been there for a very long time in distributed cognition, anthropological linguistics and systemic functional linguistics, as well as in the sociocultural theory of second language acquisition. Languaging presents a dynamic approach to language as behaviour, or whole-body sense-making. The term stems from Maturana (1980) and has come to represent '*a renewed attempt to better understand the materially embodied, culturally/ ecologically embedded, naturalistically grounded affect based, dialogically coordinated and socially enacted nature of languaging as a form of whole-body behaviour or whole-body sense making'* (Thibault, 2011: 211). Languaging is action, a complex and dynamic activity that takes into account real time events where events are co-created by co-acting agents. This approach rejects the idea that conceptualises language as a pre-established system to move towards an approach where the dynamics of languaging come first and the symbols after (Jensen, 2014). In his work, Jensen (2014) argues for a view on language that separates language-as-a-system from language use: an activity or behaviour that considers the emotions and evaluations that Goffman (1959) describes as the backstage of the role performance and language productions, the emotions, and thoughts.

Jensen (2014) uses video recordings to study therapist patterns of language use in different interactions between children with special needs and couples in therapy claiming that language use intertwines language use and emotions. exposes how previous conceptions of language as an a priori code-like system to communicate have been an obstacle for an integrated view of emotion and language that entails a dynamic sense-making process of evaluating, positioning

and aligning as well as the use of words to communicate. Emotion and affect become part of the linguistic activity: languaging becomes the first order activity and the use of language to communicate the second order. The alignment of language as real time behaviour gives us a holistic approach to language as human behaviour that includes emotions and affective evaluations that enable the study of identity.

Language as a part of human behaviour raises conceptual and methodological challenges: it presents the question of how this behaviour differs from other types of behaviour in regard to intention and sense-making. Jensen (2014) argues for a social and a biological construct where emotions are enacted in language in a social and biological act. In the previous sections I presented how in the backstage of language use, actors' emotions and self-evaluations in relation to others are at play in language use. The intention here is that in the same way that Jensen (2014) supports the exploration of language to study emotions, which are rooted in an evaluative act that is observable in languaging. This study explores language to observe the evaluation of self, the perceptions of self and the perceptions of self in relation to others in language use.

There is a growing body of literature in the field of education that explores languaging. Languaging is what mediates thinking, a psychological tool to internalise new ideas and talk ourselves into understanding something we did not understand before (Swain, 2013). Languaging is where identity could be explored. Beach and Bloome (2019) present a variety of studies that explore diverse aspects of languaging with the perspective of language as a series of ongoing and evolving interactional social actions and processes over time. The studies start from the premise that languaging shapes and is shaped by emotions and actions. They show how languaging fosters and supports students' intellectual, social, and affective worlds (Beach and Bloome, 2019). In relation to language and identity, Bloome, et al. (2019)'s chapter on Languaging Personhood in Classroom Conversation documents how the students' languaging enacts a set of ideologies of personhood at local, face-to-face levels and at broader, societal levels, as well as the evolution of the languaging of these ideologies of personhood both occurring during that specific classroom.

Languaging is the use of language to make sense of the world. It has been explored in the literature on multilinguals in education. Languaging is the use of spoken or written language to think through a problem: through language. Suzuki and Storch (2020) present empirical research on languaging in language learning and teaching focusing on different aspects of

languaging conducted in diverse instructional contexts, collaborative dialogue, oral self-directed talk, written self-directed talk in Spain, Chile, China, Saudi Arabia, Japan, and Iran; Spanish as a heritage and foreign language learners in the United States and the United Kingdom; and German as foreign language learners in the United Kingdom. The vast amount of work in second language studies support the different and novel approaches to research on languaging and the opportunities and barriers in different educational and linguistic contexts.

Vygotsky (1986)'s insight into the relationship between language and thought discussed earlier serves as the basis of the argument I present here: languaging is the valid method for this study. Although previous studies focused on languaging in English language learners: languaging about language is a strategy in social speaking or writing to access and develop second language proficiency. Languaging is the use of language as a psychological tool to mediate thinking about other issues beyond language (Swain, 2013) it is an everyday occurrence that can be prompt in adults with a cognitively challenging task (Suzuki and Storch, 2020). In our everyday lives, when talking to ourselves when part of the inner language comes out as we are trying to make sense of a thought, that is languaging. Languaging helps here to observe that shaping and reshaping of identity is used in this study to elicit private speech and to try to access the emotions, evaluations, and thoughts that are behind language use that enable us to explore identity construction.

A problem at the stem of the study that identifies a language with an action is that it predisposes the outcomes by taking language as a fixed entity. In descriptions of that interlink activity to which language is used here, the expectation is that there is one language that can be measured and an identity that can be entered into a box, the box can be ticked, the participant labelled. That gives a space for a stereotypical plotting of the population that not only labels the person using the language, but also limits their capacity to change. This fosters a culture that makes multilingual speakers, like me, feel that we are betraying one community, or another based on the language we use or fail to use described in the literature as 'linguistic stigmatisation and language-shaming' (García, 2009). If language and identity are contextual, how can they be fixed? If at any point multilinguals do not differentiate between languages in their private speech that accompanies perceptions and precedes language use? Why, if it is not divided for the speaker, should there be a divide from the outside, from the researcher? García reimagines the use of languages as 'languaging' a verb, as 'it is through languaging and ethnifying that people perform their identifying' (García, 2010: 519). She uses 'translanguaging' to describe the act performed by bilinguals when accessing different linguistic features or various modes

of what she describes as autonomous languages, to maximise their communicative potential. Translanguaging considers the use of different languages as one linguistic act. It is about communication, not about bounded languages, which makes it an appropriate approach to wave the different aspects at play in identity construction.

Translanguaging first emerged in Bangor, Wales, in the 1980s as 'Trawsieithu' (Lewis, et al., 2012). This Welsh term was first coined by Cen Williams and was later translated into English as 'translanguaging'. Cen Williams and his colleagues were researching strategies that would allow the systematic use of both Welsh and English in a single lesson in a classroom setting. Translanguaging as a practical theory of language highlights the added prefix *trans* to languaging to stress the fluid nature of practices that transcend bounded languages, as well as the transformative capacity of translanguaging as a process of cognition and the transdisciplinary consequences of the re-conceptualisation of language based on the premise that multilinguals do not think unilingually and thinking goes beyond language (Wei, 2018). This means that, at all times, multilinguals are using of all of their linguistic resources to process and make meaning, and that there is not a compartmentalisation of languages in the backstage of language use because even if we could name the different languages used at any given time, the mind cannot be divided into languages and, in that process, humans think beyond language. In that perspective, translanguaging can support the exploration of identity construction by putting the focus on how language users go through diverse meaning-making in their thoughts and emotions to assemble their identities in their strategic and communicative use of their linguistic repertoire.

Translanguaging takes a post-structuralist view of language where language is fluid and dynamic. García and Wei (2014) carefully present a case for translanguaging as a transformative approach that invites multilinguals to bring all their linguistic wealth to the classrooms away from monolingual 'academic standard' practices (García and Wei, 2014: 47). When languages are no longer regarded as systems in communication, and when the scope is altered from the binarism of the monolingual lens to focus on translingual practices; the question is no longer about which language is used and more about how language is used. This moves the enquiry to the user's agency, the context, the aims, the diversity translinguals have the capacity to transgressing boundaries in communication. Structuralism encouraged scholars to consider language, like other social constructs, as organised as a self-defining and closed structure, set apart from 'spatiotemporal context' (Canagarajah, 2018:31) has the capacity to

translanguaging has the potential to transform learning experiences and, beyond that, the socio-political order by creating spaces for multilinguals to honour their identities.

The concept of translanguaging is covered by works on languaging, polylanguaging, and flexible multilingualism but in García 's description of the concept of translanguaging as a fluid and dynamic '*corriente'* (in Spanish: flow, torrent) there is also a manifesto, a pledge for social justice. In this study I refer to languaging as the reflective practice done in language to explain, justify, rationalise a problem and translanguaging to define language use in multilinguals. Translanguaging is the use of the linguistic repertoire that, as a researcher, I see as an ethical social value. Considering that García, et al. (2021) is writing about translanguaging in a context where the English Language Unity Act of 2019 was approved with twenty eight of the fifty states have passed a law for English language legislation for all public transactions, all the forms needed are to be done only in English, García's corriente is a stand for equality and inclusion. Translanguaging focuses on multilinguals' languaging practices that transcend boundaries between named languages and between language and other semiotic systems. It is very much built on the concept of languaging with a focus on multilingualism. This means translanguaging can be both design and interaction, a tool for learning that can be planned as a resource for students in the design of lessons, but also an action to communicate that is unplanned. It can be used not just to communicate as the transformative effect of translanguaging can create safe contexts for multilingual speakers to use all their socio-emotional-linguistic potential. The individual's unique positioning in language which is easier to think in the context of curriculum content in a democratic classroom, but the classroom is a regulated place where behaviour can be modelled, prompted yet what happens at break time? There is a need to shape the narratives on multilinguals that position multilinguals as the other, created in the boundaries of 'block narrative of cultural difference' (Holliday and Amadasi, 2020:8). Translanguaging as an ethical approach is also needed in terms of understanding as a basic value within a diverse society where different languages coexist not only to advance knowledge, but also to advance social justice.

There seems to be a scarcity of studies that use languaging. Those appear to be even harder to find outside the field of education, adding more weight to the present research and its importance. More studies need to utilise languaging and accompany García, et al. (2021)'s recent work on translanguaging pedagogy as a political act, which offers a critical response to the monolingual bias of the current educational policy to better still as the foundation of inclusive environments. Makalela, (2014) looks at identities in multi-ethnic and multilingual

students through metacognitive reflections of languaging experiences in multilingual speakers in Johannesburg. Makalela, (2014) observes highly complex interwoven identity negotiations using languaging. The translanguaging approach showed that participants used their linguistic repertoires to construct fluid versatile multi-layered identities that shifted as the participants disrupted the traditional linguistic code use, through choosing who they want to be. Multilingual spaces reflect the fluidity of identity and highlight the need to expand knowledge into hybrid language use and identity. Many speakers in this study live in the U.K but if 'home is the place where the heart is', it is divided across countries, that is hard enough, and they will continue to live 'transbordered lives' (Kleyn, 2017). We need more bridges and less borders, to see people through labels is limiting and damaging. This study calls to build an inclusive society. We must find a way to include and empower multilingual understanding by opening third spaces, so they become safe spaces.

This study of identity in languaging is likely to retrieve a plural view of self. If I dissect the data collected into languages and activities, what is happening in the backstage of the linguistic act: the evaluations and perceptions that take place in the privacy of inner speech I risk aligning a certain language to certain motivations and fixing a type of identity to a certain language. As the activity in the backstage precedes language use, the description needs to start with the thoughts, or the evaluations that paved the way for language use. Translanguaging, as a theoretical compass, enables an analysis that moves away from a question on which code is used that sets the pattern that we are all monolinguals, some with an additional language. Removing the hierarchical tally of languages and the monolingual myth, an organic flow of linguistic repertoire supports the exploration of the features of translanguaging to help us understand human use of language.

In this study, the analytical approach on language use is followed to examine identities as socially constructed in interaction, considering how the participants mobilise their multilingual repertoire in the messy contexts of their everyday lives, where communication is mobile and complex. Guzula et al. (2016) argue that despite the paradigm change in the conceptualisation of language in applied linguistics and in the criticism of the historical monolingual bias; the monolingual approach continues to dominate multilingual research (Guzula et al., 2016). To navigate with an organic use of language, languaging is used, as described above, to take data not as a speaker using one or another language, but rather as a whole person using their linguistic resources. Because language is a human construct, there is no reason to expect modes of languaging to be homogeneous. Therefore, research should give room for a hybrid, personal

use of linguistic resources: to allow that sometimes when there is a need to communicate, language is a bridge The path of language practices and meaning-making, however, is not straight forward. There is a need to continue with a theory that advances knowledge about identity construction in multilinguals. Translanguaging is sometimes perceived as opposed or in competition with terms like codeswitching, bilingualism, multilingualism when what translanguaging proposes is a different approach to the study of language use. It presents a theory of language that provides an adaptive space which considers the motivations and values of the use of multilingual resources. In Wei (2018)'s the prefix 'trans' in translanguaging refers to:

- the fluid practices that go beyond, i.e., transcend, socially constructed language systems and structures to engage diverse multiple meaning-making systems and subjectivities.
- the transformative capacity of the translanguaging process not only for language systems but also for individuals' cognition and social structures; and
- the transdisciplinary consequences of re-conceptualizing language, language learning, and language use, and working across the divides between linguistics, psychology, sociology, and education. (Wei, 2018:19)

In the three points presented above, the approach to language use as fluid practices moves the study away from the code skill approach. The transformative capacity allows for an exploratory approach to power without imposing a clear-cut resolution and the transdisciplinary reconceptualization opens the door for the cooperation of social sciences. A study of language would tend to argue for an integrative view on individual languages finding it problematic the cross contamination of languages. Instead, translanguaging moves away from the old concepts of native/ foreign, first/ second language speakers and welcomes the mess of the everyday.

Wei (2018) proposes translanguaging as a theory of language that emphasises the multimodal nature of language use. The focus is less on language accuracy, the skills in the language and more on the motivations and the emotions behind the use of language. Wei (2018) proposes translanguaging as a theory of language use, for it emphasises its multimodal nature and focuses less on language as a skill and more on the motivations and emotions behind its use. This view is congruent with this study in that it looks at identity through everyday linguistic patterns. A classic code-switching approach would assume a single language default: a monolingual approach to bundled languages. Using translanguaging as a practical theory might

not offer predictions on multilingual speakers, but holistic interpretations. To do so, researchers present their observations in rich descriptions that can be useful to interpret everyday practices, like this study on identity. Similar to the present study, Wei (2018) is concerned with everyday language practices of multilingual language users that raise questions beyond language management and focus more on matters that are central to linguistic sciences by. This is achieved by focusing more on what people do with language.

Translanguaging has proven to be an effective pedagogical strategy that focuses on the meaning-making that empowers students and teachers as a result. Translanguaging is not an object but rather a practice, a process of knowledge construction, or meaning made that goes beyond language use. Because language is the medium, the second-order construct, languaging is the first-order activity: 'language serves as a vehicle through which thinking is articulated' (Swain, 2006a). The reconceptualization of language in light of translanguaging is a dynamic organisation of processes that enables to look beyond language into the exploration of the first action, in this study: identity construction in the everyday. Translanguaging has been identified and discussed within education under pedagogical translanguaging. This is a practice that is consistent with the original conceptualisation as it refers to a specific pedagogical strategy planned or facilitated by teachers and based on the use of students' whole linguistic repertoire. Arguable, it would be interesting to include "spontaneous translanguaging", as suggested by Cenoz and Gorter (2017), which refers to "the reality of bi/multilingual usage in naturally occurring contexts where boundaries between languages are fluid and constantly shifting" (Cenoz and Gorter, 2017: 904). As there seems to be a dearth of research on spontaneous translanguaging, this study focuses on this form of everyday language use. Translanguaging being an analytical perspective on multilingual practices. I acknowledge the complex and heteroglossic nature of the everyday use of language and I argue that translanguaging provides a transdisciplinary lens through which we can enquire how multilinguals construct their identity and make sense of themselves.

Summing up so far, there is an intrinsic link between language and thought. Furthermore, translanguaging is language used by multilinguals. Building my understanding of identity from Vygotsky (1978)'s correlations between language and thought as identity is a thought, a perception of self enacted through language. This could be divided into two aspects of one whole. There is an individual and a social aspect of identity. This relates to Vygotsky (1978)'s inner and public language: an inner speech kept inside and a public speech where inner thoughts are enacted and shared. Likewise, identity has an internal, psychological aspect and an external

social aspect. Based on the perception of self, there is an intimate, individual side of identity, and a social identity that amounts from the perception of self in relation to others. These two identities are interconnected within the individual; they are two sides of the same construct that occur simultaneously at any given point. In this sense identity is influenced by the internal back dialogue that happens within the individual and by contextual factors of place, activity and others. A framework to explore identity construction should be able to account for both parts of identity. As language and thought are both contextual, the framework of analysis should take into account the different spaces that are at play within context. The following figure illustrates the concepts discussed above.
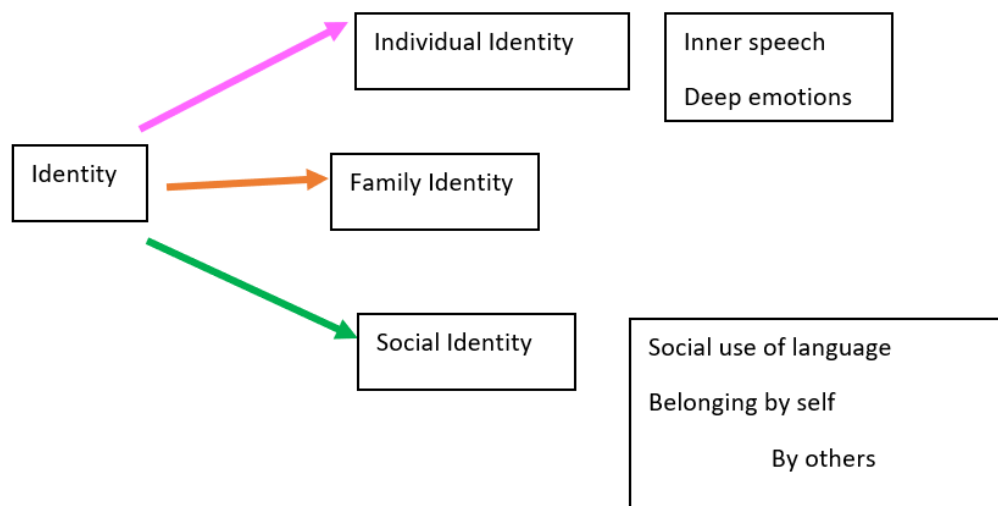


Identity elements in a diagram

Both language and thought emerge and create their context. That dialogic feedback is captured in Goffman (1959)'s metaphor of identity construction and a theatre play. The diagram connects the two theoretical perspectives to the framework: identity construction and translanguaging. It allows the exploration of the different sides of identity considering the social and the individual use of language. However, as multilingualism plays an important role in the negotiation of identity, the theoretical framework of this study needs to include a concept that takes into account the position of the person in context, so that the various aspects influencing them are captured. That said, the next section addresses context and speakers' positions.

The roots of western identity construction of the inner self begin with the Greco-Roman persona, focusing on the way this concept indicated both: self and mask, or self and public presentation as the true nature of the individual (Schwartz, et al., 2011). From the very roots of its name and the meaning assigned to it, identity has a link to the roles assumed in society.

Ervin Goffman (1959) presents these two aspects of identity most eloquently in his analogy of identity and a theatrical performance in everyday encounters that is still relevant today. From a sociological perspective, he describes identity as a presentation of the self, a *persona,* in peoples' performances of their everyday lives. In social interactions, people are actors on a stage performing a role for an audience. According to Goffman (1959), individuals are actors who have different personas they perform based on the audience they are interacting with. The social *role* assumed plays a vital role in the persona that is given out; the movement from one social role to another is based on the audience. By adopting Goffman (1959)'s view of identity, the contextual and dynamic traits of identity become apparent. The fact that these encounters are lodged within larger cultural units that Goffman (1959) calls "*culture scripts"* that actors follow. With this in mind, questions are raised regarding the role of society in identity as well as the possibility of change that brings to the discussion on the fluidity and fixability of identity.

If identity is contextual and if the perception of self is linked to individuals' inner thoughts and conversations with others around them, then it seems hard to believe that people would have the same identity at work with colleagues, at home with children, or in a whole new country. This makes me believe that identity is more flexible than fixed and that scripts might be given but not all actors would play them the same.

Going back to Goffman (1959), he notes that other fellow actors – the people to whom we speak – in the context of the performance are called "*teams*", and that the context within which this performance takes place is a "*stage*" Goffman (1959). He distinguishes between fellow actors and the audience. These conceptual distinctions are discussed more fully in chapter nine while pinpointing the role of the onlooker in the data. In this analogy, the success of a performance relates to how good an actor can be at wearing their persona mask and the extent to which the core self is engaged in the act of self-presentation. On stage the actors use language socially and in that they start meaning making and making sense of their identity. How they perceive themselves, how they perceive others and how they think others perceive them.

Out of the stage's spotlight, there is a more private area where actors, according to Goffman (1959), can be their true selves: the backstage of the performance. This part of the actor's self is connected to the performance, but as there is not an audience, the performer can relax; "he can drop his front, forgo speaking in his lines, and step out of character" (Goffman, 1959:488). Like the backstage in a theatre performance, this is a restricted area where the audience does not have access. This intimate aspect of identity incorporates the emotions at play in our identity and it is Goffman's originality (Giddens, 2009).

There is another aspect to Goffman's (1959) conceptualisation of identity. The incorporation of emotions adds an extra layer to the dynamics of identity and the theatrical metaphor makes a concrete example of what is simultaneously at play in everyday encounters. Although with this metaphor, Goffman presents a 4D framework to explore identity that links language and thought, he did not present more detail on the interaction model of those encounters (Turner and Stets, 2005). This study could, therefore, advance our knowledge in this area by looking further and deeper, taking into account how the inner language and the emotions behind language use, and the expectations from cultural scripts on the outside have an impact on the construction of identity. Goffman (1959) does not state whether fellow actors have access to backstage or whether they are able to get a glimpse of the actor's inner thoughts and emotions. Would that give others access to a more private self? Or would that just move the performance to a new stage?

In his analogy, Goffman (1959) presents the self as highly social, the result of individually staged projections and responses taking place in social performances. (Goffman, 1959)'s dramaturgical approach is an unusual approach to picture identity that works well because it binds together the social and the individual sides of identity as a construct that is both contextual and dynamic. In my experience speaking different languages to different people, I can relate to the description of various social roles being performed for different audiences. Goffman (1959)'s work draws from autobiographies and case studies and, although it provides insufficient detail for others to check his observations, his analogy works to give a picture of the different aspects of identity. I am particularly interested in exploring identity construction in the context of the moment to later hypothesise identity in a continuum. Given the social triggers that the audience and fellow actors pose on the performer on stage, as well as what takes place on the backstage of the performance where individuals are in contact with their emotions, questions are raised regarding the extent to which actors are their truest selves. An

inquiry that follows is the extent to which actors are immune to the outside world when they are at the backstage space.

### 3.4.1 STIGMA

Later in his research, Goffman (1963) describes stigma. He explains that in a performance or in social staging, actors might display stigma symbols. These are signs that draw attention towards a stigma in their identity that he defines as "a discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity" Goffman (1963:12). Stigma comes from a special relationship between a person's attribute and a stereotype that they might or might not want to hide (Goffman, 1963). This can also occur in 'reverse passing' Goffman (1963:57) where the person exposes their differentness to others overtly, which functions as a way of meeting expectations and minimising the social disruption and discomfort that arises when expectations are confounded (Goffman, 1963). In the context of this study on identity construction in multilingual speakers, I consider questions that relate to who imposes a stigma and who receives it, who is able to do a reverse passing of identity, as well as the different social aspects of identity and power dynamics that bring the discussion across the thesis related to identity and power and the dynamics that brings to individual and social performance of roles.

Goffman (1959)'s work presents in one analogy the interplay of social and individual identity. Even if the study is over fifty years old and the description of the data analysis framework is reduced, it has been widely influential across social disciplines: sociology, psychology, anthropology, and linguistics. In a review of Goffman's work, the critiques of the analogy of identity construction with a theatrical performance were summarised by Giddens (2009) in four points. The first of these is the status of the dramaturgical metaphor; the comparison between identity construction in an everyday exchange and the construction of a role for a theatre performance does not keep to a one-to-one definition. I believe this is because they are, basically, not the same thing. Goffman acknowledges that this is a metaphor, which does not fully capture real life because in a theatre performance, actors have time to rehearse. However, according to Giddens (2009) something that Goffman (1959) does not push for is a model for those encounters. In my view, it works effectively to make less abstract all the aspects that are at play at the same time. Therefore, I agree with Giddens (2009) in that the critique of the metaphor is not pertinent, in any case I think it is a matter of personal preferences to go along with the metaphor or not.

Secondly, Giddens (2009) posits that another critique has to do with the absence of a discussion of power. This is the absence of a discussion of power; this is something that Goffman does not describe in any of his works (Giddens, 2009) and a discussion of power in everyday exchanges would acknowledge an important input into role building. In this study, power is an important factor in the relationship between language use and identity construction. The third critique discussed by Gidden (2009)'s is the lack of a sense of history or institutional change in Goffman (1959)'s work that, even though it describes interpersonal interactions in situations of co-presence, it could have made links with the context of those interactions, again, following on his metaphor, these would have been part of the stage of the performances. Gidden (2009)'s fourth critique is the ambiguous role of "reflexivity" that is attributed to the weak presence of the author in the text. On the one hand, Goffman makes a detailed description of the actors building up their roles on and behind the stage. On the other hand, Goffman presents many fictional examples to support his analogy; the few case studies and observations are not analysed. In any case, the analogy ignited in researchers the curiosity to explore further. Goffman (1959)'s metaphor was original at the time he was writing, and it still presents a concrete example of the many complex aspects at play in everyday life interactions.

Identity is made of an individual identity and social identity, both separate and part of the same. Following the paradigm of the study, the literature review takes the whole and parts of identity as dynamic and inherently collaborative. I understand it as a complex multi-layered construct: a juxtaposition of layers made of the perception of self, our perception of others and our perceptions of how others perceive us. An image that is time and context bound, just like my perception, you might look at it from your own perspective. To convey the time and context, I continue with the visual analogy; the observation of the researcher may be like looking through a kaleidoscopic lens, where, with the same beads, every time we look through it, a fresh picture is offered time and time again. Even looking at the very same picture at the same time, different people looking through the same lens will see something slightly differently. It is as if each person arrives to observe it wearing a multi-layered set of cellophane glasses. Their glasses are tainted by their views and their context: layers of cellophane in front of them, colour after colour, creating in front of their eyes a unique image of the other that contains also part of the researcher. This makes identity ever changing and ever perceived differently at the same time by different parties.

Translanguaging identities have been the focus of previous studies. Wei and Hua (2013), for instance, in their research on Chinese students at UK universities aimed at investigating the

triggers and the consequences of specific actions, as well as other people's reactions to them. To do so, they have gathered data following a social network sampling within an 'observation zone' with a focus on creative language use where data was gathered through LLTT: Looking, Listening, Talking and Thinking and languaging: metalanguaging data that captured how the participants were trying to make sense of the world. Although in this study a group zone discussion is not possible, Wei and Hua (2013)'s approach enables to gather the perceptions of self and others from the participants and to capture their thoughts on language use. Their study highlights the use of language to create new social spaces and transnational identity construction. Their main focus is on language use and it provides a clear framework of analysis that complements Goffman's metaphor of identity construction, an identity that is.

Reflecting on the literature and the research questions, this study locates identity as intersubjective and aims to explore how identity is achieved as a social and cultural phenomenon and how it emerges in people's use of language in interaction.

## 3.5 IDENTITY: THE CURRENT KNOWLEDGE

Taking identity as a construct that is both social and private, I present previous work on these two separate and simultaneous sides of identity in two sections for clarity purposes.

Identity construction starts from the time we arrive in our families, our first group, where a first language is acquired. With(in) that group we use language to learn to name and describe the world around us, we learn a way of life, a place in our community, our identity. In those groups where we acquire our language there is an identification process in which we learn ''what is what' and 'who is who'' and an identity develops in the perceptions of belonging.

Drawing from Goffman (1959)'s work on face-to-face encounters, Jenkins (2014), from a sociological perspective, explains identity and its individual or collective expression, as a construct that derives from our perception of self in relation to others. His critique of Goffman (1959)'s work is the formation of the actors' selfhood and the motivation behind identity construction. His take on Goffman's work is that in the embodiment of social routines and rituals, the selfhood of the individual actor is depicted as a hollow vessel of societal traditions.

We gain traits of the groups we are part of and make them part of our identity, but identity goes beyond the regurgitation of scripts. In agreement with Jenkins (2014), I view identity as a co-construction of who we think we are, which is intimately related to who we think others are,

and vice versa. So, groups are important in the shaping of our selves. A person may belong to different groups including family, colleagues, swimming club, university. One of those groups we belong to is around a shared language. Jenkins (2014) explains that there is a close relationship between language and identity through a sense of kinship associated with language because language bonds people together (Jenkins, 2014). Using that language, we learn to mean and gain an understanding of who we are and who others are; at the same time, we acquire an evaluation of group affiliation.

When we associate ourselves with a group, it entails that we see ourselves as having things in common with some people and being different from others. Group affiliation is based on the groups that we think we are similar to or different from. Jenkins (2014) argues that the minimal reality of this groupness is developed because the members know the group exists and they identify themselves as a part of it. The evaluative take on our relationship with others brings to the table the concepts of 'us' and 'others' that can be controversial. Jenkins provides a discussion on the use of the vocabulary suggesting that words like 'we' and 'us' should be approached with extreme care as they are extremely consequential (Jenkins: 2014: 23). But without those vocables of identification, he explains, people cannot relate to each other meaningfully or consistently. Accordingly, he proposes a framework for social identity built on constructions of identification of self and others, based on perceptions of similarities and differences, that result in a unique individuality and a shared collectiveness that interplay. Jenkin's work shows how our identification with groups impacts on the construction of our identity. I understand that the interplay of our perceived commonalities and differences vis-à-vis others is what helps us shape who we are. That relationship, however, is not as simple as all or nothing, rather it is an association in a gradient. I see myself as an Argentinean, but I do not particularly like football or red meat. I see myself more of a vegetarian, with an eco-friendly approach to the food I buy and the rubbish of which I dispose. Another example I can take from my personal journal on my use of language relates to a particular informal language, referred to as 'voceo', that is not used in other Spanish speaking countries. Living in the U.K. and being an active participant in the Latin community, I have adapted my vocabulary to match the people to who I speak, albeit with no intention. Reflecting on it, I have done this all my life as we moved from city to city with my father's work. I attended eleven schools; I can imagine it was prompted by the need to fit in as I was quickly moved every couple of months because, arguably, it made the conversation flow easier. I have adapted and the incentive came as I moved places and met new groups of people, outside of my family's circle.

Outside the family's circle, we associate ourselves to other groups by reconciling ourselves as part of them. Those groups might have different or opposing traits between them and they might only have in common the presence of the same participant. A confluent juxtaposition of groups with the individual at the centre. At that very point in the core there is something unique to the self that goes beyond being a string that joins this assemblage. These groups may vary in beliefs and might sometimes be opposite each other; in those circumstances at the hinging point is the uniqueness of the individual. You and I might belong to the same couple of groups, but how many times can different people be the same?

Membership to a group might sometimes might not arise from a person's sense of belonging. Others can assign identity to an individual. Powerful caretakers and authorities can ascribe group membership from the outside, sometimes by applying stereotypical categories (Jenkins, 2008). This is a 'spoiled identity' (Goffman, 1963) that occurs when the individual's actual social identity is not perceived by others and a virtual social identity based on superficial social cues is given. Goffman (1963) brings to identity formation the perceptions of how others perceive an individual. That discrepancy, gap, is what Goffman (1963) calls 'stigma' (discussed earlier) is a gradient. In this instance, it seems that the individual is not actively negotiating their identity, and they are more a recipient of their identity. A matter, described by Goffman (1963), as one of imposition and resistance or arguably acceptance and compliance that could be seen as an implicit theory of power (Jenkins, 2008).

The multiplexity of life, described by Goffman (1963) as a sequence of frames where actors' interactions are negotiated, incorporates the private and social identities of the individual including the deep emotions that are off the social scripts. This depiction of self and social identities allows us to see the private, or behind the scenes. However, this interaction is not always as predictable and tidy as Goffman (1963) seems to portray it. Instead, here Jenkins' (2008) proposal appears more plausible. Jenkins' contribution briefly describes the impact that the wider society has on social identity construction when we ascribe ourselves to different groups and when our affiliation carries a stigma to the fore.

The importance of the context and identity in Badwan and Hall (2020) discuss how individuals inter/intra-act with spaces, places, objects and artefacts in different or similar ways. This relates to the attention to emotions in "sticky' places" (Badwan and Hall, 2020) that is not only aligned with post-humanism but has the potential for opening a window onto the intersubjectivity of

the researcher and the participant to foreground how they collectively construct meanings and report emotions influenced by the politics of research events (Holliday and Amadasi, 2017).

Normann (2018), similarly to the present research, investigates identity construction within a small minority group of multilingual speakers. He looks at the interplay of belonging to a previous and a new country in the Chinese community in Norway. He views identity as a sense of belonging to get a glimpse of the negotiation process of identity and belonging and the role their beliefs play in these processes. The complexity of belonging shifts the perception of identity from a state of possession to a process of construction and reconstruction. Normann (2018) argues a globalisation theory that describes immigrants increasingly relating and feeling more 'home' non-territorial groups with a decreasing role of national state.

## 3.6 IDENTITY AND POWER

Identity is a social construct; the way individuals position themselves and are positioned by others depends on where they are, who they are with and what they do. This entails an evaluation of self and of others. The social self is positioned in relations of difference rather than of unity (Delanty, 2003). Reviews on identity in second language speakers is relatively new as it mainly started in the 1990's (Block, 2010). Previous work looked at the identity of second language acquisition drawing from different social sciences, for example, Norton (1995) that looked at social identity in second language learners redefining identity as a multiple construct positioned in a place of struggle between social and individual variables. As knowledge progressed, it described identity as complex, contextual and negotiated through language: context changed, and research started to move away from a constructivist paradigm. Later work showed how, through language, a person presents their perceptions of themselves and others, mapping intersections and revealing the relationship between identity and culture (Boylorn and Orbe, 2016). Identity was shown to be constructed through narratives with various levels of success (Holliday and Amadasi, 2017). The literature suggests that it is important to consider the individuals in context to explore the strategies they use to represent themselves and others in the negotiations of power for the right to speak or their decision to remain silent, confidence, motivation and investment used to build social identity.

Research on multilingual speakers and their non-Anglophone contexts is important since in such contexts the spread of English may also have far-reaching consequences. Previous studies

on identity in speakers of English as a second language looked at the motivation and dynamics of identity negotiation predominantly in education in relation to migrant language learners (Block, 2010). Important points to consider include power relations and the extent to which a bilingual belongs to one community or the other (Norton, 1995; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). These poststructuralist approaches to the study of social factors in second language learning, with strengths and weaknesses, have contributed to major insights into identity construction (Block, 2010).

Previous literature on multicultural identities shows that there is a power relation debate between a speaker's different languages. In a study of second language speakers living in a new culture, Norton (2000), raised the enquiry from asking: 'who am I? towards: 'what am I allowed to do?' to explain the relationship between culture and language, articulating identity as a shifting construct linked to language and the individual's access to social resources. In Norton (2000), language is capital, a definition introduced by Bourdieu to represent the users' mastery of language and the roles and norms related to it (Bourdieu, 1977). If language is associated with capital and cultural capital is a product accumulated over a long period of time, and how this capital is seen in its objectified state depends on the availability of other similar resources, what is the situation of those that have emigrated? And, as they continue living abroad, would they use more of their new resources? Would that have an impact on their identities?

## 3.7 ENACTING IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE

Identity and language are closely linked as learning to speak is described as learning to mean (Halliday, 1975). Saussure (1959) describes how the signifier – the word we utter to name something – and the signified – what we name – are closely bound by social agreement, although this link is arbitrary rather than logical by social agreement. Meaning is gained through affiliating with something larger than oneself as every word carries within it the contexts where words have been (Bakhtin, 1981). If language represents reality and reality is represented in language (Wittgenstein, 1961) language constitutes meaning and a context where individuals position and are positioned, what is the situation of multilingual speakers? Is their identity the same in different languages? Could a language limit identity? Is identity the limit of language? The relationship between language and identity is so close that it raises questions regarding what could be won or lost with the gain or loss of a language? In the same

vein, this research wonders about the impact of acquiring a new language on identity: will identity be enacted in different languages or would languages develop identity?

It follows from the above discussion that individual and social identities could be defined as interactional products of external and internal identification. Based on the idea that language and culture are related, and that the participation is a language community tends to imply the participation in a culture – and vice versa –, questions are raised regarding what happens when we emigrate at an adult age, knowing that our self-identification is built on our difference and similarities to groups we are born and bred into.

Previous studies on multilingual speakers looked at language use and identity, highlighting the importance of the social, relational and contextual factors of language use (e.g., Kanno, 2000; MaKay and Wong, 1996; Miller, 2000; Mills, 2001). Showing that as culture is transmitted through language and that the relationship between language and culture goes beyond the indexical one there seems to be a link between language and to our social identity that some people feel is a moral commitment to a language (Fishman, 1996). The perception of commitment is not to the language in itself, to that particular system, but to the social group where the language is clustered. Identity in wider literature is defined as a broad and open-ended construct, linked to language as a place of social positioning of self and others (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). It is in language that 'othering'; 'us' and 'them' appear (Holliday, 2011; Kidd, 2002). This is enacted through interaction as interlocutors negotiate their expectations, roles and responsibilities (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005); a dynamic and emergent process: something that we 'do', as opposed to something that we 'are' that is static. The product of ongoing negotiations between interlocutors (Widdicombe, 1998) is a sum of fragments of identities that emerges from social interaction (Hall, 2001: 263). That mutual co-construction of identity shows that identity is a complex construct that contains a person's life, a language, a role related to a group membership, a participant of a culture. Identity seems to be each and the sum of all. Each one adds to make the whole. Perhaps that total amounts to much more than the sum of the parts.

This study would have been less all-encompassing if the aim was merely to identify participants' identities with no intention of interpreting what takes place in their language use and identity: the thoughts, intentions, and feelings in the inner conversation behind identity, or the backstage of language use. This study is set to trace ways in which the participants have come to represent themselves and others whilst they live their lives as multilingual. The next

section reports on positioning theory and how it provides the backbone to explore identity construction.

As identity is constructed on the perceptions of self and others, positioning theory offers a social approach in line with the paradigm of this study that seems to offer a structure to hold the framework of this study. A 'position' is a collection of beliefs that the individual has about their rights and duties to behave in a certain way. Positioning theory stems from social psychology and role theory in sociology and provides a critical approach to the exploration of translanguaging (Hamman, 2017).

Davies and Harre (1990) describe positioning as 'the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines' (Davies & Harre, 1990: 48). From this I understand that we act and talk in a manner that we think is in line with the beliefs we have of our role in certain contexts. In this study, Goffman (1959)'s analogy of identity construction and a theatre performance works alongside positioning theory to look at the individual's perceptions of their given place in relation to others. Although Goffman (1959)'s description entails that roles are static, albeit the caveat that roles are more dynamic and fluid (Giddens, 2009), it provides ground to develop a more concrete framework of analysis. Positioning theory supports the framework of data analysis as it allows exploring the inner and social use of language and the dynamism of identity construction.

Positioning theory offers three domains to explore identity construction. First, the position is a cluster of rights and duties, Secondly, the desired role at the time language is used, what the person aims to achieve; needs to achieve. Thirdly, what type of positioning is being done and for what purpose the positioning is being undertaken, clarifies the direction for the positioning strategy's development.

> "…based on the principle that not everyone involved in a social episode has equal access to rights and duties to perform particular kinds of meaningful actions at that moment and with those people. In many interesting cases, the rights and duties determine who can use a certain discourse mode…A cluster of short-term disputable rights, obligations and duties is called a 'position'". (Harre, 2012: 193)

The theory in this research presents a space to have discussions on positioning that, like those on power, are discussions that are not easy or neat, but rather complex and messy, where positioning can be perceived to destabilise but they are needed to enter DeCentered spaces as proposed by Holliday and Amadasi (2020). Using positioning theory in the description of the data supports the assemblage of the participants' storylines and, in turn, the storylines will support the positioning of the participants that might enable to expose if there is any misalignment of words, actions and supporting storylines. As identity is constructed based on self-perceptions and others' perceptions of the self, the identity that the participant aims to fulfil might not coincide with the identity imposed by others. As discussed previously regarding power dynamics, who has the right to do something who has the right and who has the duty brings to the table a powerful tool to understand different narratives that do not coincide. This research aims to do that. To explore identity construction in language use under the translanguaging paradigm and positioning theory is social justice.

### 3.9 EMERGING FRAMEWORK

To explore identity construction in adult multilingual speakers, it is important to consider a framework that enables the merging of identity and language use concepts. Identity is an everyday word, yet a complex construct so here I present the characteristics of the concepts needed to unpack the construct of identity and discuss their inherency to current paradigms. As individual and social identification come in interaction and language, the aim is to build up a framework that considers both the internal and the group perceptions contextually. In this section, I present the various concepts that I have put together to construct the framework of this study – to unpack the construct of identity. It starts with multilingual identity and how the private and social sides of identity relate to the private and social use of language in the performance of roles. I also discuss how this framework is cognate with the paradigm of this research.

The study explores identity construction in multilingual speakers through language use. Therefore, the framework needs to consider their experiences constructing identity in a new context. The inclusion of the interaction with context moves away from the fixed role from role and positioning theories towards a more organic relationship with context and the construction of a more fluid identity where identities are able to shift.

The question of the study requires multilingual speakers, and the exploration of identity through the interpretation of language use. Therefore, the framework of the study needs to consider how the linguistic resources available are used and the elements at play in the rationale. Bourdieu looks at people's everyday actions and their relations with context, which he sees as a factor that produces and transforms attitudes.

> "Reality and people are 'processed' through the meaning machines that constitute our sign systems; but the signs in those systems mean nothing in themselves; they only 'mean' insofar as they are part of a sign system and can be related to other signs in that system. This means: objective structures produce people, their subjectivities, their worldview; and, as a consequence they also produce what people come to know as the 'reality' of the world; and everything, object and idea within a culture only has meaning in relation to other elements in that culture."
> (Webb, et al., 2010:21-22)

The above description of the relationship between language and reality puts the importance of the meaning behind language as a code and relevant for this study the subjectivity is in relation to the other. In their assessment of self, the participants are not isolated, they are surrounded by those fellow actors and the audience described by Goffman (1959). The framework of the study needs to assemble the richness of that inter-dialogic aspect of identity.

Jenkins (2014) states that the most significant contrast between individual and collective identification is that they emerge from interactive relations of difference and similarity respectively. Norton (2000) states that identity emerges not from who I am. And that the question is instead, who am I allowed to be? In both cases it is not the self, but the self in context. The framework for this study needs to be able to explore identity as the fluid result of an interplay between social similarities and individual differences. This is not two separate parts, but rather one phenomenon, an entangled one taken from different angles. A take from psychology focuses on the individual whereas sociology and anthropology stress on the collective. Although that is not as straightforward and clear-cut, it could be represented in two overlapping Venn diagrams: the individual and the social identity with their similarities and continuity and their differences and ruptures. In this study, it would be interesting to compare the participants' perceptions in their identity and their language in a context where they have access to different languages.

While working with multilingual speakers, it is important to consider their membership to ethnic and racial minority language groups. A framework to explore the multicultural identity of second language speakers living in the U.K. should contemplate their memberships to their 'small cultures': a cohesive social grouping (Holliday, 2012). In this case, participants from different countries gather around their first language as opposed to the 'large culture' of the majority language accessing and creating a possible third culture with their linguistic repertoire. In this framework, the parameter to divide is not size but the degree of imposition which might be useful to an interpretative process on how interpersonal communication occurs, becoming aware of the reification of culture in the standardisation expected from large cultures.

Previous work on identity as a socio-cultural phenomenon used a multi-layered framework (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) 's study looks at the construction of identity as it is constituted in linguistic interaction and through language. They argue for an analytic value to approach identity as a relational and sociocultural phenomenon that considers five principles. The first principle reflects an individual's internal mental state and emerges from linguistic anthropology and interactional linguistics. The second principle is positionality, an element to investigate the flexible kinds of identity that arise in local contexts and transitory interactional positions. These first two principles relate to the ontological status of identity. The third principle, indexicality, is concerned with the mechanisms whereby identity is constituted. It involves the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings. Based on the emergent, positional, and indexical aspects of identity and its production of the first three principals, the fourth principal: relationality, looks at identity as it acquires social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors.

The principles of indexicality and relationality take identity as interpersonal and contextual. Indexicality captures the dynamic social process through which identities are constructed and claimed in interaction, bringing forward the idea that identity is not a state, but rather an ongoing work among interlocutors. Relationality emerges from the view of identity as constructed in intersubjective achievements, i.e., not in isolation. The framework's fifth principle attempts to capture not only this dynamic, but the entire multitude of ways in which identity exceeds the individual self. Because identity is inherently relational, it will always be partial, produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other.

These concepts capture complementary identity relation pairs: adequation and distinction; and authorization and illegitimation. Adequation emphasises the fact that individuals might be positioned as alike or by distinction/ differentiation. The pair of authentication and denaturalisation are the processes by which speakers make claims to realness and artifice or crafted or false. Identity is also built by a pair of intersubjective relations of authorisation and imposition related to the structural and institutional aspects of identity formation. The first of these, authorization, involves the affirmation or imposition of an identity through structures of institutionalised power and ideology, whether local or trans-local. The counterpart of authorization, illegitimation, addresses the ways in which identities are dismissed, censored, or simply ignored by these same structures (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

This study is framed broadly within identity construction. This social phenomenon provides rich data on multilingual speakers' use of language to construct their identities. The research adds to the overall understanding of what happens when people immigrate to a country with a different linguistic repertoire, generating a broader understanding of their intercultural experience. As the chapter progressed, I presented the theories and literature that informed the concepts that are part of the framework of analysis in this study. Below I present a diagram of the theoretical framework I have constructed and which, I argue, has the potential to explain and deepen my understanding of identity construction in language use.

The focus of this study is identity construction through language use. This is a complex construct that is made of the perception of self and the perception of others and the perceptions that we think others have of us. This differentiates a social and a private side of identity
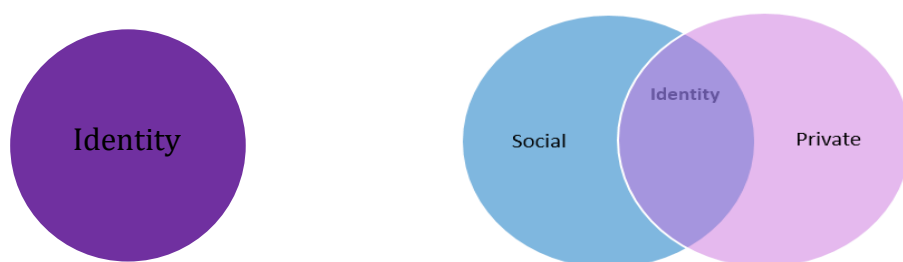


The two sides of identity are always in interplay with each other. They are teased apart for the purpose of the study, but this is never the case in real life, nor are the lines so clearly divided. The social side groups the social roles that we play or that we are given; the private side is the more private side and represents the emotions in the backstage of the role played, the thoughts on the roles we aspire to perform.

To explore the performance of roles, positioning theory puts identity construction into context. Language use in context is divided between a social use of language and a private use. The diagram below puts together language use in context:
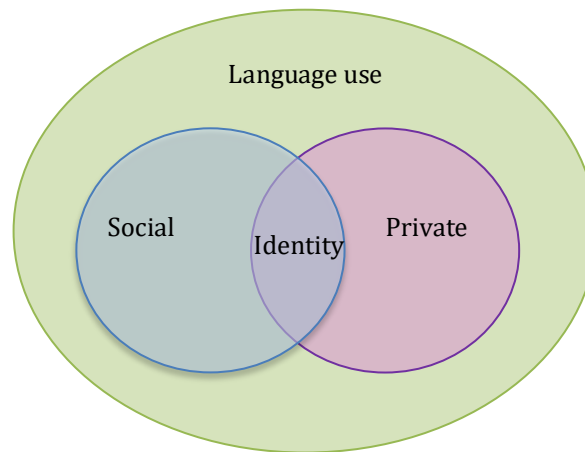


In the diagram, language use and identity are both subjective and contextual. The fact that identity and language use are rooted in meaning-making, which makes language use a good starting point to observe identity construction. It allows reflecting on the positions that multilingual speakers occupy.
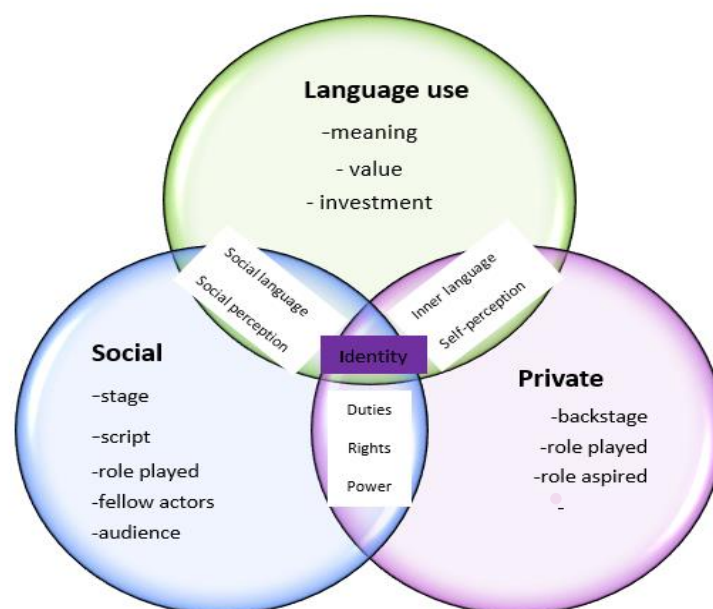


The above figure connects several theoretical perspectives to the framework that I will use as a basis for data analysing. The two sides of identity and language use converge, and at the

centre, is identity. At the top of the figure is language use. The research establishes what using a language signifies for the participants of this study which enables a deep analysis of their social and individual roles in context. At the bottom left side of the figure is the social side of identity construction, where the participant's role is played, the contextual factors of stage, fellow actors and audience are discussed. Between this area and language use is the social use of language and the social perceptions of others. To the bottom right corner of the figure is the private side of identity where a discussion of backstage, the individual's role, and the role they aspired to is discussed. Between the private and the individual roles there is a merging section where duties, rights and power dynamics take place. Between the private side of identity and language use is where the private use of language and the individual perceptions take place. Identity is at the intersection of it all.

## 3.10 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, from the relationship between language and identity construction I have presented the steps that I took to approach and select the literature that supports this study. The literature related to identity and language use enabled me to construct a framework to look at identity construction in language use. This section brought together the different parts of identity: individual identity, social identity in the context of language use and key themes that relate to those parts.

## CHAPTER 04: METHODOLOGY

My research seeks to investigate the identity construction of multilinguals through an exploration of their language use. The research questions are:

- What are the links between language use and identity construction?
- Is multilingual identity enacted across different languages or is it framed by language?

This chapter discusses the methodological approach that supports this qualitative ethnographic research with autoethnographic accounts. It highlights a reflective triangulation of different data sources to show how multilinguals leverage their linguistic repertoire to construct their identities as they forge alliances, adapt to context and reject stereotypes. It is divided into six sections:

- The first section describes the suitability of an ethnographic approach to collect in-depth data that would portray nuanced experiences and perceptions.

- The second section describes the research design. It is divided into two subsections. The first describes the approach that led and influenced the literature search. The second subsection looks at the researcher's role as an insider/ outsider, as well as the reflexive process undertaken by the research.

- The third section looks at the methods used to collect data. It is divided into four subsections, one for each method: interviews, homemade video observations, researcher's journal and languaging.

- The fourth section looks at the data analysis process and data presentation.

- The fifth section describes the ethical considerations, the limitations, the validity and the trustworthiness of this study.

- The last section describes the recruitment process and introduces the participants of this study.

### 4.1 ETHNOGRAPHY IN CONTEXT

In this section, I discuss the methodological approach that influenced this interpretative research aligned with translanguaging as a paradigm. The first subsection shows the reasons

why, in the current context, ethnography is a suitable approach to explore identity construction and the next subsection describes how a thread of autoethnography complements the research approach. The study took over six years, during which there was a strong pull away from systematic research, England stopped being part of the European Union and there was a long period of lockdown due to Covid-19.

Ethnography in this qualitative study is a step away from the previous systematic research approach that enables direct access to the practices of a group. In the last couple of decades, systematic reviews developed within social sciences and played an invaluable role in clarifying what is known and not known about the issues they considered from different perspectives at particular points in history (Gough and Thomas, 2016). The call is for researchers to examine research and knowledge from multiple perspectives to facilitate the inclusion of different voices and, therefore, contribute to building a wider space to engage with research. At a time when there is a gradual shift from the structuralist paradigm and a call towards translingualism in modern linguistics (Canagarajah, 2018). This justifies a move away from research that qualifies populations under labels that expect new data to mould and allows for the unexpected to emerge. Considering this, ethnography allows for a combination of an empirical and a theoretical approach. It is an interpretative, reflective social approach to carry out research that bears a close resemblance to how people make sense of the world in everyday life (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

### 4.1.1 ETHNOGRAPHY AND IDENTITY

Ethnography helps the researcher collect data over time and conduct an in-depth exploration of a certain phenomenon – identity in multilingual in this study. One of the advantages to using ethnography is that it gives an opportunity to interpret social life (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Hammersley and Atkinson's general understanding of ethnography:

> "We see the term as referring primarily to a particular method or sets of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions—in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007)

Following the paradigm, the study does not set up variables to measure; ethnography here allows the study to carry out a non-prescriptive, interpretative social investigation (Holliday, 1994). The paradigm calls for a methodological approach that includes the voices of multilinguals. Ethnography has historically been the qualitative approach for social exploration as it allows us to look at the singular and the concrete. It is the approach needed to describe the cultural characteristics of groups over time and get a glimpse through language at the construction of identity as it captures social meaning in context with the researcher participating directly in the data collection (Brewer, 2005). Ethnography gives the study the advantage of accessing 'real world' data with the possibility of an in-depth understanding of people. It does come with the disadvantage that data is messy and unstructured yet, without pre-set variables it allows the unexpected to surface. Despite that, ethnography allows a holistic description and search of cultural themes in data through a rich description of context and cultural themes.

In this case, the researcher is very close to the participants as part of a small language community, and it is a valid point to expose this relationship, the process, and the product of the study to the readers so that they can make their own conclusions. Therefore, in order to keep a simultaneous look at the researcher and the object of study, an auto/biographical approach is also taken into account.

### 4.1.2 AUTOETHNOGRAPHY THREAD

The researcher takes an insider view to access social spaces and look at identity in second language speakers living in the U.K. from the perspective of a second language speaker living in the U.K. Therefore, it seems that a parallel set of data from a personal journal that takes an autoethnography might expose the researcher's personal journey to other readers.

There is a body of research that discusses the advantages and disadvantages of being an insider or an outsider to the group they were investigating. They could be understood in terms of a binary relationship: the researcher as an insider is close to the data or the researcher is an outsider with more objectivity. Previous studies state that perceptions where the researcher is an insider, whilst having the advantage of an opportunity to have a closer look, might have an impact on the interpretation of the data. McGinity (2012) warns of the limitations of reflective practices if the researcher falls short of presenting their position within the narrative. On the other hand, there are ethnographic studies that highlight the importance of the researcher's

closeness to participants to make data collection less formal (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Previous studies have used a critical autoethnographic approach to look at everyday interpersonal and cultural experiences of identity (Boylorn and Orbe, 2016), describing in the narrative the researcher's thoughts, history and standpoints to make sense of the interjections between identity and culture. In this study, it is believed that a parallel critical autoethnography account would strengthen the analysis by providing a look at identity from the inside-out in a thorough interpretative description of context and insights.

## 4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Taking an explorative curiosity, before starting the literature search, I conducted a little research on the most suitable approach to literature. As identity has been the focus of study in different social sciences, I started investigating the approaches to literature review by those areas that study identity: psychology, education, sociology, anthropology, and sociolinguistics. As described in the paradigm of the study, I am aware that my approach is subjective. This is discussed extensively in my position as an insider and outsider later in this section. I present first the strategies that I put in place to start the literature search and, perhaps, include literature that I might not come across with just following my interest and widening my scope. The next subsections describe narrative literature review as better suited for this study and the role of the researcher.

### 4.2.1 APPROACHING THE LITERATURE

The purpose of the literature review is to gain a general understanding of the current knowledge on identity construction in multilingual speakers.

I wanted to include a broad, yet manageable amount of work so it became apparent that some sort of system was needed. Taking a systematic approach to literature as a prompt, the first search into databases for the phrase 'explore identity construction in language use' triggered over a million results in Google scholar and over a thousand results in the university library search, even when narrowed to only those studies between 2010 and 2021.

Identity is a mature topic on which much has been written. The criteria for selecting the literature aimed to be broad enough to capture the breadth of relevant literature and have

sufficient time parameters to access work from early publications to the present. After that, the selection criteria included the participants' key variables: 'bilingual' or 'multilingual speakers'; the age of the literature (i.e., work published within the past ten years); the research methods used (i.e., qualitative, auto ethnographies and ethnographies). Therefore, the scope and boundaries of the review were drawn according to the timeframe of 2010 onwards and using the key terms in the search: 'identity' 'language use' and 'multilingual speakers'. I used the library search engine and Google scholar as a starting point; I mixed and matched the terms: 'identity' 'identity construction', 'language', 'bilingual speaker', 'multilingual speaker' and 'language use'. The search strategy and decision trail used to screen the literature were led by the questions of the study. As a result, I conducted a search using the terms 'identity' and 'identity construction' or 'identity formation' and excluded 'education'.

After I had the studies sourced from the databases, the next step was to discard the repeated studies and scan through the titles and abstracts for those studies that were related to the topic of the study - identity, the population, bilingual migrant adults - or the focus of analysis - language use. The systematic approach helped as a prompting tool to start looking at the literature. After that first collection of literature, I let the bibliographies of the first studies I found lead me to more specific and relevant studies. I read the articles and the bibliography that support them, and I manually searched for the most relevant works. These are described in the next section under identity and language use.

Following the paradigm of the research the literature should be fit for purpose and, therefore, should provide a comprehensive approach: to gather the current context, be in line with the research question and inform the methods in this study. The compiled literature was analysed critically to gather a synthesis of the current knowledge about the topic, and a discussion of the conceptual reasoning used to integrate the concepts and ideas found in the literature. The critical analysis considered how the topic is presented, the strengths and opportunities for development presented by each study. The aim of doing so is to later use the insights acquired from the careful and critical analysis of the literature and to provide a synthesis and integrate the concepts and perspectives on the topic. Allowing a wide scope of the literature enables a critical understanding of the dynamics of identity.

An issue that arises when studying a construct like identity that has been researched from different angles is to select literature that is relevant to the present research. To do that, I started looking at different ways of searching literature. Despite identity being the focus of many

studies, the searches using the keywords: 'identity' and 'bilingual/multilingual' triggered works mostly from the education sector. One of the questions of this study is how multilinguals use language in their identity construction. My participants are not students in the sense that they are not taking any formal language instruction, but as a speaker of English as a third language myself, I believe that we are always learning. Therefore, as the scholarship for this research is under the school of education and the literature on identity from the area of education was the most prominent, it was the starting point to conduct the literature review for this study on identity in multilingual speakers.

Based on the questions leading and the research context, I narrowed down the approaches to conducting a literature review to two: systematic and narrative. On the one hand, the questions align with translingualism as a paradigm. On the other hand, the research context calls for a systematic approach to research and that perspires in the approaches to literature. Rose et al, (2017), following a systematic review on approaches to literature review, examined studies on education conducted and published from 2010 to 2016. The study summarised a succinct list of current trends in education research and shed some light on the most successful research practices. Their study discusses how the self-regulation of some researchers towards their literature review has led to questioning the validity and rigour of some strategy research in this era (Rose et al., 2017). The approach of the researcher's self-regulation, they explain, has also a long tradition in psychology in general, extending to educational psychology. The key issue they found is that even when some authors refer to their work as a systematic review, the actual work does not meet the stringent criteria of a formal systematic review. They concluded that a systematic review is one that adheres to five premises stating that it: (1) is carried out by more than one reviewer; (2) has transparent procedures; (3) includes studies based on exhaustive and reliable searching, including doctoral theses; (4) aims to reduce reviewer bias as much as possible; (5) attempts to produce syntheses, including discussions of the reliability of the evidence reviewed (Macaro et al., 2021). They found that in an in-depth review of methods, there is a strong preference towards quantitative approaches despite the numerous calls for qualitative methods. Their conclusion is that new studies in education researchers should explore new paths and avoid trying to fit a qualitative study into a quantitative structure.

It is the approaches to research that move away from the question of the study and lose their alignment with the paradigm of the research. Maybe the move comes from striving to reach the traditional approach to rigour and validity of health and hard sciences, or a need to prove objectivity and rigour of a study following an approach that has been tried and tested.

An alternative approach to literature review is a narrative review that provides an overview of the current studies on the focus of the study. The narrative review, although often defined in contrast to a systematic review, also entails a comprehensive search for relevant studies on a specific topic. The studies are appraised and synthesised according to an explicit and predetermined method (Khan, 2020). In Khan (2020)'s narrative review on identity in students of English as a Second Language (ESL), the literature review starts with a predetermined inclusion and selection in a variety of databases. It continues with an evaluation of the findings that determines the final studies to be evaluated following an evaluative screening of the literature that separated the studies into the thematic areas around which students' identities were negotiated. This is a traditional review style. It is good to give an overview of the current context of the study: what is known and the gaps in the knowledge. The advantage and the disadvantage here is that the description of it as 'traditional' hints that there is extensive material to inform the research, but that there is limited scope for creativity and to add knowledge to a technique that has been many times explored.

As quantitative studies are usually associated with systematic reviews, narrative reviews are the traditional type of literature review in qualitative studies in social sciences. Narrative reviews have an explorative approach, usually without a predetermined research question, led only by a topic of interest to cast a wide range of areas of study and investigations. They are usually descriptive, supported by a subset of studies often based on availability or author selection that do not follow a systematic search of the literature. A narrative review provides an evaluative synthesis or description of the literature review that could trace the development of some construct or theory over time. One critique to this type of review is that as all narratives represent only one possible telling of the tale or organisation of the available information by changing the perspective of the narrative, the theoretical position of the researcher, another story or organisation becomes possible (Allen, 2017). In a way, there are as many ways to tell a tale as there are storytellers, but this does not mean that the narrative is less relevant. I can see how this is subjective. If we consider research as a snapshot of reality and, like a photo, it is taken and framed by a photographer's perspective. As a group of researchers walk in a park and we all take pictures of a tree, from where we stood: the photos will all take a slightly different angle. It will be a collection of those photos that, merged, thread knowledge on a subject. The same, I believe, happens with narratives on identity. I am interested in identity construction through language use of adult multilinguals from a small linguistic minority. Through that angle of my picture, there are many variables: identity construction, language

use, adults, migrants, and a small linguistic minority. A narrative review should consider research that looks at identity construction and with all or some of the variables. However, with the increasing amount of research published on identity construction, it is difficult to keep up with the amount of research to do a review. This might be the reason why researchers try to find a manageable amount of work to discuss in their reviews. One of the critiques levelled at traditional literature reviews is that readers could not tell where the included studies came from and how they came to be included (Gough and Thomas, 2016). In comparison with the systematic literature review, the narrative review might not naturally provide a standardised approach to literature selection. However, how is the selection of variables for a systematic review different from the framing of the camera presented before? One way to build up on the methodology of the narrative review might be to be clear and generous on the sharing of the thought process that goes through in the inclusion or exclusion of previous research and in the evaluation of the studies that are included.

I find myself arriving at the same conclusion as before: research should aim to more than just comply with a formula if it is ultimately driven by funding and should aim higher to improve the lives of the likes of the participants. This is not a way to try to please what is sometimes perceived as two ends of a spectrum, but a dialogical relationship between research funders and those who should be research beneficiaries. It is, in fact, to highlight that the researcher has a unique position where they can perform a critical bridging job by conducting research on disciplinary choices and the necessary conditions to lower barriers to research use to ensure that research informs decision-making.

Another approach to literature is an integrative approach. This approach reviews and critiques to resolve inconsistencies in the literature and provide fresh, new perspectives on a certain topic (Torraco, 2016). Following Cooper (1988)'s taxonomy, Torraco (2016) undertook a review of literature reviews and evaluated the purposes of the literature review in general and integrative reviews in particular. Their task is fruitful for new researchers, like me, regardless of the literature review they decide to follow, as it prompts the thought of reflecting on the job of the literature review within a study. Cooper's (1988) taxonomy categorises literature reviews according to their focus, goals, perspective of the researcher (objective or from a certain standpoint), coverage (exhaustive or selective), organisation, and audience. Torraco (2016) states that an integrative review is the way forward to explore mature and new aspects of a topic that would benefit from a holistic conceptualisation and synthesis of the literature. He brings forward the importance of taking a critical evaluation of the literature and the synthesis.

The purpose of this type of literature reviews is to: (a) review, update, and critique the literature; (b) conduct meta-analysis of the literature; (c) review, critique, and synthesise the literature; (d) reconceptualise the topic reviewed in the literature; (e) answer specific research questions about the topic reviewed in the literature. The literature review should have a logical flow of ideas and a structure with a chronological development of the literature on a topic. It should also have a methodological structure that groups the literature according to the methodology used to study a topic, and a conceptual or thematic structure based around the main concepts of the review's topic. This type of literature might provide a scaffolding to the study of identity because it integrates studies on the same topic from different types of research and from various disciplines. However, there is a time barrier to manage a meta-analysis of literature on identity. A meta-analysis is a statistical analysis that combines the results of multiple scientific studies addressing the same question. In addition, the possibilities of finding another study with the exact same question or same participants is virtually impossible.

The question continues in alignment with the paradigm and leads the way. Given that the question of the study is explorative and not specific, the literature review should follow the same broad approach to research. The rigour of the systematic review would not be in tune with the study. Instead, a narrative approach is better suited for the study of participants' identity construction through the language used in the performance of their everyday roles. However, the criterion-based selection of the systematic approach might be a useful tool to prompt the first search into the literature. After that, the more unspecified and more organic approach of the narrative review would be more suitable.

### 4.2.2 THE RESEARCHER'S ROLE

In this section, I tackle the researcher's position as an active member in the study and my role as an insider/outsider. The researcher's role is to interpret and report findings and, above all, ensure the participants' voices carry new knowledge forward.

The epistemology of the study informs the methodology and, thus, the interpretative role of the researcher. Before the 1990s, there was a traditional practice of suppressing the researcher's subjectivity. This notion started to be evaluated and, at the end of the century, ethnographic trends emerged, leading research to disclose how they constructed themselves and discuss the impact of those constructions on their research practices. However, despite the development of creative analytical practices, there are still challenges when doing ethnography with a reflexive

approach. This is due to the epistemological issues that remain problematic in ethnographic accounts where researchers take on the self-exposure that is required to strengthen the portrayal of social experiences (Day, 2002). If in the writing of narratives in our research we create a reality, as Day (2002) suggests, then there is a valid point in bringing reflexivity to our writing to share our situated take on the data even if, as he points out, this is a difficult task that goes beyond the standardisation of practice. In a way, this could mean refreshing our practice and going back to basics. My argument is that there is no point in trying to standardise our write ups if this means that we need to fit the findings into a pre-set pattern. As Maldonado-Torres (2007) suggests, there is a long-standing pattern in knowledge and work articulating a broad rejection of Western European supremacy. He proposes a shift from the acceptance in '*the dismantling of relations of power and conceptions of knowledge that foment the reproduction of racial, gender, and geo-political hierarchies that came into being or found new and more powerful forms of expression in the modern/colonial world*' (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). I know that there is the issue of validity that calls for a certain structure into academic writing but, allow a cliché here, we do not know what we do not know, and predetermined patterns should not force research to conform, or it will risk cutting it short of originality. I believe this can be advanced in reflexivity, which Day (2002) calls for, and this goes back to the 'thick description' for which Geertz (1973:14) appealed. In this study, the researcher provides thick description as a process that pays attention to contextual details: observing and interpreting social meaning when conducting qualitative research should include the data description and the internal reflections of the researchers as they conduct their studies, essentially, to allow the voice of the participants to be strong in the narrative so new knowledge comes from their experiences. Social research takes a shot of reality and explores it. A thick description here interprets what is in that picture and the collection of pictures taken at different points; it is also important to describe what prompted the photographer to point the camera that way. In the same line, to preserve the story that emerged from the findings, the data chapters will be organised thematically. The aim is for the researcher to remain in the state of not-knowing, to keep close to the data and to provide a coherent thread for the reader, faithfully reporting participants' voices because they are the experts in their lives.

Harnessing reflexibility and subjectivity in ethnographic studies allows sharing both: the research and the researcher's growth (Day, 2002). Literature on reflexibility regarding the researcher's position shows that taking an interpretative approach invites a shared process where the researcher and the participants are active protagonists that shape research (England,

1994). It is, therefore, important to invite a reflection on the role of positionality and the potential effect it has on the study, the participants, and the researcher as well as to be clear on the researcher's motivations for the study (Bourke, 2014). It is argued that intercultural researchers cannot write about their research without reflecting on their 'own histories, social and cultural locations as well as subjectivities and values' (Merrill and West, 2009: 5).

My insider status made it relatively easy to enlist the participants for the study. At the same time, I was an outsider because I went to my community playing the role of a researcher. Chan (2010) argues that 'as a method of enquiry' the 'integral self' provides a lens for understanding a particular culture and society through the use of cultural descriptions and ethnographic explanations. As an insider/outsider in this study, I take the opportunity to engage in work within my community, putting in my agenda that this research goes back to the community in some form or another. In this context, I also believe that as an insider in relation to the researched community, I had the advantage of being attune with the nuances of a familiar context. Dillard (2003) describes this as a sense of comfort or belonging that can also be problematic. However, I argue that without being an insider, participants would have been difficult to recruit, leaving a gap in research regarding this underrepresented minority.

In this study, I am an insider and an outsider. I occupy many roles that interact throughout the research. I became particularly aware of my multiple positions as I was preparing to conduct my first interview. Since part of my job is to be an assessor and a facilitator of exams for students and to encourage reflection of practice in teachers, I am familiar with the type of questions needed to prompt people to share their stories. As an English teacher, I am aware that people might need to have the language of the interview tailored in pace and structure to make it more accessible. As a multilingual who has immigrated to the U.K, I know that experiences in a new language and in a new country can be difficult to share and that sharing might require an emotional investment in the conversation. Furthermore, speakers need to feel safe and have trust in their receivers to share their personal stories. The different parts of me juxtaposed and were actively feeding my actions whilst I collected the data. Later, as I tried to distance myself from the data to start the analysis, the same fluidity between insider and outsider came to me. I am aware that as the participants chose to use one language over another, or mix them, in the ways they position themselves and perceive they are positioned in and through language in the interview, I am also part and a creator of the context of the study. The awareness of my position was enabled by reflecting on each part of the study. This is adopted in the writing of my study that interweaves the different positions of the researcher within the text, as discussed by Day

(2002) in her construction of the researcher in narratives through a multilayer organic writing in her ethnographic research on subjectivity.

## 4.3 THE METHODS

In chapters 2 and 3 I presented the paradigm of the study, arguing the importance of an interpretative approach that includes the participants' voices in research. This section, similarly, argues for the adequacy and significance of deploying qualitative methods to rich data. This section is divided into four subsections that discuss the four methods used in this study: i.e., semi-structured interviews, observations of homemade videos, entries from the researcher's journal and languaging.

### 4.3.1 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

I conducted two semi-structured interviews with each participant to allow for the collection of in-depth and rich data. Conducting an interview requires the researcher to be rooted in present time conducting active listening. Yet, this is not an easy and relaxed situation, even if it looks like that on the outside. Previous research provides similar examples on how intercultural researchers cannot write about their research without reflecting on their 'own histories, social and cultural locations as well as subjectivities and values' (Merrill and West, 2009: 5). As I was conducting the interviews, there were many voices in my head; all those strands of me that wave the cloth of my identity. They are all at play before, during and after each step of my work. It is the negotiating of the tension of my different positions that I would like to share in my interpretation and my construction of the narratives in this ethnographic research. The role of the researcher led the way to prompt the conversation and encourage participants to share their experiences and opinions, allowing plenty of time and being a 'big ear' (Holton and Walsh, 2017).

The study aims to capture how speakers perceive themselves and others through language. There were many things that needed to be considered to have a successful interview. The first one, in line with the paradigm of the study, is that the participant is not passive. One way to acknowledge the power of the participant was to remain an active listener and, therefore, questions were planned to bring to the table themes. Yet, they were not questions asked in a

rigid order. This diminished the researcher's control over the conversation and allowed me to focus on promoting and maintaining the fluidity of my participants' narratives.

Another way to empower the participants was to ask them for their preferences of language to conduct the interview. One of the delimitations of the study was to include participants who share my linguistic repertoire and, therefore, their choice of language was either English, Spanish, or a mixture of both. There were a variety of responses: some participants replied promptly and said they wanted their interviews in Spanish while others were not sure and said that it did not matter and, after some negotiation, Spanish was chosen. The first interview's purpose was to gain participants' definition of language and how they use their linguistic repertoire; it resembled a 'conceptual interview' (Kvale, 2007:151). As I developed rapport with the participants, and confidence as a researcher, the interviews evolved into semi-structured narrative interviews that allowed the participants to share aspects they thought were important. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed. Aware that power rests in how translation is 'executed and integrated into research design' (Temple and Young, 2004), I took advantage that I have both professionally and personally extensive experience of working and living across languages and delayed the translation of the pieces until I needed the extracts. When the transcripts were later translated, I checked with the participants a couple of times extracts that contained regionalisms or personal expressions to make sure I got their intended meaning. Working on the transcripts was a lengthy process. The audio recordings had to be carefully transcribed, translated and the translation had to be carefully revised to make sure that it was accurate. After that, the responses were entered in Excel where they were coded into themes. There were moments during the interviews that the narratives of the participants echoed my personal experiences, inviting a double reflective dialogue between the data and the researcher in the data analysis. This describes how, by means of the interviews, researchers are engaged collaboratively in the collection of data (Kvale, 2007). This makes interviews a useful tool to generate rich data, as it is illustrated in the data analysis that runs throughout the data chapters (chapters five, six, seven and eight).

Semi-structured interviews, opposite to structured interviews that trigger comparable data, elicit the participant's own story: a narrative crucial to explore the research aims - the construction of identity. The purpose of qualitative interviews in this research is to describe life 'as it was lived, felt, undergone' (Schwandt, 2001) to access the participants' interpretations of social reality in a first-person account. Within the qualitative interview, the harnessing of skills from different roles support the researcher to elicit experiences, perceptions

and feelings of the participants. The interviews with multilinguals living in southeast England as a means of gathering data provide an insight into people's experiential lives: a window into the construction of identity of this minority community.

Participants not only communicate with language, but also with the things that they produce. Videos and films have featured in the development of social research within sociology, anthropology, education and psychology as a way to have access to 'naturally occurring' data (Jewitt, 2012). In this study, videos were not in the initial plan. After the interviews took place, it became apparent that as the participants' perceptions referred to language used in context, visual data was required to give this ethnographic study a window into the everyday. The videos pin down the social space the participants inhabit beyond the documentation of the setting (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Previous studies have used both visual and linguistic data to explain and illustrate identity. For example, Boylorn and Orbe (2016) looked at visual and textual data to explore the spatial basis of neighbour relations.

The participants collected data from their everyday lives. The videos enable to record how social participants interact with their settings and each other as *'... we cannot understand the behaviour of members of a social group other than in terms of the specific environment in which they operate.'* (Bryman, 2012: 401). Another key argument to include the videos recorded by the participants was to create a space for a research activity that allowed the participants to take a prominent role in choosing where the fieldwork is, and drawing attention to affective and a translanguaging lens, instead of the common reliance on language. Although it would be unfair to claim that any visual data is less biassed, as the position of the camera is, in a way, manipulated by the photographer, the home-made videos are intended to capture a wider focus than the one captured by the researcher's notes and observations.

The use of videorecording in social research raises methodological questions regarding transcription (Jewitt, 2012). In this study, I had the ethics clearance and participants' consent to use videos, to transcribe the conversations and undertake my observations. Accordingly, the participants shared with me the parts of their everyday lives that they wanted me to examine, and I described what I saw in the videos and transcribed the conversations. The emerging themes were the starting point of the second semi-structured interview. I believe this to be a

participatory research method that allowed the researcher to share her role and power with the participants.

After the videos were sent, I met with the participants and invited them to watch their videos and share their thoughts on what they saw. In this session I included languaging, as described in the subsection after next, where I invited them to recall and reflect on what was going on in their videos, in a way, to think aloud about their actions in a languaging activity. Video elicitation is later used in this study in languaging sessions to prompt discussion, stimulate recall or provide a basis for reflection (Roth, 2009). The videos enable me to observe the participants performing their everyday roles and as a prompt to gather their evaluations of context and emotions that were taking place in the backstage of the performance.

### 4.3.3 RESEARCHER'S JOURNAL

In this ethnographic study, data is to be collected and analysed as an iterative process. During data collection, I kept a diary of reflections on personal experiences with language use and insights on my daily life. The reflexive account provides the research with a more holistic and organic data: a 'hidden ethnography' (Blackman, 2007), hopefully enriching the results. It is expected that from those notes, subtle patterns of social behaviour will appear. From those salient themes, some core ones are expected to lead the focus of the study in later data collections. The journal entries help me as a researcher to reflect on unexpected issues, emotional challenges, and methodological and ethical issues at the grass-root level.

The importance of remaining reflexive and making this as part of the texture of the research made me aware that the journals encouraged me to maintain critical reflexivity. It was important to incorporate my voice and my experiences as part of the data. One way to achieve that was to interweave multiple voices and realities into the telling of 'the researcher's story' in an organic piece of writing (Day, 2002). Sharing my experiences challenged a one-size-fits-all approach and served as a method to include and embrace the other(ed) ways of knowing, making the research inclusive of different voices.

### 4.3.4 LANGUAGING

Identity as the focus of the study calls for a method that allows for data collection on the participants' perceptions, as well as the evaluations and intentions that take place in the inner dialogue that we have with ourselves.

There is limited availability of multilingual studies that integrate inner speech use: the private conversations that people have with themselves about in their everyday lives. Alderson-Day, et al. (2018) explored inner speech with 1943 participants and proposed inner speech as a key tool for unlocking creative, exploratory, and abstract thought. Morin, et al, (2018) conducted a study with seventy-six university students who were invited to recall their inner speech. They found that inner speech is used to self-regulate, self-reflect on emotions, self-motivation, appearance, behaviour/performance. In this study, inner speech helped retrieve participants' perceptions of language and self to shed light on identity construction.

Language is a human construct and is, in many respects, under our conscious control. I must make a difference here between languaging as the use of language (Garcia, 2009) and languaging as a method to elicit participants' inner use of language and to externalise their perceptions and evaluations of their use of language (Suzuki and Storch, 2020). Following the latter, languaging in this study is used as a method to access private thinking and self-communicative purposes. Those processes, usually 'hidden' from the social use of language, are materialised verbally and collected in external forms. In the Vygotskyan sociocultural approach, social speech and private speech are to the essence of verbal thinking because of the relationship between the internalisation and externalisation processes *'thought connected with words'* and *'thinking in pure meanings'* (Vygotsky, 1986: 249). The term languaging was first used by Swain (2006) in second language research to refer to the use of language as *'the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language'* (Swain, 2006a). Languaging, as method, has previously been used in studies with students learning a second language in oral or written forms, via a range of individual and group tasks (Suzuki and Storch, 2020). They found that languaging as a method supported participants to share their evaluations and feelings and assert that languaging can help their participants to share their private thinking.

In this study, I incorporate the use of languaging as a method to prompt participants to share their private speech and continue our collaborative dialogue on language use to reflect on identity construction.

There are three primary sources of data from the participants: the informal interviews recorded by the researcher, the videos recorded by the participants and the languaging sessions that took place when the participants watched their videos and commented on them. The data gathered is only a slice of their everyday use of language. The statements and thoughts shared are true and real at that moment and, yet, they are still snapshots that are subjected to the framing of the photographer and are interpreted through the eyes of the observer. They all contribute to the wider picture obtained from the triangulation of the data.

When we were agreeing on the interviews' time and place, some participants preferred to meet in their house, participants' choices differed and included meeting in their houses, in a public place, or at my place. This was not a new scenario for meetings as the community meets in different houses or in the community house. We, therefore, adjusted the time and place to suit the participants and to ensure they were in line with research ethics. The interviews took around one hour. The participants were interviewed three times and most of them provided videos that I observed and transcribed. The interviews started with open questions but, as the intention was to gain a natural flow of the conversation, the participants took the discussions in different directions. At the time I was a bit worried about the future analysis of the data that was rolling in its own direction, but I decided not to pre-occupy myself and let the conversation run its course.

The interviews were recorded and then transcribed verbatim. After that, I went through the transcripts while listening to the interviews and video to check for accuracy. I marked gaps in conversation with ellipses. Although my participants and I share the languages that were used during our discussions, coming from different countries or different regions within the same country made me realise that translating the interviews word for word might alter the intended meanings. Thus, I checked for meaning with them as I translated to English. After I had my transcripts, I went back to the participants to make sure I had kept true to the narratives they shared with me. I realised that an hour's interview resulted in a couple of days of work before being ready for theme analysis.

4.4.1 THEME ANALYSIS

Thematic analysis is a method used for 'identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data' (Braun and Clarke, 2006). To explore identity construction through language use, I thought it best to ask the participants themselves about how they use language. The results were their own self-narratives that give pointers as to how they perceive their stories and, in there, intertwined, their perceptions of self and others. Their perceptions of themselves either drew them closer to or further from others. Furthermore, sometimes the narratives of the same participant contradicted each other. The findings show that their identity is each and the sum of those language practices and strategies by which they craft and negotiate their identities.

The research question revolved around understanding how multilingual speakers construct their identities through their language use in the performance of their everyday roles. There was an abundant amount of data that I found hard to manage at first. I decided the best way was to go back to the research question and root the starting point of my exploration there. The approach to the analysis data is described as a 'rigorous thematic approach [that] can produce an insightful analysis that answers particular research questions' (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

With the research questions in mind, I let the themes emerge from the data whilst I followed the steps in the diagram below as described by Braun and Clarke (2006). Although there are six consecutive steps, I found myself moving forward and backward between them.

| Phase | Description of the process |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Familiarizing yourself with your data: | Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas. |
| 2. Generating initial codes: | Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code. |
| 3. Searching for themes: | Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme. |
| 4. Reviewing themes: | Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis. |
| 5. Defining and naming themes: | Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme. |
| 6. Producing the report: | The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis. |

Phases of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 87)

- Familiarising myself with the data

The first look at the data involved many readings with highlighters and pens. I took the printed transcripts and made notes, putting key words next to the main text. Throughout the process, themes started taking shape and seemed to work as umbrellas for other themes.

Familiarising myself with the data, step 1 in thematic analysis

- Generating initial codes

Thematic analysis was key to the process of identifying patterns or themes within the diverse qualitative data of this study. In the exploration of the data, I highlighted the extracts according to themes that captured something important in relation to the research spectrum: identity and language use. I considered the patterns in the responses and made notes of data that fell outside the patterns. The next step of the theme analysis was to go through 'anything and everything of interest or relevance' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 207) in the data once more and leave aside the departing questions to have a fresh look at the data, and to let the data lead me to unexpected themes.

- Searching for themes

Once the broad thematic coding was done, I identified core concepts and made a note of all the emerging key words based upon my interpretations of the initial data. This was *'...within the explicit or surface meanings of the data and the analyst is not looking for anything beyond what a participant has said or what has been written'* (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 84). It was 'easier said than done' as I had used synonyms in some parts and, thus, the resulting subheadings were not quite the same. This might have been because I completed the reading in different sittings. I allowed one day to look at all the data in one sit and I re-read the themes and, in some cases, I noticed some words that worked better if changed to make the data more comprehensible. It soon became apparent that the participants had so many variables in common: emotions, power, the other and these were related to context.

- Reviewing themes

In this step, the analysis *'...starts to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and ideologies - that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data'* (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 84). Consequently, I crossed-examined data looking at the same theme in different participants. Focusing on the scope, the emerging themes around language use and identity led me to investigate the data that seemed to shed some light on key terms: translanguaging, self-perception, the perceptions of others, as well as cross-cutting themes: power, emotions, evaluations. I grouped snippets of data that were around similar themes of language use and identity to compare the participants and start my dialogue with the data in terms of: (a) the motivational practices that participants perceive as the factors that motivate them to use one language over another, which also demonstrates their positioning of themselves; (b) their perceptions of identity looking at how they position themselves as individuals and in relation to others. As I was trying to *'... identify the 'essence' of what each theme is about'* (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 92), I reviewed the themes looking for the congruence that existed between them. It became apparent that the context of the performance played a key part in the emerging themes. This prompted the overarching themes and order of the data chapters into Language, individual identity, family and social identity.

- Producing the report

In order to make explicit the 'how' of the analysis, I applied Braun and Clarke (2006)'s thematic analysis framework to data drawn from a variety of sources. The result is the formation of data chapters – chapters six, seven, eight and nine – and a discussion chapter – chapter 10. After explaining data analysis procedures, the next section describes how the report was produced and, later, the guidelines followed to ensure the trustworthiness of the research findings and the rigour throughout the research process.

### 4.4.2 Producing the report

The participants granted me access to their personal narratives through interviews, their home-made videos and languaging drawings. Following Clarke and Braun (2013)'s recommendations, I used relevant primary data to look for answers to the research questions. From the analysis, the emergent themes allowed me to sequence the data chapters. In this section, I describe how the data appears in this study.

The interviews were mostly in Spanish with some English and Spanglish. In the thesis, I have used the translated version, leaving a version in Spanish with a translation in parenthesis whenever relevant to notice the particular language being used. When an extract from an interview is presented, it is referenced first using the participant's name and followed by the term: 'interview' (Eg. Lena. Interview.). When the data is retrieved from homemade video transcriptions, they are referenced first by the participant's and followed by the term: 'Homemade video' which is followed by the title attributed to the video. (Eg. Vera. Homemade video. Lego.). The drawings the participants made in the languaging reflection follow the same pattern. They start with the participant's name followed by the code 'Languaging drawing'. Each participant's complete drawing is in Appendix 2 in the order that they took place. The messages sent by the participants during lockdown, like the previous sets of data, are coded by the name of the participant and the term 'Lockdown message.' (Eg. Rita. Lockdown message)

### 4.4.3 TRUSTWORTHINESS

In this qualitative study, trustworthiness implies that the research process has been as rigorous as possible. Trustworthiness is defined by Rossman & Rallis, (2017) in relation to two questions: (1) "does the study meet general guidelines in the field for acceptable and competent practice?"; (2) "does it demonstrate sensitivity to ethical issues?" (Rallis and Rossman, 2017: 265).

Despite their contended nature in qualitative research, and their strong association with quantitative research, Creswell and Creswell (2018) use qualitative validity and reliability instead of trustworthiness. Validity is used to refer to the accuracy of findings from the researcher's or the participants' perspective, while reliability is said to imply consistency across the study (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). To ensure my research is rigorously conducted, I followed Creswell and Creswell (2018)'s strategies described in the guidelines below:

● Triangulation: I collected data using different data sources, including individual semi-structured interviews, observations of the homemade videos provided by the participants, languaging conversations and extracts from my researcher journal. I argue that using a variety of tools increases research quality (Patton, 2015).

- Member checking: As part of checking for accuracy, I shared the transcripts and translations with the participants. I also shared with them the preliminary findings that supported the development of the framework of analysis in the languaging session.

- Thick description: I attempted to refer to aspects of the social and cultural environments within which the participants shared their data (Holliday, 2016), and within which they constructed meanings to provide as many details as possible about the activity that was taking place and its context.

- Reflexivity: As described above, I acknowledge my subjectivity and strive to remain reflexive about it as described by Braun and Clarke (2007). Reflexivity is also achieved by sharing and reflecting on my personal experience and by including extracts of my research journal and reflecting on them.

- Reference to contradictory evidence: as suggested by (Creswell and Creswell, 2018), I discussed the patterns and the nuances that emerged from the data in order to add to the credibility and validity of my analysis. Of the few contradictions that became apparent in relation to some of the emerging themes was, for example, Lucia's difference in emotions when language use within the family changed.

- Peer debriefing: Throughout my PhD, I have taken part in weekly meetings with other PhD students, whereby we discussed and critiqued each other's studies. There were also many opportunities for me to share some themes and sections from my thesis for them to provide feedback, and for me to widen my interpretations of the data.

- External auditor: I presented my work at various conferences and seminars which allowed me to discuss and consider different perspectives.

- Transcript checking: Transcripts were checked to ensure they were verbatim by listening to the audio and reading from the transcripts simultaneously (Braun and Clarke, 2013). It was important to check translations as, although I share linguistic repertoire with the participants, I encountered different uses of language in regionalist expressions.

- Consistency of codes and themes: I moved the transcripts from Word to Excel to make sure that the right segments of data were allocated to the right themes, the extracts were read many times (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Ethical reflexions were part of the research process in this study to ensure my participants were treated with respect. Those reflections delimited and limited data collection, as I attempted to learn about my participants' views and actions, and to stay true to their perspectives. In this section, I discuss the delimitations, limitations and ethical considerations of this study.

Exploring identities pre-supposes the sharing of personal experiences and possibly private, intimate thoughts and feelings. There is a rapport built between the researcher and the participant through language. This delimited the sample of the study to participants who shared my linguistic repertoire as much as possible. It is in the diversity of the experiences of the participants that the richness of the data arises. Thus, participants had the choice to use Spanish and/or English to get a closer look into language use and family language in my observations. Yet, the participants come from different Spanish speaking countries and, as I was transcribing and translating, I started to realise the richness of experiences shared.

A substantial body of evidence looks at the ethics of intercultural communication and the potential for reconceptualising the relation between self and other (Nair-Venugopal, 2013). The literature has produced numerous sets of normative principles for ethical intercultural conduct, arguing that the place of ethics in intercultural communication is most salient at the juncture where individuals interact with one another. This relates to previous research on identity that highlights this in an argument of the polarisation that starts with the definition of the participants. Multilinguals are many times labelled as second language speakers, a concept that sets languages and their users in a hierarchical order in which tends to be regarded as the opposite of a native speaker. The labelling is as complicated as it is to define the native speaker (Rampton, 1990). Rampton (1990) proposes to differentiate speakers based on their affiliation with languages as it implies a social process of negotiations and conflict that the speakers do across languages, as opposed to inheritance, where language negotiations are within a language. The same struggle was found trying to define the differences between a bilingual and a second language speaker. Bilingualism is not only a speaker's affiliation to two languages, it is a psychological and socio-cultural linguistic behaviour that cannot be defined as a native-like skill without falling into the above discussion (Butler and Hakuta, 2006). In line with the notions of ethics and equity in relation to language and intercultural communication, this study focuses on interpersonal approaches that emphasise the use of language and addresses issues

of macro contexts (historical, social, and political levels). Labelling of participants by language or language by skill is avoided here.

Another delimitation of the study was that the participants were adults. This was a conscious choice for two main reasons. The first reason has to do with the accessibility to participants. The second reason is more related to what has been argued in previous literature regarding adult migrants having an identity and a sense of self, and that they redefine themselves in a second language context (Block, 2010).

One limitation is that participants are part of the community forums to which I belong. The participants are members of my local Spanish community. As advised by British Educational Research Association's (BERA's) guidelines, the relationship between researcher-friends could put a strain on the participants' honesty and make the data less reliable. At the same time, perceptions of being looked into might be counterbalanced by the friendship trust. To reduce this, the potential participants were not contacted individually, but rather an invitation to take part was distributed via email to all the members of the Spanish community's Facebook and WhatsApp groups, in compliance with the BERA. In the message, I included the script (already approved by the Christ Church University Ethics Panel) that explains to the participants the project's focus, the data collection plan, the intended use of the data collected, how their anonymity is to be preserved and their right to withdraw from the study at any time. Participants were reassured that the data gathered is only to be used under a pseudonym to explore common themes in their reflections. After this introduction, and when volunteers agreed to take part, they were invited to for an informal interview at a time and in a place of their choice. This was to make the participants as included as possible in decision-making.

This study used semi-structured interviews, homemade videos, languaging as well as entries from the researcher's journal. To begin data collection, the study was given ethic's clearance to recruit adult participants and conduct interviews (Appendix 1). After the first interviews, when I started data analysis it became apparent that the study would be enriched from observations of language used. My initial analysis – after conducting the first interviews – indicated that the study would be enriched from observations of language use. After much consideration and discussion with my supervisors about visiting the participants to observe them, asking them to make videos while interacting was thought to have the potential of bringing more depth to the data. The project was given clearance to invite the participants to share videos of their daily lives. Most of the participants agreed to do so and most shared two

videos of family interactions. This shows that ethics continue to inform the study after participants' recruitment and that adjustments are needed to allow for a robust study to take place.

Another limitation was the period of lockdown where I had scheduled to conduct interviews and share the emerging themes with the participants. I applied for an extension to cover the period when the participants were not available to engage with me. Near the end of the series of lockdown I contacted the participants to share the themes emerging from the data. I asked for consent at the beginning of the recruitment, but this was reviewed each time we met whether this was face-to-face or not.

This research included seven participants which is, arguably, a small number. However, the reduced number of participants allowed for deep data analysis that attended to details and provided fine-grained descriptions of the events taking place in the participants' everyday contexts (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). The participants come from the countries with the greatest numbers of Spanish speakers. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, updated in May, 2020, in the early 21st century, Mexico had the greatest number of Spanish speakers (more than 85 million), followed by Colombia (more than 40 million), Argentina (more than 35 million), the United States (more than 31 million), and Spain (more than 30 million) (Sala and Posner, 2020). The map below locates the participants by the country where they were born. It shows that even if small, the group consists of multilinguals from far and wide backgrounds.

Participants' place of birth in Spanish language around the world map. Source: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020

## 4.6 PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT AND SAMPLING

Recruiting participants who have migrated to the U.K. in their adult life and who shared my linguistic repertoire was purposeful.

Although all the participants share English and Spanish with me, they have different linguistic repertoires and they come from different countries. This allowed me to gather data following my participants' chosen language. The sample allowed me to recruit and represent members of the Latin American community: a fast-growing minority in England. The heterogeneity of the research participants allowed for an intersection of identity that enriched the validity of the study as this would ensure the identification of more striking commonalities.

I had the opportunity to gain insider access to invite members of the Latin and Spanish groups with whom I share community gatherings. This made me aware that, as a researcher, I had to be mindful of our relationship as community members and as a researcher/participant. I knew that members of my community knew me as a mother, a teacher, an organiser, or just as one other member of the crowd of familiar faces. Apart from the community meetings, there are several social media groups with different random criteria and most of us meet in smaller groups of closer friends. Thinking about inviting people to participate in my research, I was

hesitant about the best way of approaching them: should I ask in a safe way so that they agree? Should I keep my distance and risk nobody joining me? I reflected on my doubts: inviting people that I knew relatively well meant that, in a way, I was exposing myself and risking our relationships. I knew that I personally needed to be careful and empathic in my approach.

Eventually, I decided to time a day when social media groups were busy to send my invitation. There were many reasons behind that: I wanted to make sure that many people were online, and I wanted to put my message with many others so that it did not stay there, pending. I thought that might still catch the eye of the interested and give a non-confrontational opportunity for people to ignore it. I thought it was a safe way where nobody would lose face. After sending that first message, two people replied straight away. It was important for me to look after both parts: the researcher and the participants. In a private message I thanked them and provided an outline of the path ahead.

After all the Latin community groups I have access to were invited, several members agreed to take part in the study. The first ten participants that were available, due to mutual convenience, were invited to have an interview. When they replied to the invite, they received an explanation of what the study is about and how the generated data is to be used. It was clearly stated that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time and were reassured of their anonymity. In the first interview, as I was explaining the research, some participants asked if they could pick their pseudonyms and others preferred I did so for them. This was not planned, but I was happy to oblige.

The group of participants includes seven women: all married and live in the UK with their partners and children. Five of the participants are married to a British-born male that speaks English as a first language, and two of them are married to a Latin American man who speaks Spanish as a first language and English as a second language. Two of the participants were brought up as bilinguals, one in the U.K and the other in Spain, visiting grandparents in the U.K over holidays. The rest of the participants arrived to live in the U.K in their adulthood. Only one of them was brought up as a bilingual abroad and moved to the U.K. at the age of eighteen.

All the participants are bilingual or multilingual with an English fluency, living in the U.K. for over ten years in a long-term relationship with school-aged children. From the northern mountains of Argentina to the coffee plain of Colombia, from the Gulf of Mexico to the bay in Spain, the participants bring a rich diversity to this study. Each participant comes from a

country that has its own flavour and peculiarities of grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, and colloquialisms. This scope foregrounds that even though the participants have many things in common, they are multifaceted, complex beings.

Below, the participants are introduced in a short narrative that is summed up in a table at the end of a section.

### PARTICIPANT 1: RITA

The first participant comes from Mexico and has been living in the U.K. for over ten years. She started using English in her country as part of family education, but she made a conscious move to learn English when she found a job at the Mexican Customs border. Her family is multilingual, where the mother speaks Spanish and English, the father speaks only English. Her eldest child speaks both Spanish and English since he came to live with his mother when he was in secondary school, and their younger child speaks English with some understanding of spoken Spanish.

### PARTICIPANT 2: VERA

The second participant has been living in the U.K. for over fifteen years. She also started using English in her country as one of the languages spoken in her house. Vera's grandmother was Irish, and her grandfather was American. She has formed a multilingual family where she speaks Spanish, English and Polish, and the father speaks English. Their son speaks English and Spanish.

### PARTICIPANT 3: NINA

Nina is from Galicia where she was brought up speaking in Galician with her mother and grandparents and in Spanish with her father and at school. She has been living in the U.K for ten years. She started learning English in secondary school. She lives with her husband and their two children. Her husband speaks both English and Spanish. They are trying to raise their children bilingually where the mother speaks Spanish and the father speaks English to the children.

### PARTICIPANT 4: LENA

Lena moved to the U.K in 2002 to settle with her British partner. They met while they were working in New Zealand and after three years, they moved to live in Barcelona for two. Lena's partner speaks English and Spanish. They have a daughter, and they are living with Lena's parents-in-law. The parents-in-law speak only English and requested they all use English

indoors. In their family planning, they intended to bring up their children bilingually, but in their current household, Spanish is mostly used in private between Lena and her daughter in their room.

### PARTICIPANT 5: LUCIA

Lucia and her partner are from Colombia. They left their country in their thirties with their eldest daughter and moved to Spain where their second daughter was born. After spending twelve years in Spain, they came to live in the U.K in 2009. The family arrived in the U.K with only basic English. The family uses Spanish to communicate. Lucia and her partner speak Spanish indoors and English outdoors. Their daughters use Spanish with their parents but the two girls prefer English to talk between them.

### PARTICIPANT 6: SARA

Sara was born in the U.K. and her parents, who are from Colombia, spoke only Spanish at home. Sara started learning and using English when she started preschool. Her partner is Colombian and speaks Spanish and English. They have two children who speak mostly in English, except with her grandparents in which case they use Spanish.

### PARTICIPANT 7: CLARA

Clara was born in the U.K. UK to a British father and a Spanish mother. When she was a baby, the family moved to southern Spain. She came back to live in the U.K. when she was eighteen years old to go to university. Her sister followed her a couple of years after and later her father. She lives with her partner and three children who only speak English. When she meets with her sister, they speak in Spanish if they are on their own, but sometimes in English if they are with others.

The table below presents a summary of the participants and the data they provided.

| Participant | Age | Linguistic repertoire | Years in | Spouse's linguistic repertoire | Interviews | Video mum-child | Video family | Languaging | Lockdown message |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rita | 45 | English Spanish | 11 | English | Face to face | | T.V. time | Online | Yes |
| Vera | 46 | English Spanish Polish | 15 | English Spanish | Face to face | Play time. Lego | Dinner table | Face to face | Yes |
| Nina | 41 | English Spanish Galician Portuguese | 10 | English Spanish | Face to face | Play time. Puzzles | Dinner time | Face to face | Yes |
| Lena | 39 | English Spanish | 11 | English Spanish | Face to face | Bedtime. Dinosaurs | Dinner time | | Yes |
| Lucia | 48 | English Spanish | 10 | Spanish English | Face to face | | Teatime Homework | Face to face | Yes |
| Sara | | English Spanish | fb | Spanish English | Face to face in her house | Teatime | | Online | Yes |
| Clara | 38 | Bilingual | 18 | English | Face to face | No | No | Face to face | Yes |

## 4.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

As the study aimed at exploring identity construction through an exploration of language use in multilinguals' performance of their everyday role, it necessitated a methodological approach that could provide rich in-depth accounts. In chapter two, I have highlighted the importance of using translanguaging as a paradigm. Later, in chapter three, I presented a discussion on language and identity that concluded that there is a private and a public use of language and a private and a public side to the role performance that required an original combination of methods to retrieve the different components for the analysis.

In this chapter, I highlighted some methodological decisions or elements that have delimited and limited this research. In response to the framework of analysis, this study uses a variety of data collection tools. I attempted to provide a comprehensive understanding of how the data was explored by providing a reflexive account of my work. The next four chapters report on

the findings that emerged from the analysis of the data collected throughout this study, followed by a further discussion and conclusion of the thesis. In the next chapters, multilinguals' performance of identity in their everyday roles is presented in four data chapters. Language as a marker of identity is analysed in chapter five. It is followed by identity and participants' perceptions organised by context, making chapters six and eight on individual identity and social identity, respectively. Chapter six is an analysis of the family as context, a place between individual and social identity that arose from the participants' data. The data divided their lives into private, public and a third space in-between: the home. The chapters are divided but the coherence of this study relies on the awareness of their interconnection.

The main research question is: 'how do multilinguals use language to construct their identity?' In this study, language use is observed to explore identity construction. Language and perceptions are both intrinsically linked as they are both rooted in the social act of learning to mean. The data in this chapter shows the interlink between language and identity that confirms language is a valid system to analyse identity. It shows that identity is constructed in those perceptions that the person has of themselves and of their relations to others. Their identity is built in how multilinguals define language, their investment and their emotions behind language use are good starting points to get closer to the focus of this study: identity construction.

In this chapter I present three main sections entitled: translanguaging, language as capital, similar is not the same. These themes emerged around language from the participants' narratives shared in interviews, home videos and languaging reflections. The first section covers how participants define language, what language means and represents for them that shows participants perception of language which is an important theme from the data that supports a deep exploration into identity construction. The second section shares the value that participants give to language and the last section shows that the way multilinguals use their linguistic repertoire is not a clear switch in and out of languages but rather a more organic use of linguistic resources in translanguaging.

## 5.1 TRANSLANGUAGING

My data suggests that multilinguals define their language as first or second based on their frequency of use or the proximity to their private selves. Participants' responses during my initial interviews shook the prepacked terminology of first or second language, allowing access to real everyday practice. The first answer of the participants' first interview shook the prepacked terminology allowing access to real everyday practice. Rita, for example, deems English as her first language arguing that this is because English is the language she uses with more frequency.

"For me English is not a second language, it's like .... It's like, yes, like Spanish. It is not difficult for me, it's not ... it is not my second language, I feel it is now my first language rather because, in fact, I speak it more. No, probably, in a month 90% speak English and 10% Spanish"

<div align="right">Rita. Interview.</div>

This short extract captures Rita's stream of thought. Reflecting on what language we should use for the interview; she gives her perception on what she considers to be a first or a second language. It seems that for Rita, a first language is not the one she acquired first but rather the language she most frequently and easily uses. In her case, because English is as easy to use as Spanish and it is the language that she uses the most to communicate in her daily life. In the abstract, connecting language to frequency and ease of use Rita argues that English is her first language.

This goes in line with the data collected through the home videos. This is shown in the extract taken from the observations I have made of those videos:

"In the living room Rita and her son are watching television. They are having something to eat while they watch and chat about the programme and about their day. Rita's daughter comes in and out of the room. The programme is in English. The conversation between mum and son is mostly in Spanish with some words and phrases in English. Some sentences are mixture of languages that support an avid conversation. When the daughter comes into the room, Rita changes the percentage of English/Spanish and it becomes mostly English with some Spanish. When the siblings talk to each other, they speak in English, with some teasing between them that has Spanish words mixed in the sentences or amalgamated to English words."

<div align="right">Rita. Home video. Television time</div>

In the data of the television time observation, I noticed Rita translanguaging with her children. This extract, to me, shows that there is a mixture of languages used within the household. This does not entirely agree with Rita's description of her family language policy that they use different languages depending on the person she speaks to. Instead, here language use relates to the frequency or easiness of language.

Rita speaks Spanish mostly with her son but in English with her husband and her daughter. Her use of language shows that in one utterance she will integrate resources from both her languages to communicate and so she flows in a message where Spanish and English converge. It is not easy to track which language is spoken in each sentence and it is not relevant. Their

family time is not about which code Rita is using but what she is doing with her linguistic repertoire, in this case sharing time with her children, talking about the television programme.

Previous studies on language use include a look at identity construction and report similar findings in Iranian- American first and second-generation speakers (Wagenknecht, 2015). Wagenknecht analyses Iranian-American autobiographical writing to look at the influence of language and body on identity construction, explicating the cultural structures that form the context of interpretation of everyday life for Iranians. Wagenknecht shows how the participants have different ways to build their identity yet, overall, split linguistic-emotional identities seem to flow as the speakers move backwards and forwards in between languages constructing a diasporic collective identity made of two clearly divided worlds separated above all by language. It is interesting that some second-generation participants, living in a bilingual family, relate to that division. In my study, I take a wider look focusing on how multilinguals use their different languages to construct their roles.

In the same vein, Vera, another participant, identified her first or second language according to its ease of use. With a slight nuance, however, she related this language ease to the topic and the situation. In her interview she gave different examples where her language choice related to the language she found easier to use and that the ease is connected to the part of her life she is dealing with at the time. The extract below illustrates this:

> "Yeah, I find that the affective things I do better in Spanish than in English. As…. I feel very divided between my private and professional field. And I feel that professionally I feel more comfortable in English, because it's many years that I practice my profession in this country. But personally, I feel more comfortable in ... in Spanish. I feel a division. Like my public persona was in English and my private person was in Spanish. Yes?... yes. That's the way I feel I'm different. So, I can speak in Spanish professional issues but I find it costs me more vocabulary and I find it harder to talk about emotional issues in English. I can do both, but it is more expensive. I can be emotional in English, but it costs more; I can speak about private topics in English, but it costs more, but I can do, and I can talk about my professional life in Spanish, but it costs more especially in relation to what I do today because I am practicing in English. Not that I cannot do it but if I can choose, I prefer to talk about my feelings in Spanish, my private life in Spanish. And my professional life in English."

Vera. Interview

It is evident from the extract that Vera connects the language she uses with its suitability with the context and the topic of discussion. In this sense, she views Spanish as the language to be used when talking about feelings, intimate matters – her private self. English, however, is the

language utilised when speaking about work-related matters – her social self. She repeatedly asserted that she would use her less preferred language on any occasion, but that this would require more effort than if she were to use her preferred language for each occasion. In the same explanation, she repeats four times that she can use her less preferred language on any occasion, but that using her less natural choice comes with a cost. In this case what would be deemed as her first language is the language used to deal with topics closer to the individual, inside the house, closer to feelings as opposed to a second language that is more distant to herself and it is used to deal with topics outside the private life. For Vera, languages are defined by context. In this case, again, the exploration of language use that focuses on the differentiation of language is remote, an approach that measures the codes used from the outside, the tally of the language produced cuts too short the analysis of what goes behind the language use. Digging deeper moves the conversation from what language is used to why and it is there that the conversation takes me into what goes on behind the scenes of language use. That repetition in Vera's extract brings an affirmation of an emotional discomfort that for this participant arises when there is a lack of a continuous link between one language and the other, leaving her feeling inauthentic. I will go back to discuss this aspect thoroughly later in the 'Individual identity' chapter. In relation to language, the definition attributed to language goes beyond which code is used and stresses the aspect of what participants do in their translanguaging.

My data suggests that the perception of what constitutes a first or second language varies across participants. What they all have in common is that they do not see first and second language as they are usually defined in my place of work. The reflection brings home the importance of understanding the terms used and a justification of their use within the study. It became apparent that the terms first and second languages were not suitable for this study as the participants define and use language in a more complex manner. This terminology issue is not unprecedented in sociolinguistics; the terms 'first' and 'second language' are contentious definitions of languages linked to whether the speaker uses the language as a native speaker from birth as a mother language which are labels in relation to "the legitimate competence", the mastery of language skills, as established by dominant groups. (Bourdieu, 1977). Rampton (1990) questioned whether we should displace the use of 'native' speaker, 'native tongue' or 'mother tongue', stating that these concepts focus on defining the person that uses the language and covering the ways in which language can stand as a symbol of social group identification and that better concepts would focus on language expertise, inheritance, and affiliation.

Holliday (2015) argues that native-speakerism represents an unresponsive 'native speaker' hegemony that has a wide-ranging impact on how teachers are perceived by each other and by their students. The labelling of 'native speakers' or 'non-native speakers' positions the participants of the study as culturally superior or inferior which entails separate roles and attributes. 'Social capital' and more specifically, 'linguistic' capital are products of an investment made to secure a return on that investment. Bourdieu (1977)'s concern in relation to linguistic capital was the perpetuation and accumulation in ways that perpetuate social inequalities.

The theme of 'translanguaging' reverberated throughout my data. The data points that use of terms like 'first' or 'second language' do not fit the multilingual use of language. Those terms that have been many times used in education and academia do not hold true for language use in multilinguals in their everyday life and those terms had different meanings for the participants. Moving away from a tally on what language is being used towards. Instead, translanguaging allows a deeper exploration into what multilinguals do with language.

The participants' definitions of language have put the focus on what they do with language which starts seeding the path to answer the question: What are the links between language use and identity? The response to this comes from the participants' replies that moved the concepts away from the terms first and second language, exposing that the definition of language varies across participants. This makes the description of language use as translanguaging more organic and more relatable to other multilinguals.

In this section, I discussed the fact that participants relate their languages to the frequency and easiness of use, as well as the suitability of the language for the context and topic of discussion. My findings also suggest that there was no clear-cut definition amongst my participants regarding what is and is not a first or second language. Arguably, this is hugely important because it moves the discussion away from binary divisions and embraces a more organic and inclusive way of looking at and defining languages and translanguaging has been agreed as the working definition of language use for the study. The next section focuses on defining what language means for the participants. The definition stems from the participants' interviews and languaging reflections on what it means for them to speak different languages.

## 5.2 MULTILINGUAL CAPITAL

In the previous section, the participants' definitions of language moved away from a monolingual tally of codes used to set translanguaging as language use in multilinguals. In this section, I explore the value that multilinguals give to that linguistic repertoire. In this sense, I continue to focus on what multilinguals do with their linguistic repertoire. My data seems to reveal that, in my participants' perceptions, there is an evaluation of languages that gives insights into the expectations of roles performance.

I asked participants about their perceptions of language and how they perceive themselves as speakers of different languages in their everyday lives. The participants identified the ability to speak different languages as bringing an added value to their work opportunities. This is shown in the extract below:

> "I think speaking languages is like opening a door to other worlds. Because I think that when you speak other languages you begin to understand things that from your own language cannot be understood in the same way. I speak three languages and each language has things, different ways to express what I think, that after somehow, show something that has to do with the way in which the society that speaks that language works"

<div align="right">Vera. Interview.</div>

Vera's use of the metaphor of English as 'a key to open doors to other worlds' seems to indicate the potential she sees in language to transcend the mere vocabulary it offers, and to provide insights into other societies. Language is compared to a tool that enables access to areas beyond vocabulary. There are elements of a language that cannot be accessed unless we manage the language. This gives insights into language use that is richer and deeper where the user translanguages into those spaces of language use that are inaccessible from the standpoint of another language. There is a positive evaluation of what it means to be a multilingual speaker as in Vera's metaphor it signifies that they have tools that come from accessing a deeper understanding and new ways of expressing themselves with their linguistic repertoire.

The evaluation is not simply positive, it is rather complex in the sense that participants have access to deep pockets of the language but that is a spiky access as some areas are more accessible than others. Below is a short extract where Vera shares from her multilingual experience.

> "In English I cannot swear in the way I swear in Spanish, and that makes that when I'm angry English is not the same as when I'm angry in Spanish. Because I don't have the same way of expressing. So, when you speak another language you begin to understand the idiosyncrasies of the language, but I think that you have to be immersed in speaking that language, I do not think that's

something you can learn in a textbook. Then it is not to speak a language, but to speak and live it. Isn't it? Because I do not think I would understand the things I understand now. I'm not sure. I did not understand the things I understand now when I used to simply study English. Then, it's that. I think it is as opening spaces that somehow I would not understand. On the other hand, to speak languages is ... I find it synonym of opportunities. The more languages one speaks more chances you have to communicate with other people, have better jobs, to study, especially with English, because I think that English is a language, as universal, whatever. English and Chinese open doors in labour and other spaces."

<div align="right">Vera. Interview.</div>

Communication in another language seems to exceed the mere accessing of vocabulary, a word for word translation to an understanding of the culture of the language and the allowances provided by it. There is a deeper level beyond the understanding of the vocabulary in the living of the language that is described as an added value for the speaker because of the added possibilities to access work opportunities. The extract suggests that there is a self-awareness of the things that Vera can do and the ones she cannot do with languages that are related to the idiosyncrasies of the language relate to the 'linguistic capital' (Bourdieu, 1977). The different areas of a language move from the management of mere translation to full functionality. The fact that she is angry is not what changes. In Vera's case, languages tend to affect how her feelings are shared, rather than the fact of her being angry. In this sense, feeling angry does not change, but it is expressed better in one specific language. I will pick up on this point again in chapter six on individual identity.

Another aspect that is evident from Vera's extract is the universality of English. She seems to think of languages in a hierarchical order, acknowledging the fact that some are 'universal' and, therefore, others are not.

Reflecting on both Vera's view of English as a universal language and Rita's perception of her customers, it becomes clear that there is a power element attached to English that stems from a tacit agreement of using that language as a lingua franca when the participants in a discussion do not share a common 'native' language. This makes English a more powerful language and, by association, it represents English speakers as powerful users. This element of power associated with language is discussed further across the three following data chapters on individual identity, social identity, and family. Furthermore, the findings on power from all chapters are gathered in the discussion chapter.

Continuing here on the definition of language based on the participants' perceptions of multilingualism and themselves as multilingual speakers, being able to use different languages is a positive gain that gives them access to a special place. This is a theme that reverberated across my data is the idea of English as "a door to other worlds" as most of my participants viewed it as such and made either explicit or implicit claims of the sort. This place goes beyond the use of words into the way others live, and that is viewed by the participants as a positive skill to have when looking for jobs. Vera's metaphor of multilingualism as 'a door to other worlds' is echoed in all the participants' narratives as a key, a valuable asset, the English language is a universal, master key to open doors when travelling or working. As multilingual users, the participants become empowered with their access to a rich linguistic repertoire.

The access to this deep area of the language is associated with living the language. The participants described that living the language has enabled them to manage a skill that is different to translation, a skill that goes beyond swapping words. Living in a language includes, according to Vera, thinking in the language. Vera's explanation links back to Vygotsky (1986)'s definition of inner and social use of language. A social use is what is shared with others while the inner speech is closer to the user's thoughts, emotions, feelings and private evaluations. There is a difference between being able to use a language at a translating level and the internalisation of the language that Vera shares in her interview when describing her experience using English in her country and using English now that she lives in England.

> "It was not the English I speak now, either. It was an educational English. It was a more American English because it is the kind of English taught in Argentina, that is American and my grandmother used to speak like her husband, an American version. But, yes, it was different. So, when I came to England I spoke English. But to speak a language is one thing, and another is living the language. I think, yes. I think so. Because speaking a language is like being translating the language" (…) "Instead to exist in English, everything is in English: going to supermarket is in English, talking to the doctor is in English, is another experience one that cannot be translated, I think that once you begin to think in English. And I do not think until I got here I thought in English. I spoke English but not thinking in English and here I think in English. Yes."
>
> Vera. Interview.

In Vera's description of English there are different types of languages. There is an English that she used in her country that she used to translate her thoughts; it was a more limited language that served particular functions to complete academic tasks and to communicate with her grandmother. There is another type of English that is the language she uses now and it is a

language she uses not only to communicate: everything is in English: '*going to supermarket is in English, talking to the doctor is in English, is another experience one that cannot be translated*'. In her list of things that now occur in England, a tiredness that comes from performing her everyday living is noticeable. Many of the participants mentioned that and I have experienced this myself and noticed this in my students, the moving from speaking the language to living the language is tiring, even if you have a very good management of a language there is something different when it is all around you, all the time, until one day you notice it is not just around but even inside your head.

I relate to the intensity of being immersed in a language below in a reflection from my researcher journal entry:

> "When I was in my last years of secondary school and my first years of university, I used to spend the three months of the summer holidays in Brazil and then when I was in my mid 20's when I moved to England I lived that process of being surrounded by a language to a point that I noticed that the language was no longer coming at me but from within me. I started bringing the new language into my thoughts to plan what I was going to say, my intention was to make sense of my thoughts to others to have a successful conversation. The process made me less chatty to others while inside my head I was busy processing and planning the conversations. Nowadays, I see that in my new students when they first arrive to the school from another country or when I accompany a group of students on an exchange the first couple of days it is not rare to see them have quiet times, even headaches."

<div align="right">Researcher journal.</div>

In my reflection I recognize two ways with language: an input and an output. There is a tiredness because of the internal processing of the language that has had an effect on the way I performed my roles. Being immersed in the language required a new process similar to the one Vera is alluding to.

It is worthy of attention that Vera, in her extract, makes the difference between British English and American English and educational English and functional English. Vera seems to find it easier to reflect on Spanish, Polish and English looking at the different codes, but as she also distinguishes different languages within a language this, arguably, adds more weight to the importance of translanguaging and moving away from the rigid definition of 'first' and 'second' language, as people could identify with a variety of English, rather than just 'English'.

That process of assimilation of language into the backstage of their language performance was also explained by Lena in her interview:

> "I chose to live in a country where English is spoken, my work is spoken in English, and although I have days... that I can compare, I have days that I get up in the morning, I remember my first days of living in England, speaking English every day, living with an English family, and even when I went to shower I had thoughts of what I was going to do during the day in Spanish, and ten years later, I tell you because the other day I was thinking about the day, while I was taking a shower, in English. At what point did my brain stop making the switch?"

<div align="right">Lena. Interview.</div>

The blending of thoughts from one language into another is also imperceptible for Lena. Lena describes that she found herself using English in her inner use of language when she is talking to herself in English while processing the list of actions her every day. Like Vera, Lena also makes a distinction between a social and an inner use of language that gathers her inner thoughts. She describes that her everyday social roles are aligned with social use of language in English. Her private speech that used to be in Spanish she finds them translanguaging in Spanish and. During the interview, she is reflecting on her language use, wondering when she made a switch from using Spanish to English in her inner thoughts: "*At what point did my brain stop making the switch?*". There does not seem to be a particular point in time when she became conscious of this shift from thinking in Spanish to switching to English. This highlights that the importance is not on the language that is being used as the participants have not noticed that switch, but on their translanguaging act that links her thoughts to actions.

In the extract above, there is agency in the user. Lena brings here the subject of choice when she says that she *'chose to live in a country where English is spoken'* which brings the idea of agreement, of acceptance that might be positive in the sense that she is representing herself as an active participant in her life, in control of her actions. Yet her explanation brings echoes of previous conversations where she might be agreeing, almost surrendering to using a certain language. The theme of power appears here in the sense that the language user is powerful in their agency in language use and at the same time powerless in that their actions are informed by others. There is agency and compliance merging in Lena's language use that encompasses language as capital (Bourdieu, 1977) and the transmission and accumulation of the block narrative (Holliday and Amadasi, 2017) in the discourse of the social context that perpetuate social inequalities.

Translanguaging is a valuable skill for multilinguals, one that is acquired imperceptibly. However, following the metaphor of language as capital, there is a recurrent trait where speakers must make an investment in order to accrue a profit. This idea is supported by the participants' perception that there is an accepted expectation that things are not going to be easy and that they have to invest in their languages. In the extract below, Rita shares her experience investing in English when she moved to the border between Mexico and the United States:

> "When I was ... 22/23 years I went to work at the border of Mexico, the north, and worked in a bar as a waitress, working in a bar because it was a good job: it suited me what I was going to be paid, I had accommodation. I was not going to spend it, all good. Until the first day of work that I start to realise that it is full of Americans! The great advantage I had is that I don't know shame. Then, 'hello, how are you?' and also: 'What?, What? One, one beer? Two, beer? Three beer?' And so, when they said something else: 'one moment' and there and then I asked the owner, who worked as a cashier: '… do you know what is: wishi, wishi, wa?'. So, little by little, I mean, between my very limited English and signs I made myself understood and when they said something, I mean, they are on holiday, travelling, in a good mood, then they do not resent that you do not speak fluent English. And I began to teach myself, it helped me. I knew how I could read their minds, knew what they wanted to say but no, I did not know how to answer."

> Rita. Interview.

To be able to have a successful conversation, Rita brings back the idea that using a language goes beyond the mere management of vocabulary but the intention and the ability to be able to communicate with others. The way she used to go and repeat those '*wishi, wishi, wa*' sounds for the owner to translate for her until, little by little, those sounds became words with meaning. Rita invests efforts into using English to communicate and understand her customers. She does so to achieve what goes beyond language management: to be accepted by the customers in that bar in the border, so she can keep her job, her income and accommodation. It is interesting that Rita's explanation for the customers' patience to her lack of English relates to the fact that the customers are on holiday not to the fact that they might be just grateful that she is making an effort to their lives easier by stretching herself to speak in their language while they are on holiday in her country. Rita accepts that it is up to her to speak in English.

Translanguaging is important for participants yet the only side that gets approved by others that do not share the linguistic repertoire is English. English as a lingua franca, the valuable asset on which participants invest has its downfolds. Rita shares that in a different situation in the context of her work in England when having lunch with her son in the staff canteen other staff

members that were not part of the conversation, but were close enough to overhear the conversation between Rita and her son, demanded that they spoke in English.

> "If I'm at work and if my son and I are at lunch at the same time he comes in and I said, 'Oh son, are you going to eat this, that?' or 'Hey, don't forget to talk to who knows who' and someone who is sitting next to us says: 'English! English! 'cause we do not understand'. Of course, yes, in a way it is a little rude. If I want you to understand what I'll say it in English, but as mentioned before, when you know that person speaks Spanish, the first thing that comes to you is in Spanish, and even to talk faster because it's your language, it is your language, it is your mother language."

<div align="right">Rita Interview.</div>

The context is work but the conversation is private as Rita's main role at that moment is to be a mother where the topic of the conversation revolves around what food to eat, reminding her son of his chores. It is a private conversation between a mother and a son, albeit in a public context. She concedes to the overhearer that her use of language is rude. The management of communication in a language is the knowledge of the simple structures like vocabulary and sentence structure and more complex structures like the association of the intention of the speaker. Linguistic acceptability requires more than knowing how to speak a language correctly. It also involves understanding the rules of the situation in which you are speaking, levels of formality, and expectations of the interlocutors; in other words, there are more than words to be invested to gain access to the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1993). In the canteen, it does not matter that the conversation is private and that the third party was not part of the conversation. It is not clear what was the issue of using Spanish for the person who overheard the conversation, but one possible interpretation could be that it was perceived as a threat in the sense that the workplace is governed by implicit rules that dictated the use of English. When Rita says: *'Of course, yes, in a way it is a little rude'* suggests that there is an overall tacit agreement that English is the norm. Arguably, Rita's comment echoes an inner conversation, a self-assessment that takes place in the backstage of the interview performance of 'self-deprecation' strategy described by Goffman (1963) as a deflection strategy used by individuals in a performance to, among other purposes, maintain good relations with an audience is used.

Beyond the workplace, English is deemed useful among my participants for bonding with their partners. The majority of participants had English partners that only spoke some, or no, Spanish and, therefore, English was the language they mostly used to communicate. Taking Rita's case, her husband spoke no Spanish but understood some basic words:

"Yes, it (English) 100% changed my life, otherwise I would not be in this country. It's simple, I could not have married my husband because he does not speak Spanish, and if I did not speak any English, nothing would had happened, I would not be here. That simple."

<div align="right">Rita. Interview.</div>

This is a short extract that condenses the importance of English for Rita. English is so important in Rita's relationship with her partner, so much so that it is because of English that Rita can afford her new life. In this very short comment, the speaker used a repetition of negatives to reinforce her investment in English and the role it played in her life. It is difficult not to concede to using English in the staff canteen when at home there is so much value placed on her language choice. For Rita, English is the link to establishing their relationship and constructing a family.

### 5.2.1 LANGUAGE AS PART OF SELF

The value of their other languages is noticed when participants describe the meaning of forgetting words in Spanish. While forgetting words in Spanish is deemed a natural consequence of not using the language frequently by one participant, for another the loss of language equates to a loss of self that causes an anxious strive to remain herself. The extract below exemplifies this:

"Yes! If I forget words and I despair. If I forget words in English I do not care. No, I look them up. If I forget words in Spanish, it bothers me because I think I'm losing myself because I recognise myself in Spanish. I do not recognise myself in English." (…) "When I don't get a word in English, it's because English is something I'm still learning. Instead, the Spanish should not be something I'm still learning, it is something that I should already know, no?"

<div align="right">Vera. Interview</div>

Vera is talking about language use and, in the conversation, her feelings come up when she forgets a word in Spanish. She makes a difference between English as a language she is learning, in the learning process it is common to forget or remember some words. On the other hand, for Vera, Spanish is a language she believes is part of herself, a language she should know and therefore forgetting part of the language is equivalent to forgetting part of her self. It became evident during the discussion that Vera invested her emotions when speaking about Spanish. This goes further to show the importance of this language for her, being a part of her.

The same representation of language as part of the self comes up later on when talking about language and her extended family. Reflecting on her perceptions of language when she goes back to her country, she says that she is reminded that she has left.

> "V: Yes, it is not current, that there are a lot of expressions that I can, there are expressions that are like popular jargon, television, jokes about things that are in fashion from advertising or things... so I do not I use them. (…) And that happens to me here every time I go back, there are expressions, like, the language as it changes, those are expressions that I do not know.
>
> A: and what do you do?
>
> V: and I realise I left, I feel there like a part of me is outdated, (…) So there is a part of me, say, there is a part of me in Spanish that does not exist. The flow in Spanish is truncated, that is kind of weird, but, yes; it is more or less like that, with expressions that are fashionable, and I do not follow, do not understand."

> Vera. Interview.

There is a deep sense of loss in Vera's narrative. As she speaks about her language loss, she compares the expressions that she does not know with a part of herself that does not exist. Vera is from Argentina, and she lives in England with her husband and her son. She speaks mostly in Spanish with her son at home and they travel and visit her brother in Spain quite regularly. Therefore, this provides more opportunities for them to speak Spanish. This could be part of her investment in new relationships, in English. It could also be a natural development of the self in motherhood. Yet, there is something lost that is not related to the language, the code per se. Vera's narrative connects losing linguistic connections with a part of her self.

Unlike Vera, Rita seems to have been attempting to comfort herself for forgetting words in Spanish by using the analogy of the streets that are not visited often and, therefore, their names are forgotten. She seems to be defending her forgetfulness vis-à-vis other people and what they might think when this happens. While Vera's extract describes her self perceptions, Rita's take puts more emphasis on other people's perceptions of her use of language. This is illustrated below:

> "But they do not understand that in your brain, your brain is like a box of memories and the words that you do not use; they're in the memory box and sometimes it is difficult to open it when you have not used in long time, and 'as if you think that you will forget?' Well, yes, you can: not forget, not like forget, to forget forever, but yes that it blocks you, do not flow those words that do not use,

and I believe that happens even in English. There are people who say 'and….do you remember that street, yes? Where were we going?' Of course, you do not remember the name of the street where you've gone twice in your life, it is same! If you use a certain word once a year, you'll forget and there it goes, flying and flying in the brain."

<div align="right">Rita. Interview.</div>

Rita's reflection of language brings the evaluation of others on her use of language. The reflection in the extract above echoes an explanation of her language, an explanation to what she perceives as a judgement from others. Language is compared to a street that you visit, if you visit it often you remember it. If you visit the street very rarely you forget how to get there, and the same happens with the use of words.

There is a difference in perception among participants, and that makes the data difficult to standardise, but then again, it makes sense that different people arrive at different definitions and evaluations of language. On the one hand, Vera describes Spanish as the language of emotions and of her inner self; for whom missing words seem to be a metaphor for losing herself, a fact that causes her pain. Yet, for Rita, who compares some Spanish words as an infrequent place she visits, the fact of forgetting words is perceived as a natural consequence of lack of use. The examples highlight the agency taken by the participants to describe their language skills in first person narrative. Both participants describe the role of the speaker as one that puts an investment in the new language, in this case English. The intensity of the emotion of the loss of their mother tongue seems to be linked to the way they define language and how they relate the experience of forgetting words.

To provide some context, Rita and Vera moved to the U.K in their late twenties and, even though they started learning English at different stages in their lives: Vera from childhood with her grandmother and Rita in her early twenties. They both started living the language at a similar age. Sara and Clara, however, consider themselves bilingual speakers from childhood. Both Clara and Sara stated that their relationship with English and Spanish go so far back that they do not remember learning any of the languages.  In this sense, English and Spanish were always part of their lives. Clara was born in the U.K, her mother is Spanish and speaks English, and her father is British and speaks Spanish. When Clara was a year old, the family moved to Spain where she did all her schooling and came back to the U.K when she was eighteen. She is married to a British man who speaks English.

Sara is the first generation born in the U.K. both her parents are from Colombia and her household life was in Spanish. Her schooling was in English and her social life was both in English and in Spanish.

Sara's life has always been bilingual when she was living with her parents and now that she has formed her own family. Her partner is from Colombia, and they communicate between themselves mostly in Spanish unless they are in the presence of others that do not speak Spanish. Here Sara recounts her experience as a growing up and gives insights into her family life:

> "Growing up, by the time I was in elementary school, I handled English the same as Spanish, my mum, she said to me: 'We spoke Spanish in the house because we knew you were going to grasp English at school and that at some point you were going to forget Spanish', but I didn't."

<div align="right">Sara. Interview.</div>

While uttering those words during the interview, Sara transmitted to me a sense of pride for speaking both languages and not losing her Spanish. She roots her good management of English from an early age and a good management of Spanish despite her mother's fears that she would give up the language and favour English. There is a thread across participants that consider multilingualism as a positive experience. I argue that this regard for multilingualism is key to gain a deep understanding of role performance later in the social identity chapter.

### 5.2.2 LANGUAGE IMPOSITION

In the last subsection Sara describes that her mother feared that Sara would stop using Spanish. Some participants were not allowed - explicitly or implicitly - to use the languages they mostly identify with, and how this imposition on them caused them to struggle and look for any opportunity to use the language. The theme of being obliged to speak a certain language and conceal another was introduced previously to describe Rita's perceptions of social norms in a social context. This is something that Clara experienced in her home.

To provide some context to Clara's narrative, shortly after Clara moved back to England, she and her partner started their family; they were living in her in-law's house at the time of their son's birth. From the beginning, she only spoke English to her children because her husband and his family did not want any '*foreign*' (their words, as quoted by Clara) in the house. Language is linked again to power, in this case what enables, or not, the use of a language. The

theme of power and language use within the home is later discussed in depth in the chapter on family. Here, the focus is on the speakers' definition of language, what it means and what it represents.

Reflecting on her language use, Clara says that she deeply regrets never introducing Spanish into her home. In her interview, she commented that her need to use Spanish is so that she gets '*to the point that sometimes I leave the house to have a chat because I need to speak in my language'*. In her case, only one language seems to enter the home as she states that she needs to get out of the house to speak her language. For someone who regards herself as a bilingual and describing both languages as having the same status in terms of mastery and frequency of use, it appears that, for Clara, not everything could be expressed in only one language. She tends to feel the need to use both languages, and in case she is not allowed to, she attempts to find opportunities to do so outside of the restricted area, her in-laws' house. In my observations of Clara talking to her sister, they speak mostly Spanish, at times they go into English and then back to Spanish. There were also instances where both languages were used simultaneously. Translanguaging, the way they mix languages is messy, but it does not affect the flow of their conversation. This might be an indication that there is something extra that Clara can obtain from using a language – Spanish in this case – that goes beyond communication: a means to express her multilingual identity.

Their multilingualism is an important part of the users' identity in this study. They access special parts of language within their linguistic repertoires to express different parts of themselves. They see their language as an asset for themselves that should be passed on to their children. Within themselves and in a private context, participants would naturally translanguage, placing more importance on the task and the person rather than the language. This is not the case in a public context where others outside their conversation exercise their power to make the participants change their language. There is a thrust of opposite forces between a language use that is natural for the participant and what is expected of them. These opposite forces are creating struggles amongst participants vis-à-vis which languages to use and where. In an ethnographic study of translanguaging identity, and social relationships, Poza (2019) encounters similar themes. In the context of a small school where over 70% of the students are identified as Latinx, Poza (2019) reports that his participants were segregated beyond classroom walls showing that translanguaging enables the forging of alliances but also has a distancing function.

In this section, I discussed the value that multilinguals give to their linguistic repertoires and that some of the participants associate language with a part of themselves. These are contrasted in the last subsections when language is imposed. Across the section, language is intertwined with power tensions between multilinguals and dominant linguistic norms.

## 5.3 SIMILAR IS NOT THE SAME

In the previous sections, I showed how the participants use language and how they define language and language use. Reviewing the different definitions of language in the seven participants of this study, it becomes clear that similar evaluations are not the same. There is an importance attached to the results of a study linked to the capacity that these findings have to represent a spectrum wider than the sample of the participants. One caveat from the exploration in this research is that not two people are the same. Even though all the participants are female multilingual speakers, aged between thirty-five and forty-five and married to a male, bringing up their children in multilingual families, they do not share the same definition of language, they do not put the same feelings to the use or the loss of a language. The participants share many aspects of their lives yet, there are many more areas where they are different and that makes each participant a unique individual. This section describes data that shows how despite their similarities, all the participants arrive at different evaluations in relation to language.

In the interviews, participants described themselves as linked to their languages. Expressing that the use of Spanish or English influences the type of self they try or, at times, can perform. In the last section I presented an extract from Vera's interview where she states finding herself more comfortable doing intimate related tasks in Spanish and work-related tasks in English. Although in home videos Vera and her son translanguage during role play and at dinner time, Vera makes a clear division of her roles with language in her explanation below:

> "Yeah, I find that the affective things I do better in Spanish than in English. As…. I feel very divided between my private and professional field. And I feel that professionally I feel more comfortable in English, because it's many years that I practice my profession in this country. But personally, I feel more comfortable in ... in Spanish. I feel a division. Like my public persona was in English and my private person was in Spanish. Yes?... yes. That's the way I feel I'm different."

> Vera. Interview.

Language is part of Vera and different roles are fulfilled more comfortably in one language or another. There is a difference between Vera's explanation and the observations of the videos she shared that might reflect a difference between her expectations of her use of language, her evaluations towards her different roles and the occurrence in the everyday performance of her roles. It goes further to show the complexity of language use, and that it is never clear-cut. Assigning a particular language for a given task or situation is not always possible. The factors that prompt this difference are later explored again in the family chapter. Here, I shed some light on how the perceptions of language vary from one participant to another and how, even for the same participant, language can take different meanings at different times.

Unlike Vera, Rita does not use language to construct her different roles. At the beginning of the interview, Rita asserted that she was fine with the interview being conducted in both languages, as discussed earlier, she perceived language in terms of frequency and easiness of language. This is shown below:

> "With both, and, for me English is not second language, it's like .... It's like the Spanish. It is not difficult for me, it's not ... it not my second language, I feel it is now my first language rather because, in fact, I speak more. No, probably, in a month 90% speak English and 10% Spanish."
>
> Rita. Interview.

Her explanation is that both languages are easy for her. However, she also shared that there is a different part of self when she moves from one language to another.

> "She (Rita speaking of herself when speaking Spanish) is more partier, more open than the otherwise English: she is a bit more reserved, not as loud, maybe. Yes, there is a difference."
>
> Rita. Interview.

Rita's first description of her use of language at the beginning of the interview is less connected with the deeper perception of self she is reflecting later in the interview. I wonder if the first comment reflects an ideal perception and the second one relates to her evaluation of herself in language use. Although that is my interpretation, different participants define language and language use differently across the various interviews and within the same interview.

The participants have different evaluations at different times. As the context of the interview had not changed: we were in the same place, the same participants, the same researcher, the answer for that change is in the participant herself, as she evaluates her different roles. It was

only sensible to explore what is happening in the backstage of the conversation, in the evaluations and perceptions of the participants. This is exemplified in the extract below:

> "It is usually true that I operate in one language or the other with people. With only few people I'm in both languages, but either way I do not think people realise how uncomfortable is being me going from one language to another. No. I do not think they realize. How much as I suffer. And I realise that as I speak, the more I'm talking about something that is more emotional and more personal, more difficult it becomes for me to find the words in English. It's exactly the same the other way."

Vera. Interview.

Reflecting on her use of language, Vera explains that she finds herself more comfortable in Spanish to discuss emotions and family matters but that English works best for her work-related matters as most of her training has been done in this language. Furthermore, she finds it is not within her, but that her action is prompted by others. She tells how she operates in different languages when she is with different people. The most important factor here is her awareness of the pain behind language use when she moves from one language to another. When she has to use Spanish in her public roles or when she needs to use English in her private roles, she reports that she feels uncomfortable, that she suffers, and that for her the process is emotional and difficult.

However, the observations of her videos show that, as she plays with her son, she speaks mostly in Spanish but navigates from one language to another in the same tone of voice, with a consistent body language: she translanguages. As she plays with her son, the role does not change, the language follows the role. This use of language is clearly different than when she switches languages purposely during the video from Spanish to English to indirectly address her partner, who is in the kitchen, to let him know that he is running late. The observation of the video leads me to agree with her in that her inner struggles are not visible and that those self-divisions that she perceives are, maybe, slightly more blurred than what she seems to think. Perhaps being in the context of her home, she is less uncomfortable.

The data show that perceptions vary across the different participants and that the same participant's evaluations vary at different times. In their narratives there is a deep undercurrent of feelings and thinking that flows parallel to language use. Roles are different in the participants from one language to another, from their perceptions of language use to their language use in practice. As one role becomes stronger or weaker in one language over another,

this also is, in turn, different to the way another person uses their language and interprets their identity.

The participants have introduced their everyday public or private roles. The different and, at times, contrastive roles all together amount to the participants' identities. However, before moving the exploration deeper from language into identity construction in language use, it is important to highlight that it is only for the purpose of mapping the analysis in the next chapters, that identity can be viewed in different parts and discussed separately as in the diagram below in the following chapters. Even when one role takes precedence at a certain point in time, all the other roles are present, in the back of the mind.

## 5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The research questions of this study are around identity construction. As I am analysing language to explore identity construction it made sense to ask the participants what their thoughts were on their linguistic repertoires. The participants had a lot to say about their languages, what their languages mean, what they represent, and how they use it. In many ways, the participants redefined language for this study.

The simple question I had asked mainly for participants to feel comfortable gave an interesting insight into the way language is perceived. Considering what multilingualism means for the participants puts the focus on the value participants assign to their language. The participants described everyday situations where their languages are sometimes encouraged or sometimes silenced. Overall, their multilingualism is defined as valuable and although the participants describe different types of languages, in the practical use of language these are not along the lines of archaic hierarchical language as codes. The use of a linguistic repertoire enables access to deeper areas of language and enables rich self-expression. Zooming out, the big picture of the findings shows that participants define and use their language differently from their perceptions, which are at times contradictory, and that identity is the sum of those different roles that make the wholeness of each unique hybrid identity. These findings correlate with what is referred to as the "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García, 2009a:45)

Wei (2011), who observes Chinese university students in England describes translanguaging spaces, "a social space for the multilingual language user [that brings] together different

dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their physical and cognitive capacity into one coordinated and meaningful experience" Wei (2011:1223). Thus, an important emerging theme in this study is the role of context and the factors that enable, or not, translingualism in the performance of everyday roles.

This chapter has provided an overview of what language means for the participants and what being multilingual represents for them. The subjective definitions of language are important before going deeper into an exploration of identity construction through language use. The participants' narratives on language use bring an idea of different sides to their identity. Most of them describe that their contexts sometimes enable their multilingualism or imposes the use of one language. Arguably, the main finding is that evaluations and emotions vary across participants and even the same participants offer differing narratives. From the participants' definitions of language and language context, I have assembled the diagram below to represent identity:
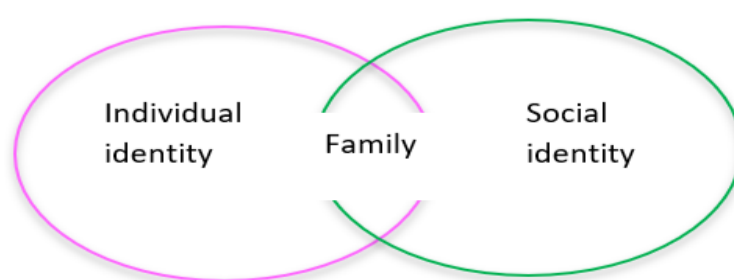


I have used two open circles to present in one image the different spaces of identity, social and individual. There are two circles open in their converging area: the family. Identity is a composite made of the sum of all the person's narratives, perceptions, identities past and present, for exploration purposes I have expressed social and individual identities as two halves. The individual identity is constructed from those personal perception stories, the social identity is the perception of self in relation to others, there is a space in between those two sides, a hinge, the family. I argue that what a language is and what a language use entails are the starting points for the discussions on the next chapters on individual identity, social identity and the place in-between: the family. The diagram is trying to capture the identity, a sphere, that the study opens up and on one hand there is individual identity and on the other the social identity, as a hinge between the two halves is the family, that in-between place that private but more social than the individual identity and more private than the social identity.
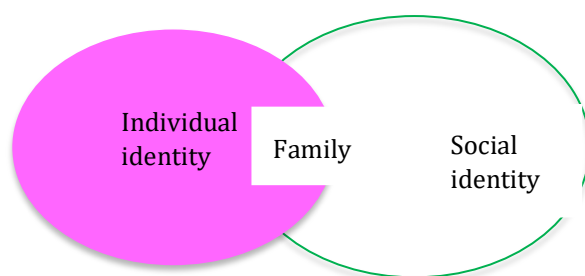
The main quest of this study is to explore how multilinguals use language to construct their identity. Identity is made of an individual and social perspective. This chapter, following Goffman (1959)'s metaphor of the theatre performance as identity construction, brings the notion that identity is a complex assemblage of narratives that converge in the making of identity. Themes presented in the last chapter are here taken from a different perspective, namely the divided self in language use and identity across languages. Across the chapter, the similarities and differences across narratives present a cross-cutting theme of individuality that gives the name of the chapter. This chapter is divided into three sections:

The first section entitled: 'I feel very divided' contains three subsections: the emotions in the backstage of language production; the context and the cultural script; the influence of fellow actors. The backstage production sketched the emotions, evaluations in the inner conversations in the private use of language. The stage and cultural scripts report the participants' perceptions of how others expect them to perform roles. The influence of fellow actors highlights the impact that others have in language use. The section's main theme is that there are differences in the perceptions of self in different languages but less in the observation of language use.

The second section: 'Identity across languages' describes multilinguals' agency in language. The subsection entitled: My language is not my limit describes the investment in role performance. In this section the main theme is that role performance, not identity, changes with language.

The last section of this chapter: 'Everyday roles: parts of a whole' covers the sub themes of the ideal and the real role, investment and power in two subthemes: The aftermath that explores the participants' reflections on language and identity and I raise above it that describes the use of silence as a strategy for language resistance.

The data in this section suggests for many participants identity is made up of different selves. Their perceptions of different selves arise from the feelings in the backstage of language production, sometimes from the relation of roles with their context or because of the influence of other fellow actors.

### 6.1.1 THE EMOTIONS IN THE BACKSTAGE

In her interview, Vera shared that from her linguistic repertoire, she prefers to use English for her roles in her public life of work and training and that she would rather use Spanish for her roles in her private life of family and close friends. In the extract below language is linked to private or public roles.

> "Yeah, I find that the affective things I do better in Spanish than in English. As…. I feel very divided between my private and professional field. And I feel that professionally I feel more comfortable in English, because it's many years that I practice my profession in this country. But personally, I feel more comfortable in ... in Spanish. I feel a division. Like my public persona was in English and my private person was in Spanish. Yes? Yes. That's the way I feel I'm different. So, I can speak in Spanish professional issues, but I find it costs me more the vocabulary and I find it harder to talk about emotional issues in English. I can do both, but it is more costly. I can be emotional in English, but it costs more; I can speak about private topics in English but it costs more, but I can do and I can talk about my professional life in Spanish, but it costs more especially in relation to what I do today because I work in English. Not that I cannot do it but if I can choose, I prefer to talk about my feelings in Spanish, my private life in Spanish. And my professional life in English."

> Vera. Interview.

Vera distinguishes two sides of herself and shares that she feels different when using different languages. For her, there is a sense of comfort in the use of, on one side, English to deal with work-related matters – a 'public persona', as she describes it – and, on the other side, Spanish for her private roles. In this extract, Vera's views on language bring to the discussion the feeling she has in the backstage of her language use. Vera's statements allude to the idea of having two identities split between their private and public lives. This is echoed in Goffman (1959)'s metaphor of the presentation of the self in everyday life and a theatre performance, supporting Vera's explanation of having different personas for different roles. In her recount, she associates different areas of her linguistic repertoire to separate roles where she feels more comfortable. The ease of use that was previously a theme in chapter 1, could relate to the fact

that the longer she spends in any language performing a particular persona, the quicker she finds the words in one language. Vera says that there is a cost that comes from using her less preferred language.

In the backstage of that language choice, Vera associates her linguistic preference with emotions. This data complements her definition of different languages for different roles. In her interview, Vera describes herself as multilingual. In there, Vera shares that she was brought up in Spanish and English was also introduced early in her life by her grandmother who was Irish and married to an American. English was part of her early years until her disabled sister was born and the family moved away from using different languages. English remained only between conversations with her grandmother and in school. At the same time, in her definitions of languages, Spanish is the language she '*comes with*' while English is the language she is still learning. Vera is a multilingual person, who in different contexts prefers different languages. She makes it clear that she can use any of her three languages in any context. The alteration of her preference comes at a cost for her.

This struggle felt in the backstage of her language use has an impact on her roles as she explains in the extract below. As we were discussing identity, Vera mentioned *'Vera in Spanish'*. I felt curious about the way she defined herself, so I took the words she gave me and returned them in a question. I wanted her to continue in that stream of thought.

> "I think she's a little emotional, I think she's a little more vulnerable, I think she is more reflective.
> I think she's a little more ... it is less contained. And I think that English Vera is constructed from a
> need, I mean, because I live in a space where no Spanish is used. But it's not ... Let's say she is a
> translated Vera, not Vera. But a translated Vera."

> Vera. Interview.

In her narrative, Vera describes two selves, two identities, one that is the real self and the other a translated self. Vera says that, in Spanish, she is more emotional, vulnerable, and less contained while the Vera in English is a construct because Spanish is not used, so out of a need to communicate with others. She states, twice, that her persona in English is a translated version of herself. This resonates with Burck (2005)'s findings of double or multiple identities in a complex world made of the different language worlds of the home and the outside and the metaphor of being translated to describe the different spaces they perceive their identity. Hoffman (1989) also describes a sense of doubleness as a contentious journey into hybridity where 'this language is beginning to invent another me' (Hoffman, 1989:21).

The distance between the way she would prefer to perform her roles and the actual performance of the self creates tension. In her everyday life, being in two languages is challenging because of the need to include all the members of the family. She sees herself as more vulnerable in Spanish and, ideally, she would perform more vulnerable roles in Spanish in the world of her home. Vera would prefer to perform public roles or to invest in translation for the public self, outside her house. However, at home, she explains in her interview on family languages that she has *'to invite English'* into her house to include her husband, as shown in the extract below:

> "And the family is complicated because my husband does not speak Spanish, my son answers to me in English but speaks Spanish, I mean he understands what I say in Spanish, but how to coexist ... at times I feel I am like a kind of foreigner in my own home. it is a bit strange, because there are times when I'm in my house I operate in Spanish. I think in Spanish, I feel the Spanish Vera. But I have to invite English and I have to bring it all the time because one of the members of my family does not speak Spanish, and that makes me feel very lost at times. It is hard to change languages in my house it costs me much more than outside."

<div align="right">Vera. Interview.</div>

This seems to suggest that there is a struggle that stems from the fact of trying to perform a role in a private context and yet use a language that is usually utilised in a public context. In this case, Vera, in her private role as a mother at the dinner table, finds herself using a language – English – she thinks is best suited for public contexts. In the extract there is not just the use of someone else's words, it is the awareness of having to change for others. There is a distance between the identity she wants to perform and the one required by the audience. This results in a perception of a translated self. That distance creates a gap between the imagined self and the performed self and the result is a tension. Vera not only concedes to use a language that is not of her choice, but is also aware of the process required: an investment for the benefit of others at the cost of her freedom of choice. Previous studies describe participants who are aware that they are borrowing somebody else's words as in Fairclough (1992); Maybin (1998). Arguably, it is important to unpick why they chose to do so. In the next chapter on family this will be revisited and in the chapter on social identity it becomes apparent that this will be an expectation outside her house.

The fact that Vera explains her ability to use any language, and the fact that her use of a language that does not go in accordance with her preference comes at a cost, is a clear indication of the effect that others have on her actions. The presence of others and their power to prompt change continues in the family chapter when, in a discussion of Vera's home videos, that extra

cost of language use is used by Vera as an investment in her relationship with her son at playtime as she builds up her maternal role. Although not all her efforts are successful, as in the social identity chapter, she shares an experience in the park when, also in her role of a mum, she ran at a loss by swapping languages for the benefit of an external audience.

Other participants relate the different selves to the feelings they get in different languages. Lena's extract below illustrates this:

> "When I speak in my language there is a relax, a familiarity with the language that is not in English. Even if I love speaking in English, I have always studied it and I've spoken English for many years and in different countries, within different accents and cultures in English. My language will always have that familiarity and that, basically, yes, you are more relaxed."

<div align="right">Lena. Interview.</div>

In her reflection on language use, Lena connects language use and feeling at ease. Lena has studied English for many years and enjoys using English. In her interview, she also shared that she has lived in different countries. Lena has a rich multilingual experience of languages and cultures that use English. She describes a different connection with Spanish, a familiarity with the language that Lena relates to being relaxed. This could be because the roles she performs in English are work-related in a context where her fellow actors are work colleagues.

Like Vera, Lena struggles with using English to express emotions like love and anger. Both participants describe that their choice of language relates to the feelings in the backstage of their language use. Perhaps that familiarity they describe with the language stems from their relationship with others when using that language. The findings in this section connect language use with emotions and evaluations that participants make in and from context in their descriptions of self. Arguably, the evaluation of context and the struggle described in the use of language has an impact in the subjective performance of role.

## 6.1.2 The context and the cultural script

The data in this sub theme continues with the division of self as the result of the relationship the participant has with the context and the participants' perceptions of what is expected of them. The data suggests that these have an impact on how multilinguals in this study perform their everyday roles.

Unlike the extracts provided in the previous section and which suggest that the presence of others prompts a division of self, the extract below shows that participants' interpretation of the social 'script' (Goffman, 1959) prompts an adjustment of role performance. This helps shed light on the nuances of everyday identity construction.

Like Vera, Rita also describes a perception of a distinct self in different languages. In the extract below, Rita describes herself in Spanish:

> "Rita in Spanish is not like the English Rita … twice maybe more fun, she is more talkative, a jokester because she to do ... Nothing like Spanish ...it has to do with the slang we have in Spanish, it has to do with Latin American culture: more like a dance, to see life with more joy. (…) Rita in Spanish lives and communicates the Latin American style."

> Rita. Interview.

In Rita's description the difference in her ways of being is linked to language and culture. Rita's roles relate to how things work within certain contexts, or the social script as referred to by Goffman (1959). Rita is like an actor on a stage following a pre-established script even if it is not completely desired. There is a connection between the way roles are performed, the language and the culture and traditions in the language that work as enabler or disabler of a certain way of being.

The themes of language and culture also arise from Rita's description of her self in English below:

> "Rita in English .... does not joke, but for example, it is about the English culture that you cannot say certain words because words, because you can offend some ethnicities, or you cannot say certain things, you should not."

> Rita. Interview.

Rita's description of her self in English at a different point of the interview, also connects her roles in different languages with the culture where the language is embedded. There is a sense of allowance and prohibition in what Rita can do. The data leads to a discussion on whether there is an identity that gets translated into the new language or whether there is a new identity that is acquired with the new language. It follows from this that an inquiry comes to mind: which one is the self, the individual? Different participants notice a difference in themselves in different languages.

The perception of different beings in different languages is recurrent in most participants' interviews. When languaging on her perception of self in different languages, Sara, who was born in the U.K. and has been brought up using English and Spanish, also describes the importance of context in the performance of her different roles.

> "S: Is there a personality per language? I believe yes, you know? I was analysing this the other day and I believe that I am a more cheerful person when I speak Spanish. Why? Because it goes hand in hand with the culture: it goes hand in hand with the music, the food, the tradition, they symbolise what it means for me to speak in Spanish.
>
> A: And what does it mean for you to speak in Spanish?
>
> S: Family, friends and memories, I don't know, like happiness, better things, that is what Spanish represents. Because I live in an English country, so when I use Spanish, I do it in happy events, so I believe that I associate it with that. But, yes, I can definitely tell you that there is a very different Sara from the Sara that speaks English'

<div align="right">Sara. Interview.</div>

Sara, like Vera and Rita, also perceives that her personality varies with the language she uses. In the first part of her answer, Sara describes a different personality in different languages. Like Vera, Sara describes Spanish as the language she uses with family and friends. The difference is that while Vera describes her roles as public or private with a cost attached to the language she uses; Sara sees that different roles are linked to the wider context of language: she identifies with the music, the food and the traditions in that language. Like Rita, it is from the connection with that wider context that she develops different roles. Sara explains that because she lives and works in an English-speaking country, her everyday errands are mostly in English. She, therefore, needs to be a certain person that is different from who she tends to be in Spanish, as she puts it. Spanish is the language that she associates with happy events.

The wider context is sometimes created. In my observations, Sara speaks to her children in English, Spanish and Spanglish. Her children are passive multilinguals as they follow the conversation, but their responses are mostly in English, sometimes Spanglish. So, when I met up with her, we discussed language and family. The extract below shows Sara's explanation of the wider context that her parents provided her and her brother.

> "Because I think we expose them a lot to things in English. The difference between me and my children is that I kept a lot of ties with my cousins, with the children of other parents of Latino relatives, and on weekends my dad always took us to Elephant and Castle for empanadas, to buy

the latest music … every weekend, we were regular customers of the restaurant that was called 'La Bodeguita' back then. Today, it's called 'El Mueblecito'. And then we were, my brother and I, always exposed to having to speak Spanish because those who served us spoke Spanish and the friends of our peers too. Once we became teenagers, we loved to dance the salsa. We were very exposed, even though we did not live in Colombia, we were very exposed to having that connection."

<div align="right">Sara. Interview.</div>

Sara is happy to perform in different languages. The roles are quite different as they agree with the script provided by her different languages and cultures. The wider context helps develop different selves as the participant here describes her roles with the different cultures behind the different languages.

The findings in this subsection complement the perception of divided selves. However, the data here connects different selves with context and the roles that participants fulfil in those contexts with their various selves, not with language as in the previous section.

### 6.1.3 THE INFLUENCE OF FELLOW ACTORS

Most participants describe a difference in the way they perform their roles in different languages. The data in this subsection suggests that the variability in the role does not relate to the language as a code but to other people surrounding them. In the excerpt below, Sara explains how others have an influence in the language she uses:

"Because I've always had that, I like thinking of where I am. But I'm not saying always, why? Because there are moments that it's automatically done, that it's spontaneous. I'm thinking a thousand other things at once. But I am aware that if you speak to me in Spanish, I will answer you in Spanish, if you speak to me in English, I will answer you in English."

<div align="right">Sara. Interview.</div>

In previous sections, Sara shares that she performs differently in different languages and that the wider context has an impact on her. In this extract Sara shares that it is not language that prompts her to change, not the code itself, the people with whom she speaks. When she is busy with many things in her head, there is not an evaluation in the backstage. Just a spontaneous response to others that prompts one language or another.

Others also have an impact on her evaluation of self. I presented Sara's extract where she told me how her parents exposed her to that wider context and how her mother always encouraged her to speak Spanish.

> "Because she sees it as very important, and, in fact, yes, it is very important, to have two languages because it opens the door to many other things, many other languages. Spanish is a language of the, it is a romance language and in fact opens the way for you to learn Italian, French.
>
> A: You think it's important, your mum thinks it's important and you both act differently …
>
> S: Yes. (…) Each individual has their way of being able to raise their children, sometimes it is like hitting your head against a wall, a brick wall, because it is difficult, especially if the person is not exposed to that environment where you can be constantly practising. And I say this because sometimes I lose my patience:  'Answer now!', I need an answer now and I ask you, I ask you in English already, I know you will do it faster, and they answer me faster. And in fact, I know I'm hurting them more, for the future because, because the Spanish language paved my way for a lot of things. And yes, mine aren't going to get that opportunity that's practically free, that their dad, and I and both; my dad and my mum and all the people around us have speak Spanish. It's a foolishly lost skill. Stupidly."

<div align="right">Sara. Interview.</div>

In the extract, Sara shares the differences between her upbringing and the upbringing she is giving to her children. Her mother believed Spanish to be important and, therefore, tried to immerse her children in an environment that predominantly used Spanish. In the previous chapter, participants describe English as a key to open doors, the extract above shows the importance of Spanish in Sara's mother and the eagerness to see her children speak it too.

She is describing her role as a mother, and this description echoes almost a justification of her actions regarding the lack of opportunities she provides for her children to use Spanish. Her contribution runs as a stream of thought that shows that while she describes her role as a mother there is a parallel narrative of her role as a daughter. There is a sense of guilt that relates to Sara as a mother who is doing things differently from her mother. Sara, as a multilingual, performing in real life with the pressures of time, uses the resources she has to get the job done. The data shows that despite the role taking place at the forefront at any given time Sara the mother, the daughter, the wife, the friend, among others – she is the sum of all her roles. Based on this, I argue that the fact that one role takes precedence at one moment in time does not stop, not even pause, her other roles.

The perception of self in Sara's narrative is made of two narratives: one where she identifies herself as a fun family member and friend and another one where she is at work and she is more focused and organised. Her family-related roles do not cease when she is at work, nor does she stop being a person who enjoys dancing. However, her job-related identity becomes more apparent due to the context within which she interacts – the audience. Arguably, this is not a trait that happens just to multilingual speakers, just that in a way it is more noticeable in two languages. Identity is about the roles we undertake and even a monolingual would express different identities at his workplace, with family, in the market, and so on. Many of my colleagues show a similar change with their choice of words and accent when we meet in a conference than when we meet in an informal setting like a coffee shop. I get the impression that those changes within the same language might be less noticeable because they are more common and less judged.

The spontaneity of the construction described by Sara's everyday role relates to the concept of small culture formation on the go (Holliday, 1999). The small culture is attached to the here and now of the activity; to the present, small gathering in active cohesive behaviour and it is 'more concerned with social processes as they emerge' (Holliday, 1999:240). Similarly, the construction of the identity informed its social context: sometimes it is what is going on in the backstage of the language production, sometimes it is the cultural script, and sometimes it is fellow actors.

In this section, I attempted to make sense of my participants' perceptions of themselves vis-à-vis the languages they speak. The findings show that they view themselves as "divided" in the sense that they attribute distinct roles to different languages. The perception of that division has an effect in the backstage of language production. Others see it as an adaptation to context, fellow actors or the role they are playing at the time. The themes that arose from the data in this section shows that most participants perceive different selves. In the different subthemes there is a clear indication of a dynamic construction of identity that frees identity from being attached to one language or another, giving it an ever-becoming trait as it builds in the context where it is constructed.

6.2 ONE IDENTITY ACROSS LANGUAGES

In the previous section, the participants explained how they felt divided between the various language they speak and roles they play. The data in this section adds a different perspective to the roles constructed that shed some light on the active agency of identity construction. This section contains a subsection entitled: My language is not my limit that describes that role performance is adapted as participants invest in relationships.

One of the sub themes that repeated itself across the data is participants' selves not being limited by language that gives the title to this subsection.

During my discussion with Lucia, it became apparent that she was uncertain or hesitant when she was sharing her thoughts on her fluency in English. This required me to use a lot of prompting to make her say more and expand her thoughts. Her response was the following:

> "L: So, for me, English is still a barrier."

Then reflecting upon some of her everyday interactions, she adds:

> "L: Wait, the way I am? Oh, no. Because I'm thinking right now when I meet my neighbour and we start talking about something, no, no, no, no, I talk to him and act like I'm speaking to him in Spanish. Just, no, right? Look. Yes, because I don't have total English flow. If I had total fluency in English, I think there would be no change, but since I have some barriers, I still don't feel 100% like in my native language, to put it like that."

When I asked her about what she would do had she had more language, she explained her willingness to say more:

> "L: I could expand the conversation, I could suggest things, I could, I think if I had a better level of English, I could be more sociable, I think that affects my sociability as well." Lucia. Interview

While in their interviews Vera, Sara and Lena explained how they can reach a different layer of self when they use different languages, in the extract above, Lucia shared that she feels English is a barrier for her to communicate. However, even though she says that in English she does not '*feel a 100%*', she perceives that language does not affect her identity. Her perception is that if she had a stronger management of the language, she would expand the conversation with her neighbour but she does not believe that she would change the

way she performs her role. Lucia does not perceive a change in herself or a change in her roles. She talks to her neighbour, if she had more English that conversation might be different. She is very clear: *'no, no, no, no, I talk to him and act like I'm speaking to him in Spanish. Just, no, right?'* that her self would not change. Looking at the data through the lens of the theatre metaphor, English is a system or channel through which Lucia as a speaker addresses her fellow actors. It is the language as a medium to communicate that has an impact on the performance but not on Lucia's perception of self. Lucia's identity is expressed across languages because she would not change her way of being, only the way she fulfils that role. In her narrative, her perception of self does not change even if the way she expresses herself is affected. Lucia's extract seems to suggest that she has a different proficiency in English compared to Sara and Vera, and that she has a distinct view of her identity and consequently, the way she performs her everyday roles.

For Lucia, the self, the one behind the roles, does not change with the language. Something similar was described by Nina. Nina grew up speaking Spanish and Galician. She has been living in the U.K for over fifteen years and has very good management of English. In our first interview on language use, Nina avowed that despite her ability to speak both Galician and Spanish equally well, her choice would depend on the persons with which she speaks. She also adds that she feels the same using both languages:

> "I don't feel any different. All I feel is that I'm capable, that I didn't think I was capable before. And not only that, it opened my mind that I was capable of other things as well, not just learning a new language."

<div align="right">Nina. Interview.</div>

The data in the extract above goes in line with Lucia's assertions. Nina does not change and her feelings are the same in different languages. In her account, Nina links language to the role she is playing based on who she is talking to. Nina gives the example of talking to her coach in Galician and when I asked about how she feels in the different languages she does not connect using different languages with different ways of being but with the fellow actors in her role. This seems to show that Nina views that English is a tool in the performance of her role. She speaks three languages and when performing her roles, her core does not change. In her languaging reflection she connects with a feeling of confidence and an awareness that she can 'do other things, as well, not just learning a language'. In that last remark, Nina connects her role to the backstage of the performance

and language use goes back to that place, feeding back to the emotions, the intentions and confidence in the backstage. This, arguably, shows the dialogical relationship between the backstage and the stage of the role performance.

This section has reported how identity is expressed across languages for three of the seven participants. The participants recounted that the language they use does not change them, but they use language to fulfil their roles based on their direct or peripheral audience. The data describes language as a tool in the performance of the role. This is particularly significant because it moves the focus away from language towards participants' awareness of the feelings in the backstage of language production which highlights the agency that multilinguals have as users of their linguistic repertoire.

## 6.3 EVERYDAY PARTS OF THE WHOLE

The previous sections illustrated how the participants perceive themselves in different ways. In this section, I present the participants' power and struggle in their identity construction. In the first subsection, I report how two participants made sure their voices were heard. The final subsection presents the contradictory and complementary nature of narratives.

### 6.3.1 AFTERTHOUGHTS

Languaging allows the participants to share their inner verbal thoughts out loud. A couple of days after these interviews on language and identity took place, Lena and Vera sent me private messages. They had kept reflecting on the themes we had discussed and wanted me to take into account their afterthoughts. My analysis of the data suggests that there is a power element in identity construction amongst my participants. This came through the accounts of two out of seven participants and were mentioned in both data sets: interviews and languaging (participants' reflections on their videos). In addition to interviews, using videos and reflections was crucial in helping participants share their inner thoughts out loud.

To put the new data in context, in the interview, Vera explains how she has a perception of a different self when she changes languages. For her, Spanish is the language that she associates with her more intimate self and English a language she associates with a translated self for the more public spheres of her life. Her perception of her self in English is:

> "And I think that English Vera is constructed from a need, I mean, because I live in a space where no Spanish is used. But it's not ... Let's say she is a translated Vera, not Vera. But a translated Vera."

<div align="right">Vera. Interview.</div>

Her perception is that she enacts different selves in different languages. After this interview. Vera sent me a link to a newspaper article: 'Lost in translation: las emociones cambian según la lengua que hablemos.' (Ferrer, 2019). The article comes from SINC, the first online scientific news agency in Spanish, and it reports a study that used colexification (a method that analyses the different meanings that can be expressed by the same word) to compare twenty-four words used to describe emotions in 2,474 languages of twenty linguistic families. The text concludes that emotions are less universal than expected and that the linguistic variation is related to the geographical proximity. This was an unexpected piece of data sent by Vera. I read the message as an insistence from her on me to see how she perceives her different selves in the use of different languages, and how the three languages that she speaks allow her to place various roles or restrict her to limited ones. The article validates her views. Vera's statements – and actions – convey a longing to be heard and understood. As a multilingual speaker, one interpretation that comes to mind is that her need to share and be heard is a call that is not hers only, but it is shared by other multilinguals who cease or start using a language according to other people's conveniences.

As previously stated, Lena had also contacted me after the interview, unlike Vera, via a voice message. She asserted:

> "I was thinking about what we spoke. English is like using formal clothes, it restricts your movements. Speaking in my language is like using sporty clothes. The personality does not change, but it changes the attitude."

<div align="right">Lena. Message after the interview.</div>

In her message, Lena uses a metaphor to compare identity in different languages with the wearing of different types of clothes. In her message, she compares using Spanish almost as wearing informal sport clothes due to their lightness and comfort, while she associates using English with the feelings of tightness experienced wearing formal clothes. This new data is consistent with the data in her former assertions where she relates the use of Spanish to the feeling of familiarity.

The data retrieved from Lena's interview and afterthoughts both describe similar perceptions of an identity that is stable. That is, the discussion above is echoed with her interview extract: when she shared that her beliefs, and interests do not change from one language to another:

> "I say, personality does not change. I like art, I like art in English, I like art in Spanish. I like music, that part in me doesn't change. The way I'm a mother, a woman and a wife doesn't change. But what changes is my confidence in expressing myself in English and Spanish. All the time. And, yes, I feel like I'm being much more at risk and I'm a much quieter person in English than I am in Spanish. And so, I'm much more... my voice … everything changes from English to Spanish, in that I totally agree, 100%."

<div align="right">Lena. Interview.</div>

Lena shares that her personality does not change. She is very confident in her statement, using short sentences and providing different examples to state that even if she changes languages, her personality does not change. Her explanation is that what makes Lena and her perceptions of self in different roles do not change. For Lena what changes is the way she expresses herself in the different languages. Her use of language is linked to her confidence and feeling at risk in her second language. In different sources of data from Lena there is a theme of identity as constant. Although she says that she is more quiet and less confident, which represents a change in her perception of self, the theme in Lena's contributions is that there is a core, identity as a constant construct that was repeated across the data sources obtained from Lena. In the context of the theatre, it seems that the identity of the actor, the inner self, is constant and what changes is the persona that they are enacting: the social self which is tuned by the context, or the role and the audience.

There are many similarities between these two participants. They are both: multilingual, female, married with children, settled in the UK, and with a rich experience of travelling to and living in different countries. They even have similar ways of reaching out spontaneously after our interviews. Yet, their views are very different. The data in this section is contradictory and, therefore, does not completely align with Goffman (1959)'s analogy. Goffman (1959) views everyday life as a performance on the stage and that our socialisation consists of learning how to play our assigned roles from other people. This assumes that the data across participants would be perhaps different but not contradictory as the data in this section. The argument in this subsection contributes to the argument that participants have many similarities but are their own unique selves.

Identity is constructed in the participants' narratives. From the data in the previous subsection, it emerged that participants with very similar backgrounds have different perspectives of self and perform their roles differently. In this subsection I present the narratives collected at different points from the same participant. These narratives converge, contradict and flow along each other. There are two one-hour long interviews on language and identity, three homemade videos, a reflective interview, and an additional message she shared after the last interview. The triangulation of data reveals power tensions in identity construction.

This is Lena's description of self and languages. Lena shares that her personality does not change that what changes is the part of her that other people see.

> "The person who knows me in Spanish, knows *a* person, because that's generally what people tell me (…). In Spanish, yes. Because I'm loud. Because I make jokes, because I laugh, I gesticulate, I don't stop for a minute. Yes. That's what I am in Spanish. But in English? People who know me in meetings where everyone speaks English, they have even told me that I am a shy person, and obviously it is not me! and it is not my personality, but it is what they perceive. So, for me, personally, I don't change my personality between one language and the other, what people perceive is something different. So, whether they know half my personality, or a quarter of my personality because sometimes I can't express myself as I would like or because I don't understand the way to do humour in another language or because I don't have the words. Usually, it is because one is used to a different kind of humour; and humour is somewhat more complicated to synchronise in another language. But now, if from your personality I take out the humorous part, the fun part, where you can express funny comments, which are in general what bring you closer to other people, then what is left of your personality? It's very limited. So, I don't change my personality, but people perceive someone else, they don't perceive myself, 100%."

<div align="right">Lena. Reflections.</div>

The data above shows that in Lena's narrative she does not change. There is an explanation of how others perceive her differently depending on the role affordances linked to a language. Lena asserts that the management of the language might have an impact on the persona she shares. Her narrative is very matter of fact with the use of percentages. The use and understanding of humour in English is different than in Spanish and she is, therefore. perceived to be funnier in Spanish and quieter in English.

Different roles take place when Lena is having dinner. The extract below is from my observations of the homemade video taken at dinner time. In there, Lena is a multilingual, a wife, a mother and a daughter-in-law:

"It is dinner time. Lena and her husband are sitting at the table. It is a large table set for two. Lena and her husband are having dinner. On the other side of the room there is a large sofa facing a big television. Lena's parents in law are sitting on the sofa with their backs to the table, having dinner and watching TV. They are not having dinner with Lena and her husband. They are watching a quiz show and commenting on it. The TV is very loud, I can tell they are talking in the background but I cannot figure out what they're saying. Most of the time, Lena is eating in silence. From time-to-time Lena and her husband look at each other across the table. Lena makes a comment to her parents-in-law in English about the programme. Their daughter comes into the room. She asks Lena's husband for a treat. 'Did you have a shower; did you have a shower?' Lena asks, 'Yes, yes!' The little girl replies, 'I have, I have' So Lena says: 'Let me smell you'. Very quickly her daughter replies: 'No, I have not, not yet.' Lena continues: 'That's what I thought. You need to have a shower, you don't need to do your hair, you can do your hair tomorrow…' Her daughter talks to herself: 'I shouldn't have asked, I should have got it myself; Lena picks up the conversation: 'Okay, okay you can have it before your shower, but you're going to be dirty. So, you want cookies and milk? How many? one cookie?' Her daughter replied: '1080' Lena stands up and starts tidying up: 'Ok, no.' her daughter asks for three cookies 'please, daddy, please?' she says. Lena goes into the kitchen 'Okay, come on you, come'. Her daughter goes past the camera and says: 'Hello, I'm on video' she dances and follows her mum."

Lena. Observation. Dinner time.

The data captures different roles: Lena as a wife, Lena as a mother and Lena as a daughter in law. The activities are divided by a big sofa. On one side the parents-in-law are having dinner on the sofa, and, on the other side, Lena and her husband are sitting at the table. In that context, as a wife, Lena connects with her husband in looks, there is no need for language as they manage an intimate conversation with just eye contact. As a daughter-in-law, she tries to join their discussion by making a comment about the show they are watching on television, but that soon finishes. I notice that there is a lot of silence. Lena has more to say when her daughter joins them and wants a treat before having a shower. When Lena speaks, as the extract shows, she uses English to talk to her parents-in-law about the show and English to talk to her daughter. The Lena at the dinner table is different from other pieces of data.

Lena shared three home-made videos: two conversations between her and her daughter before bedtime and one at the family table at dinner time. In the interview on language use before the videos, Lena said that she uses Spanish and English with her daughter, with English being more prominent now that she is at work. In the videos, depicting Lena's conversation with her daughter, she uses predominantly English and some

Spanish when they are alone in the privacy of the bedroom. They have long conversations about dinosaurs and flowers, planets and birthday parties. The videos portray Lena as a different person: chatty with her daughter and quiet at the dinner table.

In the next interview, after the home videos, Lena watched her video and I asked her if she could write down some notes to start our conversation. The lengthy extract below depicts the variation of feelings that Lena gets when she speaks to her daughter in different languages:

"L: In my house we speak English more than Spanish. We speak English, we speak English in general because there was a difference when I did not work in this country and when I started working. When I didn't work, I spoke much more Spanish in my house, but since I started working, it is harder to get home and see it as a 'switch off' of English and start speaking in Spanish, then I often find myself talking to my daughter, speaking to her in English instead of Spanish when I know she understands me in Spanish. But there are also, there are also other circumstances because … when she was a little girl she had no, no option, I spoke Spanish and she understood me; sometimes she answered in Spanish, sometimes she answered in English, and now that she is 5 or 6 years old, in her life there is the circumstance … where the gaze of the other is important to her, she asks me not to speak to her in Spanish. So, it's very difficult to speak Spanish at home.

A: What do you do when she asks you to change English?

L: … Ah, no, I make her laugh and I carry on anyway.

A: And how does it make you feel like she asks you to do that?

L: Oh, horrible, it makes me feel super bad that she doesn't want to (speak in Spanish). I understand why; I understand that it's her age and that she's not personal towards me, but it's horrible that your daughter doesn't want to speak your language.

A: What does that mean to you?

L: It means that ... I don't know … when you have a child you always imagine that you're going to have that person with whom you're going to be able to continue that sense of naturalness, of origin, right? That you're going to share with your kids, and when it doesn't happen it's hard because you feel like a little bit, you're losing your roots. But well, it's a feeling. And with our children, as a mother, I understand that she's going to go through different situations. Anyway, I speak to her in Spanish all the same and sometimes she likes it and sometimes she doesn't want to know anything about that.

A: And when you realise you're talking to them, for example. You didn't realise and, all of a sudden, you realise you're speaking to her in Spanish, how does that make you feel?

L: Well, it makes me feel natural.

A: And you don't change English.

L: No."

<div align="right">Lena. Interview.</div>

I listen to Lena as she watches the video and almost talks to herself. In the beginning of the exchange above, Lena seems to be explaining and perhaps justifying the use of language in her house. In the data, many links to emotions come through, and a feeling of guilt is sensed in the backstage of her explanation. Another possible interpretation is that there is an echo of the power imbalances at the dinner table. Whether or not my presence was positioning her in a situation that she felt she had to justify her choices. I did my best to remain in the background thereafter by supporting her stream of thought with minimal contributions: mostly repeating what she shared with me to give her back her thoughts for her to expand. When she messaged me a couple of days after this reflective interview on language use, I was surprised because it was unexpected. I also felt reassured to know that she felt there was a safe channel. That last message moved my interpretation towards the different emotions Lena has in the backstage: what language is for her, how she thinks she should be and how she enacts one of her roles.

In her recount, Lena gives reasons and explanations of her language use. In previous conversations, she contended that her and her husband see multilingualism as an investment in their daughter's future, an added value and a key to other worlds to give to their daughter. This might be playing in the back of her mind or in the backstage of her reflections. When she is watching the videos she states three times *'we speak English'.* Her comment reads as a realisation coming straight out of her personal inner speech in the backstage. Her videos reveal that there was more use of English than she had described in her interview. Perhaps she sees the same and maybe that is why she starts giving reasons for her choices. It also reads as a justification when she says that there is a difference between when she was not at work and now that she works. She, in her words, finds it hard to '*switch off' English and use Spanish*'. Even though both her and her partner speak English and Spanish, she finds it her responsibility to lead the use of Spanish. At the same time, her daughter requests not to speak in Spanish when they are in the presence of others: '*now that she is five or six years old, as in her life this the circumstance where the gaze of the other is important to her, she asks me not to speak to*

*her in Spanish*'. This makes Lena feel *'horrible, super bad'* and with a sense of loss of her roots. Lena imagines the role of a mother as a mother that shares with her children. In the videos, Lena is in her role as a mother, a role that is not as smooth in daily practice as she explains in the interview. This indicates two different perceptions in Lena's narratives.

In the difference, there is a distance between what Lena expected her role to be and the role she performs, there is '*the glance of others*' when '*there are other options',* and her child asks her to switch languages and that has an effect on Lena as a mother. Even if Spanish is more comfortable and, even if the idea of bringing up a child as a multilingual is valuable to her, she adapts her ideal role of a mum to preserve the relationship with her daughter. The result is a tension that grows in that distance between the imagined role and her self-perception. This is probably not exclusive to language use, parenting or multilingual parents. The different pieces of data show different narratives augmenting the theme of the complexity of identity construction.

The data in the videos is in line with the narratives Lena shared in the interviews. The role of being a mother takes precedence and even if she adapts her performance, the things that are important to her do not change with language. She shared her perception of risk and vulnerability using English in the interviews. She shared her feelings of sadness for not using Spanish with her daughter in the languaging conversation. The data from observation is different as Lena favours an investment in using English to perform her roles. This shows, particularly, in the roles of mother and wife that she could perform in Spanish as seen in the data from the bedtime videos where she speaks in a mixture of English and Spanish and there are less silences. Goffman (1959) argues that in social interactions, individuals present themselves in such a way as to best further their own agendas within an interaction and interpret the self-presentation of others according to the same criteria. In this context, Lena is a wife, a mother and a daughter-in-law and English is her preferred language, even if that is not her most comfortable role performance.

In this subsection, I presented how the perception of self can vary across different narratives. The data from one participant reveals that, at various moments, distinct roles take precedence and prompt an adaptation of role performance. Arguably, the assemblage of the different narratives amount to a whole that is more than just the addition of the different parts.

## 6.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the complexity of individual identity construction. The analysis shows that while some participants have a perception of different selves when using different languages, others perceive that their identity is presented in different performances of roles.

My findings in the first section describe language as a marker in identity construction that divides roles and the way they are performed. This is an emerging theme: the link between the performance of a role and its context which generates evaluation of self and emotions. They, in turn, inform role performance.

In the second section, the first subsection compared data from one participant to another and the second subsection triangulated data from the same participant. The findings in both indicate that although narratives of self at times intersect, they are mostly different between participants and that narratives also vary across the data from the same participant. This leads to an understanding of identity as contradictory, eclectic, the product of evaluations of roles in context.

The literature on identity seems to be divided between the definition of identity as static and therefore it does not undergo change and remains the same or identity as dynamic and consequently dynamic and complex, which means that it changes all the time, every day, in subtle and tangible ways. Based on the themes that surfaced from the data, I argue for the latter, identity is contextual and fluid. The individual identity of the participants is constructed in the different narratives they share. The narratives of seven multilinguals in this study are similar, others contradictory; yet they are all true to the participant at the time they are sharing them. Considering the in-depth details and the nuances of role performance, the chapter's findings have accentuated the point that identity is a combination of the participant's role performances in context.

While this chapter has discussed the individual side of identity, the next chapter focuses on the multilinguals' role performances in the context of the family, a space between the individual and social side of the whole identity.
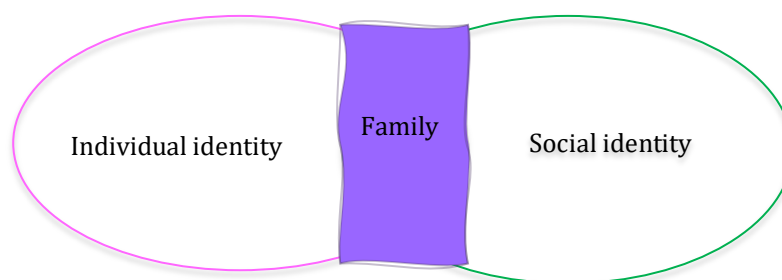
In the exploration of identity construction in multilinguals, an area emerged from the data: the family. This area, or third space with blurred boundaries, appears to be situated between the individual and the social sides of identity. The data shows that the family is a place where participants share some of their inner selves and where other fellow actors within their families, get a glimpse of what happens in the backstage of identity construction and an awareness of how a role is performed differently in distinct contexts.

Bearing in mind Goffman's (1959) definition of role, the findings of this chapter shed some light on the participants' performance of different roles within home contexts and when performing family roles outside their homes. The data shared by the multilinguals in this study regarding their roles varies between being congruent at times and incongruent at others across data sets. That is, data from their interviews does not always go in line with video observations and languaging discussions. The chapter compiles data from different sources creating a holistic picture of identity construction. The data shows similarities and differences across the participants and within the participants between their idea of language use and the practice of the negotiation of roles within their family. The chapter is divided into three sections:

- The first section gathers data apriori of language use. It defines family, family language policy and participants' perceptions of their roles within their families.

- Building up on the findings from the first section, this second section juxtaposes the ideal role and role performance. It presents how multilinguals' roles are constructed within the family in their homes. The section is divided into three parts: 'we are in this together: the co-construction of roles'; 'I am the only foreigner'; 'children lead the way'.

- The third and last section presents how the multilinguals in this study construct their roles as part of their family outside the home. The data in this section shows how role performance in different contexts generates power struggles. The findings relate to the ideological dimension of language.

Multiple definitions of family emerged from the data. There are some points of concurrence but mostly differences in the way six participants defined family. Below, there are crop images from the languaging drawings where the different participants take family as a part of them, the roles they fulfil, the emotions or the agreement they have with others (in Appendix 2).
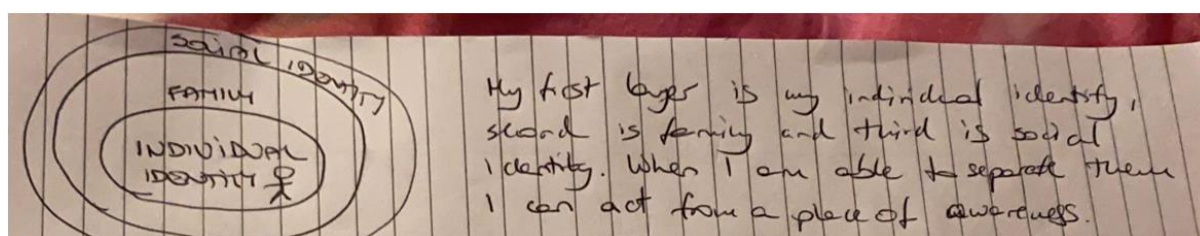


Clara. Snapshot from languaging

Clara describes herself in layers. She perceives the inner core as her individual identity, the middle layer as the family, and the outer layer as her social identity. Clara describes herself in layers. This shows through her drawing, as well as the text she writes next to it: '*My first layer is my individual identity, second is family and third is social identity. When I am able to separate them I can act from a place of awareness.*' The thoughts captured in her writing anchor the image on the left and add the themes of being able to separate parts of her identity as a place of awareness that I interpret as a position where she has knowledge or control of a situation.

Similarly, Nina describes family. According to her and many other participants, family is defined around the different roles they play within their families. Two of my respondents' notes illustrate this:
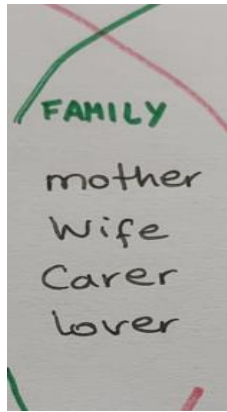
Nina. Snapshot from languaging
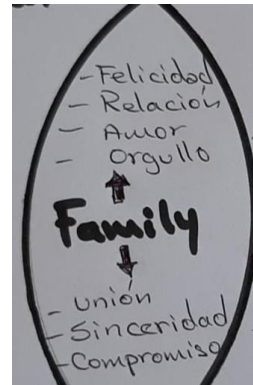


Lucia. Snapshot from languaging

Nina describes family as that space where she is a '*mother, a wife, a carer and a lover*'. Her definition connects family with others. In a similar fashion, Lucia describes family as '*union, sinceridad, compromiso, relacion*' (which translates to 'union, honesty, compromise, relationship') which reflects the representation of family as a group. Lucia adds the feelings she associates with family '*felicidad, amor, orgullo*' (which translates to 'happiness, love, pride'). These data pieces seem to suggest that it has a subjective definition,

For all the participants, family is connected to roles and feelings. The definitions, however, vary across participants making the concept of family similar but not the same. These findings help the discussion on role in the next sections.

### 7.1.1 LANGUAGE POLICY: YOURS, MINE, OURS

There data from my participants on the theme of family shows that they perceive they have different expectations offered and demanded of them with regards to their mother role. Similarly, all the participants in this study discussed language in their family to different lengths and success. The cross data analysis shows that the participants perceive what makes their families and their roles different. This entails and that is linked to what I refer to as their family language policy. The understanding of language policy is important to reflect on the perception of role in this section and the fulfilment of my participants' daily roles in the next section.

All the participants discussed at different lengths language use in their families. Below are my first memories of language policy in my household from the researcher diaries.

"I did not plan to have a bilingual family. My husband and I never had a conversation about it until one day, somebody brought the question in a casual conversation when I was pregnant with my first child. I had not considered it; I had taken for granted that I was going to speak my first language to my child: Spanish. My husband, in the same way, had thought that we were going to speak in his first language: English. I was confused, probably as much as him. I asked him if, after having learnt for many years French and German at school and having done many exchanges himself, he would use any of those languages to talk to our future child. To which, he replied that he would not like to speak in a foreign language to his own children. I agreed with him; nor would I. In our early days as parents, when my husband was singing a nursery rhyme with the children, I felt that I was the only foreigner in my family and that I was left out. Nowadays, the children use both languages at the table. My husband says that he gets blanked out if the conversation switches from English to Spanish. I think that there is not always an intention behind it, but I must concede that sometimes there is one."

Researcher diaries.

The extract resumes a conversation that was quite short but at the same time non-negotiable. Looking back at the diary entry, I interpret three stages of language use in my household. In the first stage, there is an assumption of what was going to happen in my and my partner's minds. It was in that conversation, described above, that we realised they were different. The first part of the data might portray the narrator as a strong person. However, the second part of the example describes a second stage. A time when many times I felt like the only foreigner in my house because English was predominant. Furthermore, it was spoken by one of their parents, their schools, and friends. This shows the many battles involved in making sure our children were bilingual. As the multilingual parent, it was my job to lead the conscious effort of the multilingual upbringing. The extract finishes with the third stage: the current situation. Now that our children are teenagers, they have a choice of language resources, and they wave in and out of their languages as they can and as it suits them. My role of mother entails being the guardian of my language in my family.

Data from the interviews show that all the participants had a conversation with their partners about the language policy of the family. Below, an extract from Lena's interview exemplifies this. To provide some context to the data: some participants like Lena and Nina have partners who are British and seem to have an intermediate to advanced management of Spanish. Lena and her partner, for example, had many conversations about their family language policy, even before they got married and decided to have children. They had met travelling and lived together in different countries before they settled in the U.K.

"We talked about it a lot, when … before we had kids and when we were expecting our daughter. And my husband can speak Spanish, but obviously it's easier for him to speak English and we both talked about this, a lot, and the conclusion was always that we were going to try to speak to her as much Spanish as we can, because for us it was important that she can express herself in both languages. Not only to access a basic level of communication, that I can communicate with my family and that you can communicate with your family in English; but to give her a tool. A tool she can use in the world. Thinking about the future, when we are not here, what are we leaving to her, what tools we are leaving to her. And we believe that it is important, that a second language is an important tool not only because she can express herself in another language and that gives you a certain freedom. It is not only a legacy of communication, but also in the way … that we are both aware, as grownups, of the way language occurs in your brain and how one thinks and where the whole process of switching from one language to the other language is and it seems to us both that the brain, like neurons connect differently and we think it is important. It has to do with health, it has to do with neural connections, it has to do with the way we think and the way we see the world, the way we process information as well."

<div align="right">Lena. Interview.</div>

The extract shows how Lena and her husband agreed on multilingualism as a language policy. There is a mutual agreement on the investment on multilingualism. They agree that fostering both languages at home goes in line with their travelling interests and provides an opportunity for their children to visit and live in different countries in the future. Like in my family, this couple sets multilingualism as a language policy. Unlike my situation, in Lena's household both parents can use English and Spanish. This is reflected in their language policy where they both agree to take active roles in the multilingual upbringing of their offspring.

Nina and her partner are, like Lena, a couple that count English and Spanish in both parents' linguistic repertoires. They had a conversation about language use in the house. They agreed on a 'one parent, one language' policy where, Nina explains, she speaks in Spanish to their children and her husband in English. Nina looks after the children and is teaching them to read and write in Spanish while dad helps them with the schoolwork in English. The extract below shows how multilingualism was agreed as their language policy:

"It just came up, we just said that we both wanted that our children were bilingual. He likes Spanish because he was already learning it before he met me. Well, what can be better than that? of us having children and I speak to them in Spanish, and he speaks to them in English.

A: When you speak to your two children in Spanish, he ….

N: He feels integrated, because if he doesn't understand me, he asks me: 'What did you say?' Many times, our daughter answers to him in Spanish and he says in Spanish: ' well, this is also called… this or that'"

The extract describes that Nina and her husband work in unison on their family language policy. The description of language policy in the extract is congruent with most of the data from the homemade videos that Nina shared. In a video where the family is at the dinner table, Nina speaks in Spanish to the children and her husband communicates with the children in English. In their home videos, I observed that both parents are consistent with their family language policy. I also noticed that, while the children speak mostly in one language to one parent, they need reminders to switch back to Spanish after using English. This is done mostly by the mother. It might be because Nina is the parent in charge of that language. Considering different pieces of data, this family is, arguably, one where language policy and language use is the mostly synchronised.  There is a correlation between the perception of language use and the role performance. Accordingly, in this family the role of the mother as the guardian of language is shared equally in the family policy and mostly in practice.

Their family language policy is agreed and reflected upon the roles of the father and the mother. Taking into account their definitions of language, Nina's example shows their perceptions of bringing up a multilingual family as an investment to be able to communicate and integrate within her extended family living abroad at any time and for the daughter to have access to other places in the future. This is reflected in the performance of roles in the data from her videos. There are short- and long-term goals in Nina's intentions to raise her children bilingually and this informs her maternal role, a role that is arguably fuelled by the mother's motivations.

The above examples summarise the experiences of six of the seven participants that take multilingualism as the language policy for their families. However, not all multilinguals bring their children up multilingually. Clara and her partner agreed upon abstaining from using Spanish and sticking to English within the household. In the interview, Clara said that as they were living with her husband's parents when they started their family, she was asked, in her words: *'not to speak any foreign in here'* by her parents-in-law. Clara provides, as a reflection of the language policy that she was feeling very vulnerable at that time; she was eighteen years

old at the time she moved into her parents-in-law's home, and she had been living in the UK for less than a year, coming from a difficult home life. She shared that using only English at the time made sense. At the same time, however, she equally regrets never using Spanish with her children. Clara's new family adapted to the language policy of the home she was living in. This seems to suggest that there were threads of power in the agreement to speak only English as the family policy. A theme that emerges from her anecdote is that the participant conceded her multilingualism to perform the role of a mother in only one language.

Like Clara, Lena also lived with her family in law. The difference is that Lena moved in with them after having children. Lena and her husband already had a different language policy for them. In the extract below, Lena shares a defining moment when her family language policy changed after moving in with her parent- in-law:

> "When we lived alone in the apartment with my husband and my daughter, she still asked for some things in Spanish. Things that had remained in her from when she was younger. Then we were alone and we both spoke in Spanish, all the time, as for example: 'agua, por favor' (water, please) the most basic, the simplest things. And when we moved into my in-laws' house, my in-laws made a joke about saying: 'agua' instead of 'water' and she stopped saying 'agua'."

> Lena. Interview.

The extract above shows two contexts, two language policies and two attitudes to language.

There is a context where Lena was living with her husband and daughter and had a multilingual language policy – where they spoke in English and Spanish when the three of them were together, and in Spanish when Lena was with her daughter. And there is another context in which the family moved to live with the in-laws, and where their language policy shifted to an exclusive use of English. There are two attitudes to language: the English-speaking parent-in-law who makes a joke about the multilingual child's use of language, and Lena who adapts to the new family language policy.

Another factor is her family context, living with parents in law that do not speak her language and have made jokes about the use of language in the house and openly requested to use 'English only' has led her to keep her language to private conversations mostly with her daughter. I asked her about those conversations, and she told me that her daughter before school she would answer in either language but since starting school sometimes asks her to speak to her in English.

> "I make her laugh and continue speaking to her in (my language) It makes me feel horribly sad that she does not want to. I understand that because of her age and I understand that it is not personal against me, but it is horrible that your daughter does not want to speak your language.(…) It means that… when you have a child you always imagine that you are going to have that person to continue, that natural feeling of origin, that you are going to share it with your children and what that happens. It is difficult because you feel that you are losing the roots. But, as a mum, I understand"

<div align="right">Lena. Interview.</div>

The backstage of language use goes deeper than what is apparent. Behind the backstage of a mum making her daughter laugh there are many emotions that coalesce, and the mum makes a step back on her personal needs because of other people that might not be the intended audience but that might overhear the conversation she is having with her daughter. Making the choice to use or not a language is linked to the context where speaking takes place, in this case, her parent in law's house. The result is an emotive dissonance that results from the discrepancies between what people really feel and the persona they feel they are compelled to perform in social interactions.

There is a common theme in Clara and Lena's extracts. Both participants are adapting to their new contexts. After spending years with the in-laws, both Clara and Lena moved to leave on their own with their partners and children. While Lena's use of language went back to being multilingual, Clara's family language policy remained monolingual. Further data indicates that this is no simple matter, and the extract below shows the intricacy of maintaining this policy:

> "There are some days that I need to speak Spanish; to the point that sometimes I leave the house to have a chat because I need to speak in my language."

<div align="right">Clara. Interview.</div>

The excerpt above shows how hard it is for Clara to abstain from using Spanish although she agreed to stick to a monolingual language policy at the beginning. This does not change her role as a mother because she has always performed that role in English. Yet, there is a thread in the data on the challenge of maintaining multilingualism. The use of language as a place of inclusion or exclusion brings to the discussion Brah (1996)'s conceptualisation of 'diaspora' as a space where transcultural identities are constructed. Like Brah (1996) that describes an ambivalence in diasporic identification because of contrasting exigencies of a usually 'monophonic' official discourse and a diasporic vernacular, the narratives in this section seem to reproduce frames of self-identification, and collective action.

The data in this section shows that all participants had a discussion around language within their families. It varies from family to family, and it changes with context. The language policy adopted had a ripple effect in their perception of self and in the performance of the maternal role. Among the participants, most families agreed on bringing up their children in a multilingual household. The participants' performance of the mother role is aligned with their different approaches to language policy. These can be divided into an unstructured multilingualism where one or both parents take as part of their role fostering the use of all the family linguistic repertoire, a more structured approach where each parent has the role of bringing one language to the family or a monolingual approach where only one code is used. The recurrent theme across all the participants with multilingualism as a language policy is to maintain it when in contact with the wider language community. In this section, I argue that there is an emerging theme around expression and being able to do so as the individual wishes that echoes the importance of freedom of speech.

### 7.2.2 THE MATERNAL ROLE

Continuing the exploration of the role in the context of the family, this section focuses on how participants perceive the role of the mother. Some of the participants found that it was their main responsibility as mothers to drive the family language policy.

The excerpt below shows what motivates Nina to continue bringing up her children multilingually even when it is difficult:

> "Because I want her to be able to communicate with the Spanish family, my parents don't speak English,
> so ... It's important to me. And that they know the culture also because I don't know whether tomorrow,
> I have to go to Spain for some reason. It is easier for her to integrate into the school and communicate.
> I want her to travel and get to know other cultures and be able to communicate with people in another
> language as well. And if you can learn another language, then better."

<div align="right">Nina. Interview.</div>

The abstract exemplifies the motivation behind language use as part of the role of the mother. Nina describes the importance of being able to communicate with the family.

Most of the participants are migrants. Sara is a first-generation born in the U.K to immigrant parents. When I shared an invitation in the community forums, Sara shared her interest stating that considers Colombia her country and both Spanish and English her languages. When she

was growing up, in her house, with her family and outside her home with their extended family and their support networks they spoke Spanish. Sara started learning English when she started preschool although she does not remember learning English. Nowadays she lives with her Colombian husband and two children. The parents speak in Spanish at home between them and a mixture of English, Spanish and Spanglish with their children. In the interview on language use, she compared the family language policy with which she was brought up and her own family language policy now that she is a mother. In the extract below, Sara reflects on language use in her family and shares an anecdote to explain how she is different from her mother who keeps the family conversations in Spanish.

> "S: It's just that she's more authoritarian. Much more authoritarian, and yes, in fact my mum does it with them (Sara's children) now. 'quieres almorzar? (that translates as: 'Do you want to have lunch?)' And my son: 'No, I'm not hungry' and 'que, que, que ('what, what, what?') 'No, nan, thanks', 'Como es eso? ('How is that?')' and there, they can both stay all day. So, he answers and that's it, he has to give in and: 'No, abuela, gracias ('No, nan, thank you')'
>
> A: And why do you think your mum puts so much emphasis on it?
>
> S: Because she sees it as very important, and, in fact, yes, it is very important, to have two languages because it opens the door to many other things, many other languages. Spanish is a language of the, it is a romance language and in fact it opens the way for you to learn Italian, French."

<div align="right">Sara. Interview.</div>

The data shows how difficult it is to negotiate different roles. In the excerpt above, Sara's description entails her roles of mother and daughter. Through sharing an anecdote where her mother and son are having a conversation, Sara describes her roles of mother and daughter. In her perception, Sara's mother used more Spanish with her children because she is authoritarian. Sara's perception is that, as a mother, she is less strict in the use of language. There seems to be a sense of guilt in Sara's words when she describes the importance of raising children as active multilinguals towards the end of the entry.

Language is a tool to communicate. In the quote below, Sara explains why she favours one language over another when time is of an essence.

> "S: Each individual has their way of being able to raise their children, sometimes it is like hitting your head against a wall, a brick wall, because it is difficult, especially if the person is not exposed to that environment where you can be constantly practising. And I say this because sometimes I lose my patience: 'answer now', I need an answer now and I ask you, I ask you already in English, I know you will do it faster, and they answer me faster. And in fact, I know I'm hurting them more for the future

because, because the Spanish language paved my way for a lot of things. And yes, mine aren't going to get that opportunity that's practically free, that their dad, and I and both my dad and my mum and all the people around us have to speak Spanish. It's a foolishly lost skill. Stupidly."

<div align="right">Sara. Interview.</div>

Sara is empathic as she describes her struggle to bring up her children multilingually as '*hitting [her] head against a wall, a brick wall*'. This theme applies to all the participants raising their children multilingually in a context where the predominant language is also regarded as a valuable language. In her comparison, she describes her mother as '*authoritarian*' and more reluctant to accept the change of the family language from Spanish into English. Sara's description of her mother's approach to language use gives an indirect glimpse of her perception of self as a mother who is less authoritarian and more permissive than her mother. In her role of a mother, Sara asserts that using English resembles '*hurting them*' (her children). Although she explains that she and her Colombian husband both use Spanish and English with their offspring, Sara seems to blame herself only, rather than her husband too, for the fact that they communicate mostly in English with the children. As in previous data, Sara ends the entry with a remark that her children will not have the same opportunities that her and her family members had as multilinguals. The everyday routine leads Sara, in her role as a mother, to use English as it is the quickest language to perform that role. Although she dismisses her actions as something that has happened '*stupidly*', the overall data amounts to a self-perception of a mother with a sense of responsibility and guilt in her reflection. This seems to correspond with the expectations from her role as a mother, her role as a daughter, her role as a multilingual. It also points that for Sara language is a tool to communicate, she used the one that makes her role performance smoother.

Sara's account indicates that it is the parents', and mostly the mother's, responsibility to provide the appropriate context for a multilingual up-bringing. This is a recurrent theme across five of the seven participants. The participants of this study have had an agreement with their partners on the type of language policy they want for their families. Yet, regardless of the fathers' bilingual management, the mothers seem to be the ones that take the lead in the action to make the multilingual policy a concrete reality.

This section has presented how the participants imagine themselves as they define family and how they describe their language policy and their role as mothers. It has also introduced the importance of the perceptions of role as part of the context of language use. The

findings in this section complement the next two sections that report data on how the participants take this to practice. The next section focuses on the construction of roles within the family before the last section looks at them in wider contexts.

## 7.2 FAMILY PERFORMANCE

This section presents data on how the participants' roles are constructed in their daily lives within their family at home. This section complements the previous section's abstract ideas and perceptions of self with the actual participants' performance of their role within their families at home. The findings are divided into three subsections. The first one presents data on the participants constructing their roles at dinnertime and at bedtime. The second subsection shows how in mixed multicultural families there is sometimes a perception of being the odd one out and the section presents data that shows that in the construction of the maternal role, children are agents of change.

### 7.2.1 LANGUAGING ROLES

My data seems to suggest that, in their day-to-day routine, the participants use language, as a verb, in their performances to favour a role over the others – thus the title of this section. The triangulation of different pieces of data shows how family language policy, perception of role and performance of role are sometimes different for the same participant.

Nina shared videos from playtime and dinnertime. Below there is an extract from the observation of a video when the whole family is together. The family is observed following the family policy of 'one parent/one language'. Using Spanish with her family is something that Nina had identified as very important in her interview so that the children can communicate with the grandparents when they visit and for the children to be able to work, go on holiday or move abroad. The observation below shows both parents leading the family conversation over dinner.

> "It is early evening. The family gathers around the dinner table. Mother, father and their little girl and baby boy. The camera is sitting on an extra chair, in a corner of the table. They are having pasta while they chat about their day. The little girl has recently started reception class and although she is more fluent in English, she tries to keep up with the language policy of the family.
>
> Nina: ¿Con quien jugaste hoy? (that translates as: 'who did you play with today?')

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Child: Freya!

N: ¿Y quién más? (and who else?)

(…)

Nina: No sé, yo conozco un niño que se llama Simón, no Mason. (I don't know. I know a boy called Simon, not Mason)

Dad: Mason.

Child: Mason? Vale (Mason? ok)

Nina: ¿Y juegas con Mason tu? (And do you play with Mason?)

Child: m m

Nina: ¿Y por qué no? (And why not?)

Child: I don't want to play with boys, I wanna play with girls.

Nina: ¿Solo con niñas? ¿Por qué? (Only with girls? Why?)

Child: Porque me gustan las niñas. (Because I like girls)

Nina: Ok.

Child: No los niños mamá. (Not with boys mum)

Nina: ¿Y por qué no te gustan los niños? (And why don't you like boys?)

Child: Because they hit someone.

Dad: They play rough, do they?

Child: Yeah, with people that don't like rough. But one boy was running around catching someone, a boy. A boy and another boy was running around and chasing each other. So, so, so, Travis. So, Travis was chasing Mason.

The family continues their conversation about the events in the playground.

Nina. Observation. Dinnertime.

In this family exchange, there is a joint effort from both parents to bring their children up multilingual. As this extract shows, Nina speaks mostly in Spanish while her husband contributes to the family language policy with English. Their daughter follows the conversation and responds using mostly Spanish with her mother and English with her father. The conversation flows smoothly and the focus is on sharing the events of the day.

The data above reflects how both parents work together to continue the conversation. Throughout the video, the parents prompt their little girl to continue the conversation using her whole language repertoire. Every time the conversation gets going the same pattern of conversation continues. Below is another example from the same video in which Nina is checking what her daughter has eaten at school.

> "Nina: ¿Comiste todo hoy? No he visto tu pack, lunch box. ¿Comiste todo hoy? (That translates as: 'Did you eat everything today? I have not seen your pack, lunch box. Did you eat everything today?')
>
> Child: Si. (Yes)
>
> Nina: ¿Seguro? (Sure?)
>
> Dad: Even the cucumber? Even the cucumber and carrots?
>
> Child: I don't have carrots.
>
> Nina: ¿Qué comiste en tu snack? Que snack tuviste hoy? (What did you eat for snack? What snack did you have today?)
>
> Child: Sugar.
>
> Nina: Sorry?
>
> Child: Sugar one, mummy, but you didn't put ginger there.
>
> Nina: ¿EL que? (The what?)
>
> Child: Ginger and a…
>
> Dad: Gingerbread.
>
> Child: Yeah, gingerbread."

<div align="right">Nina. Observation. Dinnertime.</div>

From Nina's interview data, she seems to perceive family as an inclusion of her roles as mother and carer. In the data above, Nina is checking that her daughter is eating what is in the lunchbox mostly in Spanish. Data from her interviews indicate that an important task in her maternal role is to pass her linguistic repertoire to her children. These two extracts above seem to suggest that Nina uses language to perform her maternal role. Both parents are creating, with language, the multilingual family they had planned. In this family, multilingualism serves the participants to create a familiar context.

The data seems to suggest that there is a joint effort between parents to establish a multilingual atmosphere within their homes. This data is mostly in agreement with interview data. Focusing on language use as described in the family language policy, the excerpt above shows that there are allowances in language use that make the conversation smoother. An example of this is the use of 'ginger' instead of 'jengibre', its Spanish equivalent. In the flow of the conversation, Nina does not stop to translate in line with the family language policy and instead uses the most familiar term for the children or her husband. Putting this piece of data together with data from the interviews it becomes clearer what is going on in the backstage of language production. Nina, commenting on her language use, explained in the interview that she never confuses the three languages she uses. She said that she knows which language to use with her coach, with her mother or with her father. In her languaging drawing, she defined family by the roles she fulfils: mother, carer, wife, lover. In the extract above, it is evident from the extract above that Nina prefers to comply with her roles of mother and carer. In those roles, Nina is passing on her language to her daughter whilst checking that her daughter is playing nicely and eating healthily.

In the abstract below, Nina continues using language as a tool to connect with her whilst teaching her good manners. This time, Nina moves away from using only one language:

"It is a rainy afternoon. Nina and her family are in Nina's parents' house in Galicia. Nina is doing a puzzle with her daughter at the dinner table. Dad is nearby with the baby boy playing and the grandparents are watching television on the other side of the room.

Nina: Busca las esquinas, para hacer el dibujo. ¿A ver, cuál va a ser primero? ¿Qué es primero? (That translates as: 'Find the corners, to make the picture. Let's see, which one goes first?')

Child: Este es. (This one)

Nina: ¿Qué es ese? ¿La cabeza de… Peppa Pig? ¿O del Daddy Pig? (What is that? The head of … Peppa Pig? Or of Daddy Pig?)

Child: Daddy Pig.

Nina: Mira ahí tienes ahí algo. ¿Qué es eso? (Look there you have something. What is that?)

Child: Peppa pig.

Nina: Así, muy bien. ¿Qué más? ¡Ah, muy bien! ¿De quién son esos pies? (Like that, very well. What else? Very well! Whose are those feet?)

Child: They're George Pig's.

Nina: Muy bien. (Well done)"

<div align="right">Nina. Observation. Play time.</div>

Nina and her daughter, in this extract, are in Spain and the language they use is mostly Spanish. In this conversation, to describe which language is being used when is to focus only on the product, on what is observed without considering the backstage of language production. While attempting to put the puzzle pieces together, Nina and her daughter negotiate turn-taking and problem-solving. In line with her interview data, as part of her role as a mother, Nina gives her daughter a translanguaging experience that is richer than the use of two codes. That is, she gives her an optional linguistic repertoire. This finding is important because with her performance, Nina empowers the future generation as she maximises communicative potential, as described by García (2009:140).

The data in this subsection thus demonstrate that language is a key component to the performance of the maternal role. This is a role made of different layers and language serves participants to put forward or aside different parts of it. The discussion of different pieces of data allows a holistic interpretation of identity construction. In the next subsection I present how belonging affects identity construction.

### 7.2.2 I AM THE FOREIGNER IN MY HOUSE

All participants avowed that bringing up a multilingual family entails emotion. The use of English in the home is perceived differently across participants. Some participants were more reticent to accept English as a suitable language due to emotions connected with being 'the foreigner' in their own houses. In the descriptions of daily language use, two of the seven participants use personifications and metaphors that create a perception of English as a strong language. The connections made by participants are complex and, sometimes, entail mixed feelings. Below is a reminder of Vera's assertion stating that different languages support different parts of her identity:

> "Yeah, I find that the affective things I do better in Spanish than in English. As…. I feel very divided between my private and professional field. And I feel that professionally I feel more comfortable in English, because it's been many years that I have practiced my profession in this country. But

personally, I feel more comfortable in ... in Spanish. I feel a division. Like my public persona was in English and my private person was in Spanish"

<div align="right">Vera. Interview.</div>

The interview data shows a division within Vera. This division relates to the context in which she is performing and the language she is using. The context of work is associated with English, while the private world is linked to Spanish. The extract describes Vera's preferred use of her linguistic repertoire. Later, she shared her thoughts regarding how language works in her house:

"The family is complicated because my husband does not speak Spanish, my son answers to me in English but speaks Spanish, I mean he understands what I say in Spanish, but how to coexist ... at times I feel I am like a kind of foreigner in my own home."

<div align="right">Vera. Interview.</div>

The data shows that, in her multilingual household, Vera finds herself using English, the language she feels more comfortable using in public contexts. This causes her to feel excluded as '*a kind of foreigner in [her] own house*'. Considering that she cannot use the language in which she feels more comfortable, it appears that Vera uses her less preferred language to perform her maternal role to include her husband; it becomes evident that she makes an extra effort that brings the themes of power and powerlessness to the discussion. Taking both extracts into account, I argue that because the participant adapts her role performance 'dictated' by other members of her family she feels excluded from the family.

All participants describe English as a valuable language. The extracts below summarise Vera's and Rita's perceptions:

"But I have to invite English and I have to bring it all the time because one of the members of my family does not speak Spanish, and that makes me feel very lost at times." Vera. Interview.

"I have my son who speaks Spanish 100%, I have my daughter who is learning, I want to teach her, but it wins, English wins." Rita. Interview.

In both entries, English appears as a powerful language. It is interesting that both participants used personifications where English amounts to an emerging powerful being in their lives. This goes further to show the importance of English in the evaluations in the backstage of role performance.

The complexity of language and role performance is apparent in a contradiction in Vera's narrative regarding her use of language. Vera also contended that she speaks to her son in English, even when her husband is not around, and further said:

> "If I'm telling him off or something and I want him to really understand what I'm saying, or if it, is a situation like that he is about fall or something I have to be sure he will understand, there I enter into English."

<div align="right">Vera. Interview.</div>

The data above complements the use of English presented previously. It shows that the participant uses English to make sure that the son understands key information. This use of language is different than the one Vera described before in that, here, Vera is making the choice of language she wants to use. This depicts Vera as an active participant who is in control of language use, or in acceptance, but not as powerless as in the previous piece of data.

A similar selection of different areas of the linguistic repertoire with a purpose is present in Rita's data:

> "If I have to talk to my son. For example, if I want to talk about something I do not want her (daughter) to know, because it does not concern her, Spanish. if not him or I jump from Spanish to English. And besides I also feel it's good for her to continue listening to Spanish... that it continues staying in her brain, I don't know, keeping the accent, keeping verbs, and all that implies, as you start child talk: you are not taught: 'you say this', I just say, so we learn. So, like I learned English, so she learns Spanish. Listening and talking … and talking so… someday... Hopefully!"

<div align="right">Rita. Interview.</div>

It seems that both Vera and Rita have an idea of language as place. The data presented describes that living with and between languages plays a big role in parenthood for the participants. There are many conditions at play. Behind language use there are different forces at play. On the one hand, the role of a parent is to pass on the language of the grandparents; on the other hand the parent perception of the need to invest in English as the lingua franca within the multilingual family and as a future door for the child. The result is a use of language that sometimes does not reflect the participant's preferences. This brings to the discussion Bakhtin (1981)'s languages within languages in the construct of 'heteroglossia'. Bakhtin's notion of language as being "half-ours and half-someone else's" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 345) relates here to a notion that a language contains traces of prior language rejects the idea that language is a system of abstract norms and instead calls for a diversity of voices or points of view.

Lena stated that sometimes her daughter asks her not to speak to her in Spanish. In those situations, Lena tries to make her daughter laugh and continues speaking in Spanish. The extract below shows that behind that joke, in the backstage of language production, Lena has different feelings.

> "L: Oh, horrible, it makes me feel super bad that she doesn't want to (speak in Spanish). I understand why; I understand that it's her age and that she's not personal towards me, but it's horrible that your daughter doesn't want to speak your language."

<div align="right">Lena. Interview.</div>

Lena shares in the interview that she does not change languages although in the observations, the data shows that she remains silent most of the family time unless she is alone with her daughter. Lena's entry above describes a front stage where she is performing her role using Spanish to talk to her daughter. The daughter asks her not to use Spanish and Lena says a joke o comment to lighten up the mood and encourage her daughter to continue the conversation in Spanish. In the backstage, there are negative emotions that relate to Vera's and Rita's experiences.

This subsection analysed data on the feeling behind language production. This information is valuable to understand the emotions behind language production, something that is not overtly exposed, nonetheless, has an impact on how multilinguals perform their everyday roles. This reflects the complexity of multilinguals' identity construction as it also brought forward the importance of others when performing a role. In the next subsection, I focus on the argument that the participants are prompted by their children to change the way they perform their roles as mothers.

### 7.2.3 CHILDREN LEAD THE WAY

All the participants in this study are multilingual mothers. In the chapter on language use, I presented what languages signify for the participants and the investment that they place on language use. In this chapter, the previous sections have presented how families work together in their performance of roles, the role of the mother, and how within the performance of roles there are emotions working in the backstage of language production. This section continues the exploration within the family and looks at how children as fellow actors in the role performance lead the way mothers perform their roles.

The participants explained that they use different languages with different spheres of their lives. For Rita, her first language, Spanish, is the language of her family. By this, she explains, she means the family living in her country and the language of her first child, who was born there. The extract below Rita describes her perceptions of language use:

> "…with my family ... I do not speak over the phone, but in face chat and all that, then they write in Spanish with my whole family, right? I mean, there is no need to speak in English, that's not the case, it's no use. And here, on the contrary, in my work, 100% English and my husband, the same, 100% English. With the family, I have here in England, just, pure English. Yes, there are certain people with whom it is pure, pure Spanish or English."

<div align="right">Rita. Interview.</div>

In her description, family is both: the people she has left behind in Mexico and those she lives with in England. In the U.K. Rita lives with her husband and two children in the UK where they mostly use English. Rita's language use is driven by a '*need*' or a '*case*'. The result is her family being divided by a clear difference in the language used. Her immediate family: mother, father and sisters live in Mexico. Thus, to communicate with that side of her family, she mostly uses Spanish. Therefore, she uses Spanish with her family in Mexico and English to communicate with her family in the U.K. For Rita, language serves as a tool to keep her bond with both sides of her family. The evaluation Rita makes is based on having a '*need*' that she equates with having a '*case*' to speak a language. This leaves her family clearly divided geographically and by language.

That division in language use gets more complex in Rita's case, compared to the other participants, due to having more than one child. Rita lives with her two children in the same household and speaks to her eldest son, born in Mexico, in Spanish while she communicates with her daughter, who was born in the U.K, in English. Below is her explanation on her use of language with her children.

> "With one of my children I speak usually, if we are alone, in pure Spanish, if there are other people around, maybe Spanglish. And with my daughter, usually real communication is in English, but she understands commands, understands questions. I'm trying to push her to answer in Spanish. It is already planted in her brain, but I still cannot have any real communication, just commands."

<div align="right">Rita. Interview.</div>

Within the family, Rita is the person that bridges over the two languages. There is a gradient of use between Spanish with her son and English with her daughter. Rita changes languages

based on the child to whom she talks. In between English and Spanish, Rita uses 'Spanglish': a mixture of Spanish and English that they use *'if there are other people around'*. Rita would normally use one 'pure' language with each of her children, and the use of Spanglish gives Rita the role of a mediator between languages. As she explains later when she has lunch in the canteen with her son, the use of Spanglish allows her to maintain the discussion with her son in their usual language yet bringing in some words that people around them can pick up and get an idea about their private conversation. Rita's data shows that while she tries to keep to a certain language, the close family relationship hangs on many other different aspects. Taking into account the last two pieces of data, Rita's language use seems to be connected to people and place. It shows the importance that others play in the performance of her role and how Rita, as a mother, works as a bridge across languages. This is important because she performs her role of mother using two languages, as seen in the videos, simultaneously which highlights that language as a code is secondary to the role performed.

My data further shows that a new language changes the role of the mothers and the family dynamics. Lucia, her husband, and her eldest daughter are from Colombia, and they have spent twelve years in Spain before moving to the U.K. At the time, the girls were two and twelve years old and spoke no English, and, thus, family language policy discussions started later and included the daughters. By then, both girls were in full time education, Lucia and her partner worked part and full-time and Lucia and her husband, according to her, are proud that the girls adapted well to the new school and picked up the new language quickly. In the following extract, Lucia explains that the family speaks Spanish in the house and that they asked their daughters to speak English in the house at least one day a week.

> "I proposed, I proposed once that we had a day to speak in English and neither of them accepted it, when my elder lived here and then later we asked the youngest and she does not do it with us. We don't do it. (…)
>
> Well, to practice English here at home like the ordinary moments of daily life, because I would like to speak to them in English to practice but they do not do it with us. (…)
>
> Among them, they usually speak in English between them. They speak very little in Spanish between them. They both feel better speaking in English. (…)
>
> It makes me feel … good, normal, better still: it doesn't affect me or, it doesn't affect me in any way."

<div align="right">Lucia. Interview.</div>

The family members have different circles where they use different languages. Lucia lives with her sister and her brother and his family live nearby. Most of her support group is in Spanish whereas the children, who attend school and clubs in English, have more opportunities to learn and practise English in which they became fluent. I found it interesting that although both languages are equally accessible to the children, they prefer using English with each other but not with their parents. When I enquired about this, Lucia associated it with her daughter's lack of patience with her and her husband. In the literature, the integration of a new language in migrant families is one factor that might prompt the adultization of the children where they learn the new language quicker than the parents and take up the role of a carer for the adult. There is no literature available that describes the loss or shift of the parent role in multilinguals. In this case, the use of Spanish with the parents preserves the roles. Lucia does not mind that her daughters speak in a language of which she herself describes as a basic speaker. The fact that the girls prefer to speak in English between them might be due to the fact that it is the part of the linguistic repertoire that comes easier to them or that, like, my daughter in the entry below, the girls are using their linguistic repertoire to preserve the confidant role of the mother.

> "Me and my daughter have private conversations, like many mothers and daughters. We exchange ideas and secrets. We tend to do that in Spanish. I encourage her to speak Spanish between us. I used to tell her when she was growing up: 'can we have this discussion in English?' I wanted to encourage her to speak in my language. One day, we were in Argentina, and she turned to me: 'Mama', she said and, as she looked around, she realised that everybody around her would have understood her. 'Mama', she continued, 'Can I say this in English?' What she wanted was not one or another language. some privacy with her mother. She helped herself to a certain language in a particular context for a specific purpose."

Researcher diaries.

As in Lucia's account, this entry shows that my daughter is using a particular part of her linguistic repertoire with intention. In both cases, there is an awareness in children that allows them to elicit a certain reaction from their parents. Previously, Lucia maintained Spanish in the household and in the way she performed her mother role. In this case, my daughter used language to prompt me to relate to her as a confidant. This demonstrates that it is not the language per se what is at stake, but rather a way in which the maternal role is performed. This augments the importance of the theme that, for multilinguals, language as a code is not as relevant as the role performed.

In a similar fashion, the inclusion or exclusion of a language is led by the children in Sara's family. Sara reports that her two children have very different approaches to the use of Spanish in the house. This has an impact on how she plays her mother role. In her interview, Sara explains that on the one hand her son will only reply to her in English while her daughter would use both:

> "… in Spanish or English, sometimes I need to say, 'Mami, let's practice Spanish' or 'mami, I'm talking to you…', I don't know … yesterday I said, 'You have to practice answering in Spanish'; 'alright mum' she said.
>
> A: And do you say the same thing to your son?
>
> S: No. Because that's to start a war with him, with things like that he is very … very stubborn, he is reluctant, I cannot explain why. I think it's due to laziness, he understands everything, but he finds it hard to talk … but with my dad, yes, because he knows my dad doesn't understand him otherwise. So, with my dad, yes, I've heard him talking in Spanish. And his English accent is very strong.

<div align="right">Sara. Interview.</div>

Sara experiences different reactions from her children and this adjusts the way she mothers them. Her daughter is more receptive of Spanish and thus Sara can ask her to switch languages knowing that she will follow her lead. Because Sara's son would rebuke, she prefers to adjust and use English with him. There is an awareness of the other person that makes the participants adjust their roles. This theme is explored further in the next sections, looking at the family roles performed outside the home first, and, in the last section, describing the children's awareness of the backstage behind the front stage performance.

The findings discussed in this subsection show that children lead the way for the mothers' language use with the intention to trigger a certain part of their maternal roles. Children's prompting influences the language mothers use, the emotions in the backstage of language production and their role performance.

In this section, the complexity of the performance of roles in the family. The triangulation of data in the first subsection shows that, in most cases, there is a difference between the idea the participants have of their roles and the data from observations amounting to a theme that the reality of being a mother does not often follow the plans. The second subsection demonstrates that there are evaluations and emotions running along language use. The last subsection described the impact that the audience has on the role performed. The arguments from this section exude a strong critical stance towards multilinguals use of language where the role

performed is the primary action and language, as a code, is the secondary action. Shifting the focus from languages to speakers, this agrees with García (2009)'s 'languaging' as a socially situated action, thus, contributing to the translanguaging as transformative research.

The next section looks at role performance outside the house and later how the most intimate members of the family can see through the participant's front performance into the backstage of language production.

## 7.3 FAMILY LANGUAGE OUTSIDE THE HOME

Data analysis shows that the preservation of multilingualism within the family is highly dependent on the wider context: support from the extended family and the family's networks. A deep exploration shows that the interrelation of language use and the wider context has a correlation with identity construction. This section complements the previous sections in that it looks at participants performing everyday familiar roles in wider contexts outside the home. It is divided into three subsections. The first subsection: 'It takes a village to raise a child' highlights the importance of context as an enabler of language use. The second subsection brings forward the effect that others outside the family have on language production and on self-perception. The last subsection looks at the changes of role performance as perceived by close members of their families.

### 7.3.1 IT TAKES A VILLAGE TO RAISE A CHILD

Across the participants the data shows that family language policy may start with one parent, or both but it seems that the support of their wider context limits or enables the development of the multilingual identity. For example, Sara and her brother were brought up bilingually in England by parents that had a strong support network from Colombia. Sara and her husband speak in Spanish between them and Sara's parents help them with their childcare. She explains that her children can follow her conversation in Spanish. In the extract below, Sara compares her wider multilingual contexts growing up with her children's.

> "Because I think we expose them a lot to things in English, the difference between me and my
> children is that I kept a lot ties with my cousins, with the children of other parents of Latino relatives,
> and on weekends my dad always took us to Elephant and Castle for empanadas to buy the latest
> music … every weekend we were regular customers of the restaurant that was called 'La Bodeguita'
> back then. Today, it's called 'El Mueblecito'. And then we were, my brother and I, always exposed

In the anecdote, Sara perceives having ties to others that share the language as an important factor in her use of the language. In the quote, Sara defines herself as a bilingual speaker, a person that 'lived' in that language through the music, the food and the dancing. Sara believes that she used Spanish more frequently when she was her son's age due to the fact that she had more people around to use the language. In the reflection, I read here Sara's sense of responsibility towards her son's bilingualism when she says that they *'expose their children to a lot of things in English'*. Sara and her children have a different relationship with the language. In her interview, Sara describes Spanish as a language to share with friends and family and to access better opportunities. Here, Sara describes her children as bilingual although her son is *'reluctant to speak in Spanish'*. This type of behaviour is described in the literature optimistically as passive bilingualism (Grosjean, 2010) and less optimistically as language loss in the second-generation (Portes & Hao, 1998). Interestingly, both sides of the argument emerge in Sara's statements, in which she describes the next generation as one that favours English. This is an important finding because it shows the complexity of the perceptions that are at play in the backstage of role performance. In my experience, as a multilingual bringing up children multilingually, it is very difficult to concede that my children are not as fluent in Spanish as they are in English; that although everyday vocabulary is as easy for them in Spanish or English, if required to use specialist vocabulary or under the urgency of safety, they would default to English. These are little reminders, for me, that for my children Spanish perhaps is not quite as a second language, it is certainly more distant than a first language. This is difficult to recognise because it entails acknowledging the difference between us and them and the evaluation of the maternal role.

Like Sara, Vera uses Spanish to talk to her son and associates Spanish with her private life and English with her public life. Their descriptions amount, in theory, to a clear-cut division of language per context. The data shows that in everyday practice, language use is more complicated, and this has an impact on the role of the mother. The example below reflects some of the reasons why Vera would not use Spanish with her son in public.

him off or something and I want him to really understand what I'm saying, or if it is a situation like that he is about fall or something I have to be sure he will understand, there I enter into English."

Vera prefers to use Spanish when she is with her son. However, despite her preferences, other factors take precedence making her change her language. That is, Vera explains that he speaks a lot of Spanish, but if there is a safety alert, she would switch to English, so he understands better. In a previous interview, Vera explained that she switches from Spanish to English in her role of wife to include her husband or, as described above, in her role of carer to make sure that her son is safe.

Her personal preference of language is also put aside in the presence of others in the extract below:.

> "It makes me very uncomfortable to speak in Spanish when we are with people who do not speak Spanish, and I … because I think a bit like even impolite to speak in a language that people do not understand and I think it is like, ugly. So, in those mostly group situations with their school friends, and their mums, for example. Unless they are also foreigners. If they are also foreigners they can understand, but it seems like I'm saying something rude about some of them that they do not understand. And most of his friends, almost all are English friends. And their parents speak English and do not speak another language. But, but I speak to him in Spanish."

Vera asserts that in a conversation between her and her son, the presence of other parents acts as either an enabler or a disabler of her language use. She finds that if parents are '*foreigners'*, they can understand her multilingual mothering even if they do not share the same linguistic repertoire. Whereas, if other parents are monolingual (only speak English), however, they would not understand the act of performing the maternal role in Spanish, and she might be perceived as being rude. Linking this back to the data on the definition of languages where English is the powerful language, the power of the language is associated to its speakers who, in the description above, affect how Vera relates to her son in their presence.

The findings in this subsection contribute to the understanding of role performance as contextual and in relation to others. Having access to a multilingual support network encourages the use of language and the participants' multilingual mothering whereas, being surrounded by others that are perceived as monolinguals leads the participants to switch to English. The presence of others is a recurrent theme that highlights the importance that self-

perception in relation to others has identity construction. The next subsection complements this with a discussion on the perception of others.

One of the themes that reverberated across the data is the perception of others as a trigger to adapt the performance of their roles. In the quote below, Rita shares that, in the context of her work, she is required to use English.

> "If I'm at work and if my son and I are at lunch at the same time he comes in and I say: 'Oh son, are you going to eat this, that?' or 'Hey, don't forget to talk to who knows who' and someone who is sitting next to us says: 'English! English! 'cause we do not understand'. Of course, yes, in a way it is a little rude. If I want you to understand what I am saying, I'll say it in English, but as mentioned before, when you know that person speaks Spanish, the first thing that comes to you is in Spanish, and even to talk faster because it's your language, it is your language, it is your mother language.

> Rita Interview.

Previously in her interview, Rita avows that she uses Spanish because it is the language that comes to her when she speaks with her son. At the same time, she explains that she uses Spanish to play her maternal role because, in the background of language production, she does not have an intention to share the conversation with others. However, when other staff members – who are nearby but are not part of the conversation – ask her to use English instead because they do not understand Spanish, Reta does so. She further asserts that the use of Spanish in that particular context might be perceived as rude and, thus, changes her language to suit others around her. This brings the theme of the power of English as a language and the social inequality created in the entitlement that its speakers perceive they have to ask Rita and her son to translate themselves so others can overhear a private conversation. The theme of power is relevant to this discussion in that there is a social inequality caused by the power attached to the English language and its speakers that allows them to request Rita to change her language for them to understand the conversation between mother and son. The power that others exercise in Rita's example leads Rita to perceive herself as being rude which, in a sense, perpetuates the same 'block narrative' (Holliday and Amadasi, 2020).

The perception of using a language other than English in front of others that might not understand is also perceived as rude by other participants. Sara explains her views:

> "If I'm with a group of friends, if we're sitting in a restaurant and we're all sitting around speaking Spanish, it's okay because we're with each other, it's okay. But if we're let's say, on a bus and we're talking, we're talking, I'd be very uncomfortable thinking that other people are listening to a language they don't get and it feels a little uncomfortable. Yes, I am very aware.

<div align="right">Sara. Interview.</div>

There are some similarities between Rita and Sara. Sara, in a restaurant among friends, is comfortable fulfilling her role in Spanish. However, she reported feeling uncomfortable using the same language with the same group on the bus in case people overhear the conversation and do not understand. In that case, she would adjust her language to suit others outside the circle of the conversation. There is an awareness of the other that impacts Sara's role fulfilment. Although, her perception is different if she is the one overhearing a conversation that she does not understand:

> "I don't care about anything, because I handle a lot of people who speak different languages, and I don't care at all. I'm aware that if I talk to you - why I do it? - That if I speak in Spanish, that person can feel bad."

<div align="right">Sara. Interview.</div>

Here Sara's perception of herself varies. If she is outside a conversation in another language, she does not think there is a problem however, she is aware that others might feel bad if they overhear her speaking in Spanish. Sara and Vera both perform their roles as they please – using Spanish – when they are around multilinguals who either understand or do not understand Spanish. However, they tend to switch to English if they sense that those people around them are monolingual and only speak English. The participants do not describe an intention on the other, the person outside the conversation, yet there is an imposition with their mere presence. Considering Rita's experience in the staff canteen and the adjustment of language to suit others, the perception of being rude in Vera and Sara's cases might stem from similar previous experiences. This influences the role of the parent that becomes a vulnerable parent as opposed to a protective guardian. Previous studies with immigrant families show that parents perceive an evaluation of their parenting practices through the controlling power of welfare systems and the broader society (Tembo, et al., 2021).

While the findings discussed above show that Sara and Vera switch to English when they are around monolinguals, Lucia seems to be the exception. Lucia lives with her Colombian husband, and they share the household with her sister and two daughters, like Sara, her support

network comes from the Latin community. Discussing performing roles outside the home, Lucia shared:

> "If I am walking with my sister, I speak Spanish, but if I go with a friend that does not speak Spanish we speak in English. And, besides, because I don't check if another person can hear me or not, I don't care. For me it is not important."

<div align="right">Lucia. Interview.</div>

Lucia differs from the rest of the participants, as she would not change the language she uses to include the people outside her conversation if she were performing a role outside the household. However, she would only change it to include her friend who does not speak Spanish.

To sum up, the discussion in the last two sections indicates that there are some inconsistencies between what the participants say they do and the way they perform their roles. In the interviews' data, all participants state that they perceive language as valuable, referring to their multilingualism that relates to 'language as capital' (Bourdieu, 1977). Also a priori of language in use, the participants explain that they use Spanish to speak to their children, some participants share their children understand everything or almost everything of what is said even if some concede that the children reply in English. The data in this subsection refers to agreements and discussions that the participants had on language use fulfilling roles with their everyday roles outside the home. The findings show that, when performing a familiar role outside of the home, language use is adjusted to the context the participants find themselves in performing their roles as mothers. The data on language use, the way the participants perform their roles and the way they socialise relate to what Bourdieu (1977) calls 'habitus' or ways of being in the world. He uses this term, as part of his cultural framework, to refer to socially-ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions. It is the way that individuals perceive the social context around them and respond to it. The data on role performance within the family, indoors or outdoors, shows that this way of being is not a simple cause and effect, but rather the result of many tensions and concessions reflected on the roles participants perform. This, in fact, stresses the importance of multilingual agencies in the use of their linguistic repertoire. In role adjustments, there is a change in the participants that is sometimes prompted by an agreement in the family, by the children or others around them. The participants feel this change, and some avow that close family members can see it too. This is discussed in the next section.

The previous subsections explored how participants perform their roles within the family, as well as the role of the backstage of language production. They also explored how participants adjust their mother roles, and the impact of others on their performances. From the analysis, it became evident that the participants recognise a change in the way they perform their roles in different languages and that this change could be perceived by their closest family members. In this subsection, I highlight the family as that unique hinge-like place between the individual and the social sides of identity.

Vera asserted previously that only few people are aware of the change that goes within her when she changes languages. In the extract below, she shares her awareness of a different type of self in different languages.

> "I do not think that they are as aware of it as I am. It is usually true that I operate in one language or the other with people. With only few people I'm in both languages, but either way, I do not think people realise how uncomfortable it is being me going from one language to another. No. I do not think they realise. How much I suffer."

> Vera. Interview.

In the first data chapter I discussed how the different languages activate a different part of her self. In this subsection I look at data that describes those changes within her. Vera feels that people around her are not aware of how she suffers in the exchange. She explains that this might be because there are few people with whom she performs in English, Polish and Spanish, she mostly has groups of people where she uses one of them.

Previously on language use, Vera explained that she sees herself as having different identities, based on the language she uses and the type of person she is. Thus, while talking about being a mother, she explains:

> "There is a public mum and a mum that is not public. The non-public mum is in Spanish and the mother in English is public. And there are things that as a mum in Spanish I do not do when we are with Spanish speakers. Or I do not say, and vice versa. For example, I put more limits when I'm in a context that is speaking English than in a context that speaks Spanish. Because I think that there is something of the culture that is played there. And aside, because I think too, as it is a very personal level the Vera in English, as a mum, in a context where they are looking and are measuring me being a mum feels more insecure than the Vera in Spanish that is a mum, because when it is personal, I feel more comfortable in Spanish. Yes, it has an effect. I am not the same mum."

The narratives at different points coincide because, in the same way that Vera perceives herself as a different persona when she switches from one language to another, in her reflection she believes that there are two different types of mother: a private and a public mum. It seems that Vera, as a mother in English, follows what she interprets as the rules of the culture and she is, consequently, stricter. Vera, as a mother in Spanish, is not as strict or, at least, she does not put as many limits as Vera in English. The adjustment in the performance of her role relates to the fact that Vera, as a mother in English, feels more insecure and, as a mother in Spanish, she feels more comfortable because it is a more personal context. Therefore, being a mother in English or being a mother in Spanish is not performed in the same way for this participant. I was curious to find out how often she has to move from one language to another. Her answer was the following:

> "Eighty and twenty. Eighty in Spanish and twenty in English. Twenty is when we are with people and I have to speak English. But I'm not the same and I think ... do you know? I think, yes, my son realises it. Because there are certain moments that he speaks to me in Spanish when we are with people, when trying to appeal to certain things. When he wants me to understand, for example, and not tell him off he comes and says in something Spanish. Say we are in the park, doing something that I'm going to tell him off and then comes and in Spanish tells me that, 'no, he did or said this because such a thing happened', because he knows that his mum in English, there in front of whole context of the park, one where all these relationships with people who I do not know are moving, will behave in a way and speaking in Spanish she behaves differently. Yes. My son is probably one of the few people who notes that I change within my two languages."

As Vera reflects on the incident in the park, she concludes that her son might be one of the few people that can see that change in her. The change in language prompts a change from one type of mother to another. Vera explained in different narratives that she is aware of that change. The extract above suggests that her son is also aware of that change and that he appeals to the different ways Vera performs her role of a mother by using different languages.

Taking into account previous data, this might be that, because her son shares Vera's linguistic repertoire, he can 'get her' and, thus, unlock different aspects from her complex roles, singling out the parts of her that make the whole of Vera. The struggle of Vera in the performance of a role in different languages could be understood looking at the relationship between language and power in Bourdieu (1977)'s four conditions of power in discourse. Bourdieu (1977) argues

that for a discourse to be legitimate, it has to be uttered by a legitimate speaker, in a legitimate situation, to legitimate receivers in legitimate phonological and syntactic forms. In this example, Vera as a mother, speaking in Spanish to her son, fulfils the four conditions. This empowers Vera's role as a powerful participant in the dialogue, amounting to a strong maternal role. She is also a legitimate speaker in as much as she is a mother talking to her child in the playground, which makes it a legitimate situation. At the same time, there is a question on whether she is with legitimate receivers since, apart from her son, the mother feels judged by onlookers that are around the conversation, causing Vera to evaluate her role. Considering Vera's previous recount of her language use, the fourth condition is not quite fulfilled either. As a result, there is a difference in power relations shown in the different narratives that put the mother in an illegitimate speaker position when using English whilst in the radar of others. This creates a thrust of opposite forces between the speaker's power in Spanish and her speaker power in English. Vera, performing her role of mother, alternates languages within a conversation with her son, code switching for the benefit of the onlookers which is considered a negative side of bilingualism in social situations (Straud, 1998). Drawing from her different linguistic resources, Vera is in control of her role as a mother. In Spanish she feels comfortable fostering a private bond with her son while adjusting for the benefit of her son's safety is an investment in their relationship. However, an adjustment for others outside of the conversation moves the performance of Vera's role of the mother to another culture's expectations.

As discussed in subsection 7.2.3, there are similar examples where children use language with the intention of triggering a certain part of the maternal role. Like Vera, Lena, as the following quote shows, contends that there is a change in the presence of onlookers that only few people can see. Unlike Vera, however, Lena believes that only her husband understands, but not her daughter due to her young age. This, she says, does not mean that he has two wives:

> "No, the same, he knows me and notices it, there's a difference. But I think with the years, he knows what's going on, he knows what's going on in my head when I'm in a situation where there are a lot of people who speak another language... and he knows a secret. He was the first one to tell me, that I didn't notice; he always tells me that when I'm with new people, people I had never engaged in a conversation before in English, I usually block myself, although I know, and he knows, that I express myself perfectly in English. When it is a new situation, it does not have to be the new place but the people with whom I communicate are people who are known to him, that there is a relationship but I do not know them, usually, my brain is completely blank and I say the wrong words at the wrong time.
>
> A: And why do you think that might happen?

L: I think it's because I get stressed. I feel like it's like an evaluation and the same thing happens to me when I have work interviews in English, there are many stressors. The interview it's understandable because you're going to have the job or not; they're going to give you the job, or not. On the issue of the people, I don't really know what to tell you, maybe I feel evaluated by these new people that I don't know and I don't know how they think and if I feel more stressed."

<div align="right">Lena. Interview.</div>

Lena's narrative echoes a previous discussion in chapter six, where she compares language use with wearing clothes. That is, she affirms being one person with many more or less comfortable ways of performing her roles based on the language she uses. Like Vera, Lena relates the change in her role performance to the presence of others who, the participants believe, are judging them.

Vera and Lena describe two distinct role performances based on two different languages. The change, they say, is clear to them. Vera and Lena both say people close to them could notice the change, such as the son and the partner respectively. The analysis of their reflections seems to point that only those very close that share a multilingual repertoire can relate to the experience of distinct role performances in different languages. Considering that in 2021 about 14% of the UK population was from an ethnic minority background, these findings contribute to our understanding of the complexity of identity in multilinguals, which could be embedded in the practices of professionals that care for women like Vera and Lena.

## 7.5 CONCLUSIONS

The findings in this chapter show that family is a special place that comes between multilinguals' individual and social sides of identity. The family provides a transitional space: a third area where participants construct their identity; a social, yet intimate, context where the change in role performance and glimpses of the emotions and evaluations in the backstage of language production are noticed by fellow actors. The data shows that family language policies are different from the fluidity of day-to-day language practice where speakers translanguage incorporating a wide range of language repertoires in their everyday lives. A discrepancy that extends to a difference between the ideal performance of roles and roles performed in context. This difference creates a tension within participants who perceive their multilingualism as beneficial and empowering a priori of language use, but powerless in the performance of roles in contexts where participants perceive that their roles are under the evaluation of onlookers.

The participants are aware of the adjustments they make to their roles in different languages to fit in the communities' local sociocultural and political contexts. These contexts determine policies and attitudes toward multilingual migrants. My findings are significant because they shed light on the importance of encouraging linguistic diversity and empowering multilinguals towards an inclusive multilingual society. The findings are also crucial because they clearly show the struggles through which multilinguals go when they feel compelled to adhere to the sociocultural rules surrounding them that give more status to one language and devalues their preferred one.

As not all families make conscious choices regarding a specific language policy in their homes nor do all participants have a similar approach to role performances. The narratives presented are contradictory within the data from the same participant and more so across participants. The cross-cutting theme of the lack of congruence in the findings aligns with the obsolete use of stereotypes. I, therefore, argue that any integrative policy should encourage a dynamic culture of tolerance and acceptance.
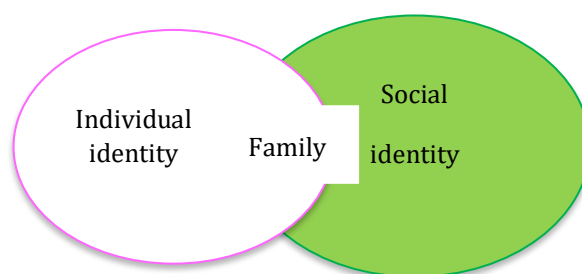
While the two previous data chapters reported how participants construct their individual identity and their roles within the family, this chapter shows the social side of identity in the performance of everyday roles in social contexts. External perceptions of the self – how people see themselves in relation to others and how they think others evaluate them – is one of the themes that reverberated across interview discussion, observations and participants' reflections. My analysis shows that these perceptions have an impact on language use resulting in a social use of language that reflects how the participants construct and reconstruct the roles they perform. Moreover, they, sometimes, adapt their performances to invest in their audience, and they, at other times, comply with perceived expectations from others in the peripheral, unintended audience.

The chapter is presented in four sections that show the fluid interactivity between social roles, context and the emotions and evaluations in the backstage of the performance. The first section shows how participants construct their social roles in relation to their perceptions of themselves in public and the awareness of others. The second section highlights the influence that others' perceptions have on participants' social identity. Crosscutting themes arising from these two sections suggest that there is an ideology of othering historically embedded in the multilinguals' narratives.

While the first two sections focus on the front stage of identity performance, the third section puts the backstage of language production in the spotlight. This section rethinks the backstage of language production and role performance through having a closer look at the emotions and evaluations that take place in the making of the social side of identity.

The last section of this chapter explores the changes that the participants perceived in their identity construction during the periods of Covid 19 lockdowns that started in 2020. The main themes emerging in this section revolves around how language use, in the absence of social

interaction, provided a space for multilinguals to reflect on the use of their linguistic repertoires and reclaim in their everyday roles.

Across the chapter the themes of self-evaluation, power and emotions echo and complement the findings in previous chapters showing the fluid interplay of the different sides of identity at any given time.

## 8.1 THE PUBLIC PERFORMANCE

Most participants asserted that they perform their roles differently if they believe others around them are evaluating them. Vera's example below illustrates how established everyday roles, like her mother role, are adjusted in public under the perception of the critical eye of the other:

> "There is a public mum and a mum that is not public. The non-public mum is Spanish and the mum in English is public. And there are things that as a mum in Spanish I do not do when we are with Spanish speakers. Or I do not say, and vice versa. For example, I put more limits when I'm in a context that is speaking English than in a context that speaks Spanish. Because I think that there is something of the culture that is played there. And aside, because I think too, as it is a very personal level the Vera in English, as a mum, in a context where they are looking and are measuring me being a mum feels more insecure than the Vera in Spanish that is mum, because when it is personal I feel more comfortable in Spanish. Yes, it has an effect I am not the same mum."

<div align="right">Vera. Interview.</div>

Previously in the interview, Vera said that she feels more comfortable being a mother in Spanish because it is a private role. However, in the extract, she describes a move away from her comfort zone. That is, in public areas, Vera would perform a stricter mother role in English. This role, Vera claims, is adjusted to the culture of the language she uses and the expectation of others in that context. As a result, she switches from her natural use of language described in the Language chapter to English to perform what she believes is expected of her as a mother. Different emotions and evaluations start to take place before the role is performed. In the backstage of language production, Vera has the awareness of the other, claiming to feel insecure and the knowledge that she would much rather perform her mother role differently.

Vera explains that the change from Spanish to English when performing her role of a mother in front of others is a common occurrence:

> "It happens often. It makes me very uncomfortable to speak in Spanish when we are with people who do not speak Spanish, and I … because I think it's a bit, like even impolite to speak in a language

that people do not understand and I think it is, like, ugly. So, in those mostly group situations with their school friends, and their mums, for example. Unless they are also foreigners. If they are also foreigners they can understand, but it seems like I'm saying something rude about some of them that they do not understand. And most of his friends, almost all are English friends. And their parents speak English and do not speak another language. But, but I speak to him in Spanish."

<div align="right">Vera. Interview.</div>

The extract above suggests that while talking to her son in that park bench, Vera contends the context before using language in front of the group of parents that might not understand her language. As in the previous narrative, Vera shares that she shifts from Spanish to English because to use her preferred language with her son is 'impolite' and 'ugly' if others do not understand it. Consequently, in the context of the park, surrounded by other school children and their mothers, Vera changes her language and the way she performs her mother role because she feels observed and judged. This narrative complements Vera's languaging drawing below:
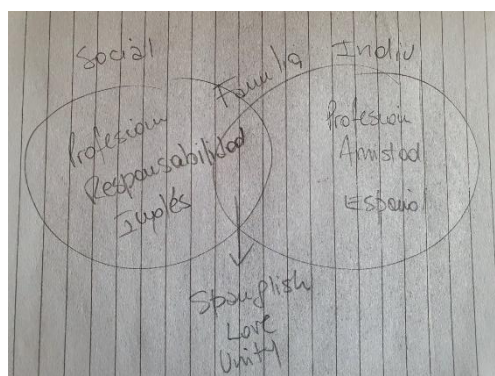


<div align="center">Vera. Languaging drawing.</div>

In her drawing, Vera writes: '*profession*', '*responsabilidad*' (that translates as: 'responsibility') and '*ingles*' ('English') within her social identity while she writes: '*profesion*', '*amistad*' ('friendship') and '*español*' ('Spanish') in her individual identity. The wording in the drawing is succinct but it suffices to foreground a key difference Vera perceives between the two sides of identity. Vera associates responsibility with English in her social identity and friendship with Spanish in her individual identity. The word 'responsibility' in the drawing supports the adjustment that Vera describes in her narratives of her social roles above. Although she further avows that she does not change languages if she believes that the people around her are also 'foreigners' who would understand her mothering in a language other than English. The distinction that Vera makes between parents that are English and parents that are immigrants

entails that Vera's language swap is not totally driven by the possibility that the external person does not understand her language. Vera is changing languages here for others. This agrees with data from chapters five and seven on language and the family, respectively, that show that although Vera sees Spanish as her preferred language to perform her mother role, she translanguages and switches to English to invest in her son's safety or to include her husband in the conversation. In light of previous data, the fact that Vera switches languages for others highlights the importance that the perception of others has on her performance of roles and brings the theme of language hierarchy described in the analysis of language in chapter six. English, and by association English speakers, is a more powerful language while Spanish, and Spanish speakers like Vera, is the language of a minority and has, therefore, less power. Vera has an awareness of the other that influences the way she performs her mother role in public contexts. This finding is complemented with the discussion of participants' perceptions that others have of her. In Vera's example above, she describes that while she is performing her everyday roles in public contexts, she might encounter others. In case these others are 'foreigners', according to her, their perceptions of her performing her role in Spanish are encouraging as there is an implicit understanding. There is a connotation in the extract that those that are not foreigners would not relate to her multilingual performance of the mother role.

The perception of others also prompts Sara, a multilingual that was born and brought up in the U.K, to adjust her role performance. In the anecdote below, Sara shares how she uses language with her husband outside their home and how this changes when other people are around:

> "All the time unless we are in a place where there are people who do not understand us because that is rude. If I am in one place, and I am aware that there are people who do not understand Spanish I say automatically: 'We are in a place where there are people, let's speak in English'. If we are alone in Spanish, because it is very uncomfortable for other people, even if we do not have to talk to them directly, that it is a conversation between the two, I think it is rude."

> Sara. Interview.

After prompting her answer, and asking whether she had been told so by others, she further asserted:

> "No. No, never. But yes, I have heard people who have said on the train: 'if you speak your own language, go back to your country'"

> Sara. Interview.

There are many themes to unpick in Sara's narrative. On the one hand, like Vera before and Rita, later on, Sara describes the presence of other people as a prompt to switch languages. Like most participants in this study, this awareness engenders a self-perception of being rude if she does not adjust her performance of the 'wife' role to English even if, like she says, they are not part of the conversation. To support her evaluations of language choice, she offers an example of a train exchange she witnessed when someone who was not using English in public was told to go back to their country. This type of action from the unintended audience is explored in the next section of this chapter. Sara's example adds depth to Vera's awareness of the other that deflects the power of choice from the participant as a main protagonist of a role performance to the unintended audience who is empowered by being an English language user.

Although most participants describe role adjustments to include others and to invest in a relationship, others would not make allowances for others outside the conversation. In the extract below, Lucia describes how she responds when she is aware of others nearby:

> "If I am walking with my sister, I speak Spanish, but if I go with a friend that does not speak Spanish we speak in English. And, besides, because I don't check if another person can hear me or not, I don't care. For me it is not important."

<div align="right">Lucia. Interview.</div>

Lucia contends that if she is with her sister, she speaks Spanish and she might change that if a friend who does not speak Spanish joins them. Unlike Vera who adjusts her language and her role performance; the perception of the other does not impact the way Lucia performs her role of a sister as she clearly says that she would not accommodate others outside the conversation. This might be connected to their different perceptions of social identity as Lucia's description of social identity in the languaging session relates to the groups of which she is part:
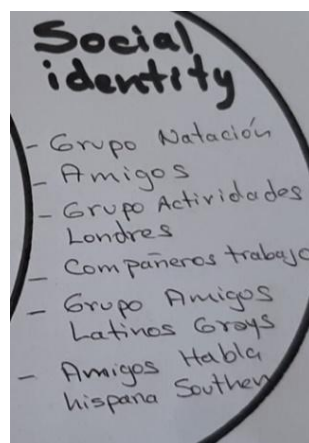
In Lucia's drawing (snip from Appendix 2), she describes her social identity as '*grupo natación, amigos, grupos actividades Londres, compañeros trabajo, grupo amigos, amigos habla hispana Southend*' ('swimming group, friends, London activity group, work colleagues, Latin friends' Grays group, Southend Spanish speaking friends'). There seems to be a predominance of Spanish within Lucia's social groups, except for her work colleagues' group. Therefore, unlike Vera, Lucia has less opportunities where she finds herself performing an everyday role in a context where the group uses a language other than Spanish. That is, she might not find herself with the same confrontation perceived by Vera in front of others. Yet, even if Lucia states that she does not adjust her role in the presence of others, the data from the interview hints that there is an awareness and an evaluation of the self in relation to the other.

The evidence presented in this section suggests that all participants have a perception of others. This unintended audience that, although not part of the conversation, brings the idea of an evaluation to the backstage of language production by the mere presence of others nearby. Participants' performance of everyday roles in social contexts is not the same across participants, as some prefer to switch from one language to another while others do not. Yet, the data at both ends of the spectrum in this section connotes an internalisation of the other who exercises a certain amount of power with their presence. Because role adjustment is based on the common awareness of the monolingual English speaker as a theme across participants, I argue that in multilinguals' identity construction the participants respond to a power imbalance between languages, which is internalised in the participants' evaluations behind language production.

The next section moves the discussion beyond the participants' internal perception of the other and highlights the power the onlooker feels entitled to exercise on multilingual speakers. The findings in both sections interact to allow a better understanding of the underlying theme that unites the single occurrences described in the data.

## 8.2 THE POWER OF THE BYSTANDER

The previous section described how multilinguals have an awareness of the presence of others in their public performances of roles. This section's findings complement those discussed in the previous section, in that they highlight the power imbalance vis-à-vis languages and how

this imbalance shows in – the previously-discussed – participants' perceptions of others. It also gives insights into participants' evaluations of how others might perceive them. Through participants' narratives, this section demonstrates that their perceptions of other people's conceptions of language use tend to have an impact on their language choice. It further shows the power associated with English and its speakers.

The data extracts in the previous section show how different multilinguals are aware that others who are not part of their audience prompt an evaluation of role performance in the participants. When in the section above Vera says:

> "Because I think it's a bit, like, even impolite to speak in a language that people do not understand and I think it is like, ugly. So, in those mostly group situations with the school friends, and their mums, for example. Unless they are also foreigners. If they are also foreigners they can understand, but it seems like I'm saying something rude about some of them that they do not understand."

<div align="right">Vera. Interview.</div>

Above, Vera describes the use of her preferred way to perform her mother role in Spanish in public as '*impolite*', 'a language people do not understand', '*ugly*' and '*rude*'. Experiential examples like the one shared by Rita below might help understand Vera's evaluations. Rita describes an event that took place at work where she works with her son:

> "If I'm at work and if my son and I are at lunch at the same time he comes in and I said, 'Oh son, are you going to eat this, that?' or 'Hey, don't forget to talk to who knows who' and someone who is sitting next to us says: 'English! English! 'cause we do not understand'. Of course, yes, in a way it is a little rude. If I want you to understand what I'll say it in English, but as mentioned before, when you know that person speaks Spanish, the first thing that comes to you is in Spanish, and even to talk faster because it's your language, it is your language, it is your mother language."

<div align="right">Rita. Interview.</div>

In her description, Rita echoes the last section's findings of the impact of the perception of self under the evaluative presence of others. The example here describes an unintended audience's reaction in a public context that resonates with Sara's experience on the train. In both examples, the participants describe in their evaluations an echo of the perceptions that others have of them. This is an experience that aligns the perception that others in the staff canteen have of multilinguals, and who portray them as essentially alien or different. There seems to be a regularity in the single events which build up a narrative across different participants and a

normalisation of entitlement in the speaker of the majority language to keep the use of foreign languages and their speakers' role performances at bay.

The perception of othering extends to different public contexts in Rita's experience. In the next extract, Rita shares how she thinks others perceived her when she was performing the roles of wife and mother speaking in English with her husband and daughter when they walked around Mexico:

> "Oh that clown, as if she forgets the word, as is Spanish speaking. But they do not understand that in your brain, your brain is like a box of memories and the words that you do not use; they're in the memory box and sometimes it is difficult to open it when you have not used in long time, and 'as if you think that you will forget?' Well, yes, you can: not forget, not like forget, to forget forever, but yes that it is blocked from you, that do not flow, those words that you do not use, and I believe that happens even in English. There are people who say 'and….do you remember that street, yes? The one we were going?' Of course, you do not remember the name of the street you've gone twice in your life, it is same! If you use a certain word once a year, you'll forget and there it goes flying and flying in the brain."

<div align="right">Rita. Interview.</div>

In the extract, her understanding is that the unintended audience around the family perceived her as '*a clown*' because she was speaking in English. In Mexico, where the majority language is Spanish, Rita is perceived as a petulant or a pretender because she is speaking in English. The majority language, like in the example of the staff canteen, enables the 'native' speakers to feel entitled to request the participant to speak, or not, a certain language. Although similar, the two examples are not the same, as English seems to occupy a higher ranking and Spanish in the second one. These findings are significant because they point at the language of the majority as higher in status.

Either in the UK or Mexico, Rota finds that people – who are neither fellow actors nor intended audiences – overhearing the conversation influence her language choice. This coincides with the family discussion started in the chapter seven where Clara and Lena find themselves living with their extended families and they are requested to speak in English. Lena, on her daily language use says: "*We use English, more than my language. In general English'*. In the interview, Lena says that there are two main factors for that difference between the multilingual family language policy and her performance of her roles in English in her daily routine. One difference is that when she first arrived in the U.K, she was not used to work and, therefore, her use of Spanish was predominant. Like Lucia, most of her support network outside her

parents' in-law were Spanish speakers. Additionally, now that Lena works, she explains, she spends most of her day at work using English and, thus, finds it hard to 'switch off' when she goes home. Additionally, it is even harder to do so due to living with her in-laws who make fun or Lena and her daughter when they use Spanish. Those findings, in the light of the discussion here, augments the thread of othering from the wider social context.

So far, this chapter showed that onlookers seem to have a certain power over the language to be used between strangers – and multilinguals, even when they do not do any action to prompt language change other than being in that place at that time. This change seems to stem from the fact that speakers do not want to appear rude to others, perhaps, overhearing their discussions. The multilinguals in this study construct a social persona that accommodates the wider context and the possible needs of an outsider who might or might not be overhearing them.

The last section focused on the participants' perceptions and the fact that they must use English in public areas to avoid appearing rude or impolite and, consequently, perform their everyday roles in a certain manner to conform with the expectations of others. This section shows singular events that different participants experienced when unintended audiences felt it was their duty to remind them of the social rules. The data in this section builds up from the previous section to argue that there is a structural racism in social contexts that normalises the imposition of English as the language that must be spoken. This narrative from the wider social context filters into the extended family and shapes the perceptions that the participants have on how they should use their linguistic repertoire and perform their roles in public. As this appears to have become the 'norm' for so many, arguable, this can be interpreted as 'symbolic violence' (Jenkins, 1992): a concept constructed to explain the order in which societies are structured by "indirect, cultural mechanisms" rather than by "direct, coercive social control" Jenkins (1992: 65).

The findings discussed in this section shed light on the important role played by the onlooker in identity construction. I argue that the actions of bystanders - non-participating audiences - preserve and promote, at times unintentionally, a racist thread that is embedded in the wider context. They, consequently, fulfil the role of preserving the existing state of power imbalance by either acting or opting for not taking part in the action of others. This is a key finding that moving forward helps understand the impact that this has within the participant and, at the same time, gives extra depth to the main themes found in previous chapters.

The first section of this chapter described the evaluations that take place before role performance focusing on the impact of the awareness of others. The second section moved to the front stage to highlight the impact the unintended audience has on the participants' everyday role performance in public contexts. This section moves back from the front stage of public performance to set the spotlight on the backstage of language production. The three sections work together to show how the frontstage and the backstage of role performance work circularly in the construction of identity.

Previous chapters described the participants' perceptions of language use, performance of language that relate to their perception of self and their role performance. This is what Vera shared in the languaging session:

> "As I watch the video and read the transcript, I feel playful. I sound like another child playing with him. I love that my child can be so creative and that he has so much knowledge about certain things."

> Vera. Languaging session.

Emotions towards and evaluations of Vera's role as a mother are depicted in her extract. While reflecting upon the video where she is playing and translanguaging with her son, Vera connects with feeling playful. In her extract there are emotions and evaluations of her role as a mother. The data moves the focus away from the role performance and centres on the evaluation and emotions of the role performed. Within their household there is an attention to the complexity of negotiated identity investment in the mother and son relationship.

The same investment happens when performing an everyday role outside the home as data from the participants' reflections on language choice seemed to connect their role performance to a dynamic cost-benefit evaluation. In her message, Clara avows her private thinking in the backstage of her language use:

> "With my sister, usually, if we are alone, Spanish. If we are with English people, English. Usually. Sometimes I don't give a fuck and I speak Spanish. Sometimes it is tiring to think about how others feel and I feel that I deserve what I want as well. xxx."

> Clara. Lockdown message.

Clara's reflection describes how she uses her linguistic repertoire linking language to fellow actors and an unintended audience. Like other participants, Clara's reflection describes the emotional ties to language, her personal aims and judgements in relation to their interlocutors. Clara does not use Spanish at home, in previous sections I describe that Clara leaves it to speak her language. So, when she meets with her sister, she uses Spanish to satisfy her personal need to use her language and to invest in her relationship with her sister. She seems to be aware of the others around her and, as she asserts, she would switch languages to benefit the unintended audience. She also shares that sometimes she disregards the needs of others and prioritises her personal needs. In front of Clara, there is the other and, thus, an evaluation of what the other prefers. There is also an evaluation after the role is performed that ignores the unintended audience and that favours the investment in her role as a sister.

At different points all the participants of the study mention fellow actors and the presence of others beyond the audience in their evaluation of language choice. In many instances, the participants' preferred choice is overruled by the presence of others, but that is not always the case. Although all the participants in the present research are women, and although including men would have provided a fuller picture of identity construction, it seems that those multilinguals perform their everyday roles with personal intentions and other perceived demands from different social spaces.

Data analysis shows in this section highlight the themes that arose from the data that present some insights into the participant's perceptions of their public selves, the construction of social identity, the impact of the bystanders in language use. Based on the data shared in this chapter so far, social identity is constructed from the participants' perception of self in relation to others. In that construction there is a combination of how the person perceives themselves in relations to others and therefore how they relate to a group, and how the person believes that they are perceived by others. Those perceptions that make up the social identity construction can be observed in the data on language use, establishing language as 'the social product deposited in the brain of each individual' (Saussure, 1966).

The findings in this section further reinforce the complexity between the participants' social environments and their identity construction. Social interaction changed because of the Covid-19 pandemic, most people stayed at home; working and studying from home became the norm and people only left their houses to get essentials. In the UK, the first lockdown began on 23rd March 2020, when the government requested that all unnecessary social contact should cease.

D England's third lockdown came into place on 6ᵗʰ January 2021 and ended on 19ᵗʰ July 2021. Only those considered key workers kept working from their workplace. The UK lockdown started to ease towards the end of March 2021, when the first set of restrictions were lifted under the government's roadmap out of lockdown. The next section looks at the participants' perception of the impact of covid.

This section describes what the multilinguals in this study experienced during Covid-19 lockdowns – something that was not expected at the beginning of the study – and how the lack of interaction outside their households had an impact on their family language and prompted emotions and reconsiderations of their priorities.

### 8.4.1 MULTILINGUALISM 'HAS TURNED MORE 'NORMAL'

The data across participants agree that during a time with very little interaction outside the household has an impact on the family language and prompts emotions and a review of their priorities. An example of this is:

> "If I had to reflect on my identity this year, it's so hard. I think that basically to confront something so difficult like a pandemic or any extreme situation, let's say, always puts you in a reflective position and… I think that my identity, as a Latin woman that speaks Spanish, resurfaced more, a lot more during this lockdown because it made me reflect on what things make me happy, I believe it has to do with our childhood and it makes us feel safe and you, unconsciously, when you are in front of difficult times, you go to moments and things that make you feel safe, like your parents, your family, the food, you have time during lockdown to go back to make more traditional dishes. So, the identity this year has been intensified above all and, in all this time, I had time to think what I want to do, how I want to do it. And it really gives you time to take a conscious decision."

> Lena. Lockdown message.

Lena's message shows that lockdown, for her, is a period to evaluate her priorities. Lena asserts that her *'identity as a Latin woman that speaks Spanish, resurfaced'* during the year of lockdown. She connects the use of language with a role performance that links back to her childhood and to feeling safe. She also recounted cooking more traditional dishes. Being away from social interactions, Lena seems to have found more opportunities to do what she wanted

the way she pleased with no interference from others, rendering her able to take *'conscious decisions'*.

During the lockdown, most participants resumed or increased contact with the extended family living abroad. This is what Vera shares:

> "In the last year, I have used Spanish more because I've been more in touch with my family and friends in Argentina, because it has turned more 'normal' and possible to meet people online. I have been out less, and I have met less people so I feel that I have used Spanish more."

<div align="right">Vera. Lockdown message.</div>

Vera's extract suggests that when there is less social interaction, participants favour keeping in touch with their families abroad. In the family chapter, many participants shared they had difficulties to maintain Spanish in their daily practices because English made exchanges quicker. Vera also mentions that *"it turned 'normal' and possible to meet people online"*. During lockdown, multilinguals, and the rest of the population, had to engage with others using technology. Considering previous findings in this chapter, Vera's perception that the way she communicates is normalised could be interpreted as that it has become less foreign and less threatening to others. Viewing her comment on the normalisation of her practice in light of previous findings in this chapter, foregrounds the importance that other people play in role performance.

Similarly, Lena shares a similar experience of being more in touch with her family living abroad:

> "Because, when you are in front of difficult times, you always go back to your roots and the quarantine and the pandemic give you time to reflect what is important and, obviously, the roots and to go back to the family is very important and that makes you connect, in my case, with my language more. I was in contact with my family more than if it had been regular times because you want to make sure that your family is ok. You want to feel the comfort of being with the people that get you in your language. That to speak in your language is always more relaxed and, in difficult times, you want to be in a comfortable situation where you are understood and, at the same, in my family, at home during the lockdown there is also more time. The routine is switched off and you have more time to think more which language you are using, to have time to explain. For example, my daughter, there are words that she doesn't understand, there is time to dedicate to the language and to make a conscious effort to think which language you are using because usually in the routine everything happens so quickly that you use whatever is more practical at the time, you don't think a lot, but when there is time to really think about the motivation to use one language or the other, yes, I think that during lockdown I'm using a lot more Spanish."

In the extract above, Lena explains that during a time with less social interaction she went back to her roots and was more in touch with her family in Argentina. Consequently, she used more Spanish, and she invested more in her relationship with her daughter. There is more time to think as '*the routine is switched off and you have more time to think more which language you are using, to have time to explain'*. This echoes a theme, previously discussed in chapter five, on language being a tool used to communicate effectively that leads multilinguals to use English in the performance of the mother role in her everyday routine. When she is off routine and when the time factor is no longer relevant, however, she adjusts her performance and uses Spanish. Lena's excerpt also echoes the findings on the influence of others in role performance described previously in this chapter.

When social interaction was put on a pause during lockdowns, Lena perceived this as a time to reevaluate herself. The evaluation of self and the perception of other people is also exemplified in:

> "It also, this year's reflection is that, in the routine, I had not realised that everything that is identity, everything that is mine what it means to have a different tradition sometimes is lost in the day-to-day because it is easier to communicate it in English or to explain it in English or not to show so much. I'm also think that at a work level or in the day-to-day you are also very conscious of how the other person perceives the tradition and also because in this country currently politically there is a lot on being foreign and what it means to be foreign in Great Britain it is means that you also hide a bit unconsciously your tradition, unconsciously, not because you are embarrassed, but it is your way to protect yourself, I think that with lockdown and whit all the thinking about identity you realise that with the time that you have to reflect on what is really important maybe, I don't know, in my case, you've matured that idea to say that it is not important what the other people think, or that you are you, you are you with all your parts: your old parts and your new parts, your language your stories and that not necessarily you have to hide them or to abstain from showing things, so very interesting, it is more like… feeling comfortable with your different stories and traditions."

Lena. Lockdown message.

The quote above contends that lockdown represents a period of no hiding and no embarrassment. She links this time with a period when she does not have to hide, a time when she is not embarrassed that links back to the theme in Vera's excerpt on the normalisation of her language use without the influence of others. These findings suggest that multilinguals had more control over the use of their linguistic repertoire and the way they perform their everyday roles, augmenting the theme of power crosscutting this work. The analysis demonstrates that a

normalisation of multilinguals' use of language empowers them to use their language of choice. Thus, my findings show that in the normalisation of multilinguals' use of their linguistic repertoire, there is an opportunity to foster an inclusive society.

Two of my participants said being indoors with the family made some difficult traits more arduous. The following extract illustrates this:

> "I have not noticed a change in my use of language, but because there has been more free time my daughter has studied and learnt more Spanish. Reflections, well, the biggest one is to realise how much is left behind in your country, and how difficult it is to see the return. Whether, if you split up, how much easier would it be to live as a Mexican in London. Kisses."

<div align="right">Rita. Lockdown message.</div>

Rita described that the absence of others outside the home did not have an impact on language use. As in the previous section, the extract shows that the pandemic meant that Rita could use her language of choice indoors. It also shows a feeling of discontent because of the new routine.

Another example that sheds more light on emotions is described by Nina who also found that being indoors with family made some difficult traits more strenuous for her. To see how her family context has changed during lockdown, below is a quote from Nina talking about her daughter's use of language in the interview before lockdown:

> "She likes English more, many times she says to me: 'Mummy, just English' and me: 'No, just English, no. Then you're not going to wear this, or this, or this'. Then, she usually addresses me in English. It depends on what it is. And there are days that she starts up in Spanish without anyone telling her anything, she says to me, 'Mama, tengo frio' ('Mama, I'm cold'), 'mama quiero ver tele' ('mama, I want to watch TV') or 'por favor, mama, dame una galleta' ('please mama, give me a cookie') for those things she uses Spanish, of course."

<div align="right">Nina. Interview.</div>

In the quote above, Nina contends that her daughter prefers the use of English, the language of school, friends and clubs. This is congruent with other participants' data who showed that living, working, and socialising as an immigrant means that English is required in a variety of contexts, with an array of speakers, for distinct purposes. Likewise, Nina's mother roles in the house are confronted with her daughter's request to

use English. This is explored in the literature which argues that children's heritage languages become more limited both in quantitative and qualitative terms from one generation to the next as a result of language being used at home, with few speakers, on topics concerning the everyday routine where parents, particularly women take the role of guardians of culture (Lau, 1995).

During lockdown, Nina, and her husband, continue using Spanish at home but their daughter's attitude towards the family language has changed:

> "I have not stopped speaking Spanish at any time with my children, but my daughter since the beginning of the lockdown started little by little to complain about Spanish getting to the point that she refused even to see the grandparents on video call. I have found some help from a company called 'bilingüismo respetuoso' and the truth is that in a month, things have changed, a lot… but it is a long story.
>
> A: What support did you get?
>
> N: Advice on how to progress so that my daughter does not reject Spanish and all the things that are related to the language like the people that speak it, books, games, films."

> Nina. Lockdown message.

The excerpt describes a change in attitude and the repercussions that it has on Nina's emotions. Nina found that she was struggling with the confrontation of her daughter not wanting to speak in Spanish. Her frustration is better understood considering the practice of the language policy she shared in chapter five, where she describes the value she gives to being multilingual and the investment shared with her husband on a one-parent-one language policy to support their family's multilingualism. She found a support group for multilingual parenting. She feels responsible that in her family her children are losing her heritage languages faster simply due to limited opportunities to speak those languages.

The clash with her daughter's attitude towards Spanish is increased by Nina's isolation from the social network Latin community, as she shares in her message below:

> "This year I feel that I don't have an attachment to this country even if it has given me so much. It's been the first time in eleven years that I wanted to go back to live in Spain. Brexit, the pandemic, the loneliness have changed me. I have changed because I feel more sensitive, more vulnerable, physically older, the loneliness … they have changed me."

> Nina. Lockdown message.

The long period of lack of social interaction with her regular community groups and the resistance of her daughter contribute to Nina's feeling: '*I feel more sensitive, more vulnerable, physically older, the loneliness*'. Across the participants' accounts there is a theme of longing for social interaction that they try to fulfil by communicating with their families living abroad, using a language that tends to be less used in their day-to-day lives. When all this is out of reach, and Nina cannot connect with her daughter, the reader can grasp the depth of Nina's isolation.

The findings discussed in this subsection shed light on the important part played by family members on participants' emotions. The analysis in the previous subsection demonstrates that a normalisation of multilinguals' use of language empowers them to use their language of choice. In this subsection, the argument foregrounds how a change in the routine during lockdown affected participants' relationships with their close family members. Consequently, the inability to perform their everyday roles or to use their language of choice has prompted a break up in relationships and has had an impact on mental health.

## 8.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter reveals how the multilinguals in this study adjust the performance of their everyday roles as they become aware of an unintended audience. This audience, as shown in the second section of the chapter, tends to fulfil the powerful role of the bystander that preserves and imposes the use of English. This chapter considers the effect of the lockdown period – due to Covid-19 – where participants had little social interactions and, thus, re-evaluated their translingual practices. Most of them found this a time to empower, rather than marginalise, their diverse ways with words and beyond their linguistic repertoires, as well as the ways they construct their selves. When this was not possible, and when participants found themselves detached from their social support networks and their family members, they felt isolated and depressed.

This chapter takes a holistic approach to the social side of identity. It analyses multilinguals' performance of their everyday roles, and the impact social contexts have on them. It explored how multilinguals' evaluations of context feed into the role being performed in the front stage. A context, where the evaluation of fellow actors and the presence of the unintended audience, prompt a certain performance. This, consequently, has a ripple effect in the evaluations and

emotions that are at play, simultaneously, in the backstage of language production. Specifically, the analysis demonstrates that the front and backstage of the role performance are endlessly interacting with each other. This is a crosscutting theme in my analysis upon which I, thus, argue that identity is context bound and therefore cannot be framed by language and, instead, remains in a constant state of becoming. It is possible to assert that the nuances in the data across participants foreground that multilinguals respond differently to the social context and, consequently, perform their everyday roles in a unique manner. Therefore, I believe that only policies that accept this hybridity will create a context where multilinguals are included.

This final chapter returns to the overarching research questions:

What are the links between language use and identity construction?

Is multilingual identity enacted across different languages or is it framed by language?

The thesis explored multilinguals' identity construction considering the inner and social use of language and role performance. Translanguaging allowed a move away from an essentialist approach that organises the population under labels, giving a space for multilingual voices to emerge.

The study shows that participants adjust their language use and role performance contextually. There is a feedback loop between front stage and backstage of role performance as seen in the link between the evaluation of context and the performance of the role, the impact that other people have in the emotions in the backstage of the performance. This thesis argues that there is a correlation between language use and role performance is the insight into identity construction in multilinguals. The whole linguistic repertoire is available, all the time, even if one language as a code takes the front stage. In the same way, one role takes the front while all roles in the background remain available. These findings highlight that the link between language use and identity is their relationship with context, giving the answer to the first question. In context, identity is constructed in an interplay between the front and the backstage of the role performance which gives an answer to the second question: identity is always fluid, context-bound and remains in a state of becoming.

The thesis describes how elements of context prompt the adjustments to language and role performance. The evaluations of context and power. The study provides not only advances in knowledge of multilingualism and intercultural communication in practice, but also advances in translanguaging as the paradigm leading the theoretical framework of analysis and methodology. In the same way that translanguaging supported an exploration of identity beyond language as a code, other practices can be fostered to support inclusion in multilingual societies.

This chapter is divided into four sections:

- The first section addresses the research questions and discusses the relevance of the cross cutting themes that emerged from the data in light of the literature. It is divided into three subsections. The first one is the evaluation of self and emotions. The second

one describes the evaluation of power. The last subsection describes the importance of safe spaces.

- The second section describes the advances this study makes in relation to methodology. It is divided into two subsections. The first subsection, the power of video, reports how the homemade videos is participatory method while the second subsection, listening to the silent voices, describes how languaging as a method enabled the researcher to invite reflection.

- The third section discusses the implications of using translanguaging as a compass for the betterment of a multilingual society.

- The chapter concludes with a reflective note.

## 9.1 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIELD

The thesis explored multilinguals' identity through their language use in the context of their everyday performance. The data chapters were structured to look at language and tease apart elements of role performance that contribute to individual and social identity separately though highlighting as a main finding that all these elements are bonded together in interactive feedback with context at any given time. Therefore, the answer to the first research question ('what are the links between language use and identity construction?') is that the main link between language and identity is context, as observed in the everyday performances. In context, multilinguals use language to perform everyday roles. The performance is the result of an evaluation of context and generates emotions that, in turn, evaluate and give feedback on the role performed.

This contextuality-bound trait of identity highlights its fluidity that gives the answer to the second question ('Is multilingual identity enacted across different languages or is it framed by language?') that role performance is context-bound, thus, it is not limited or enabled by language indicating that identity is in a constant state of becoming.

The data in this research have been conceptualised and explored through a translanguaging lens that foregrounds the parts of the performance that interact in the construction identity. It is

divided into four data chapters that reflect language use and the different sides of identity: individual, social and the third space that emerged from the data: the family. I argue that translanguaging gives the opportunity of a new transdisciplinary perspective to enquire beyond language and beyond classrooms. To use translanguaging in practice the first step is to create a translanguaging space that Wei (2018) describes, quoting (Soja, 1996), as a space of extraordinary openness, a place of critical exchange that collates a multiplicity of perspectives. A cross-cutting theme that emerged from my data analysis, and which reverberated across the data chapters, is that of evaluations of power and its impact on emotions. These evaluations of power serve as prompts for role adjustment and are replicated in the valorization of language, self and the other. This section divides the theme of power into three subsections. The first subsection relates the evaluation of self and an internalisation of an oppressive discourse. The second subsection describes the unintended audience of a performance fulfilling the role of a bystander. The last section argues that a multilingual approach is a humanistic approach to create safe contexts.

### 9.1.1 POWER PERCEPTIONS

The first research question has been addressed in chapters five to eight which analysed how participants perform and adjust their role performance foregrounding identity construction intrinsically linked to context. My findings demonstrate that multilinguals adjust their everyday roles in relation to what they perceive is required of them which denotes an element of power. Translanguaging for multilinguals is using language, which is in line with Garcia's (2009) definition and is not distant from the language used by monolinguals, as described by Canagarajah (2013). Because throughout the thesis there is a dichotomy between participants' evaluation and practice, the analysis suggests that there is an internalisation of the polarisation in the wider narrative of society that is replicated in the evaluation of self.

The evidence presented in this study demonstrates that there is a narrative of power internalised in the participants' perceptions. The present study sought to explore how multilinguals perceptions of self and others informed their everyday roles. The standpoint takes context and language as mutually constitutive of each other, exposing that 'the social is built into the grammatical tissue of language' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, quoted in Boylorn and Orbe, 2016). Translanguaging is a different way to use a linguistic repertoire. This lens, which moves beyond the categorization or labelling of languages is a simplistic approach that

preserves the imbalance of power in society and puts barriers to social justice. I argue here that multilinguals are constantly evaluating context and adjusting their language and role performance accordingly.

My analysis of the data shows that my participants associate multilingualism with an asset in their perceptions of language, although in my observations of practice, translanguaging is the most common use of the participants' linguistic repertoire. This is associated with the perception of different values of languages. The power element in everyday role is contextual and, therefore, it changes as contexts change. Participants' evaluations of context and their emotions in the backstage inform the performance of their roles. Consequently, when participants perform their roles in different contexts, they present a more, or less, powerful persona.

There is an imbalance of power in society that disadvantages multilinguals, as described in chapter one. This dichotomy of messages given in society is replicated in language use and fluctuates across the range of social and individual elements of role performance. The harm of the imbalance of power is perceived in the participants' appraisal of language use that reflects an internalisation of an oppressive narrative in multilingual societies.

## 9.1.2 THE BYSTANDER

My findings further build upon the body of evidence of literature on identity and multilinguals' everyday role performance and, in particular, the significance of the unintended audience, a person who is present or nearby the performance of role but does not take part, which is consistent with the theoretical premise of the bystander.

The bystander in this study refers to the people who do not participate in the conversation, but still play an influential role in my participants' choice of language. That is, the majority of my participants tend to use the language they feel is preferred by bystanders. Across the different chapters, power is a cross cutting-theme. It starts in language where multilingualism is defined as an asset, and yet, English is the most powerful language. My findings concord with studies on identity and bilinguals that foreground the power of the English language (Khan, 2020). In this study, the power of English is extended to its speakers and, consequently, the participants adjust their roles to the unintended audience. The embodiment of, unconsciously agreed, power in the bystander relates to Bourdieu (1986)'s 'symbolic violence' and to a narrative of othering

described by Goffman (1963)'s as an attribute or behaviour where individuals are undesirably classified by others, he called, 'social stigma'. It can also be understood by what Vygotsky (1993) called 'secondary deficit': a socially produced stigma that allows an interpretation of the unworthiness perceived by the multilinguals in this study in their characteristics of difference. This stigma, Vygotsky (1993) warns, is the main obstacle to collective learning and agency to build inclusive and non-discriminatory societies.

Another study looked at language choice in similar contexts of everyday interaction, in speaker's homes, social situations, and social events (De Lima Silva, 2020). De Lima Silva (202) finds that although children alternated between the two languages, thus, violating the reported language etiquette of the context that calls for children to speak the father's language, there were not many accounts of a negative attitude towards code-switching. Unlike my study, in De Lima Silva (2020), language choice and the decision to code-mix or code-switch (or the decision not to) was influenced by an individual's choices of group identity, but not by the presence of the other. A possible difference between studies is that in de Lima Silva, the community is permissive of translanguaging between Desano and Tukano, two languages spoken in Colombia and Brazil where the stronger languages are Spanish and Portuguese.

The idea of identity construction is also explored in settings that do not use English as the host language (Gu & Guo, 2016). With a postmodern view of language as capital, the study explores identity construction in a group of university students from the Uyghur minority who use Chinese, Uyghur, and are learning English. They found that the students imagine multilingual and multicultural memberships for themselves that facilitate their adaptation to the host academic community. The study also found that different languages have different value and so ranked in linguistic power, but the language learning experience enabled the students to fashion multiple identities across different communities: a situated identity as educational elites, the favourable heritage identity in the academic community, and imagined multilingual and multicultural membership. In doing so, unlike the participants in Rovira (2008), they resisted the asymmetrical relations of power underpinning the dominant social discourses. The study states that minority students were at a disadvantage as all the learning materials and delivery was in the mainstream language, how did these students re-invent themselves powerful identities? Continuing with the idea of language as capital, these students might have been able equilibrate the power imbalance because all the students were all learning English as a new language, a process where these bilingual participants might have an advantage over others because they were already familiar with the management of more than one language.

Intensive work has been done based on Norton (2000)' work on identity theory: investment in language acquisition and the imagined community/ imagined identity. Her perspective emerges from research on second language teaching and learning in response to pedagogical needs in SLA. Away from classroom practice, at a time when "the dream of renewed identities is clouded by the ruthless realities of economic and cultural globalisation" (Norton, 2000:212), the constructs of investment and imagined community can be of great use to explore identity in the intersections of speakers' narratives. Norton's identity theory and her concept of investment continue to account for the complex identity construction. It also shows that in the negotiation of role in everyday lives, outside the sphere of second language acquisition education, the integration is one way. The participants in my study find that while they have an intrinsic motivation to invest in integrating themselves into the wider community, the wider context does not invest as much in the multilingualism that is often claimed to enrich society. I argue that more needs to be done to raise awareness of social injustice narratives in society and, thus, to move away from the narrative of sanction against organic multilingual interactions.

### 9.1.3 SAFE HOUSES

The two previous subsections described the findings that emerged from the theme of power in the participants' perceptions and embodied by the bystander. This subsection describes an alternative space found in this study in the context of the family.

My research shows that the participants in this study perceive their family contexts as a space where the private and the social use of language can be shared. My findings show that the family is a transitional space, I call it the third space, between the private and the social use of language. This third space is a safe environment where the most private roles are performed and the nuances of them are perceived. My findings suggest that multilinguals preferred use of their linguistic repertoire to communicate to close fellow actors is translanguaging; and they also suggest that in their role performance in social contexts there is an elimination of multilingualism when bystanders silence their natural use of language. The implication is that although the participants perceive that they should alter their natural choice of language to comply with others, more importantly, in the context of the family most of them can reclaim the use of their linguistic repertoire.

The complex relationship of identity between languages converging and clashing in immigrants is also explored in the United States by Rovira, (2008). Rovira (2008) looks at Spanish immigrants negotiating their identity in a context where 15% of the population is Hispanic yet language practices in education favour a homogeneous, monolingual society. She avows that even though in 1974, the Supreme Court ruled that children entering school with little, or no English must be provided linguistic support to make instruction comprehensible, schools take the 'swim or sink' approach that results in hundreds of children losing their mother tongue and family ties breaking. These practices, in a country where language equals patriotism, Rovira (2008) denounces, result in language attrition and an obliteration of identity. The study advocates for policies to acknowledge the use of home language as a citizen right and argues for support in a culture shift. As language and identity are contextual constructs, it is important to call for policies that support an inclusive context to encourage the inclusion of different identities. In my experience, teaching English as an Additional Language in a school with over 63 first languages, it is difficult to give each newcomer support and resources in their own language, but I agree that the need to have a tolerant mind set is imperative to build an inclusive teaching and learning experience. Rovira (2008) acknowledges that to provide educational support to all students in their modern language is not possible, but it is possible to include students' previous knowledge as a scaffolding to build up new knowledge. This is something that we encourage in teaching training sessions, it brings richness into the classroom. The practice of pausing the delivery of the curriculum to the whole class to make sure the new students are engaged takes time to begin with, but it helps students settle more confidently, in the long run it is time invested. The barrier to that everyday practice goes deeper than policies and funding for resources, it relies on individual headteachers and teachers acknowledging the importance of maintaining the students' mother language and their identity. Rovira (2008) appeals to the social responsibility that in her study means a responsibility to serve. I argue that policies should evaluate institutions' accountability of the narratives in context that they provide. My biggest worry, as a multilingual speaker, is that the personal choice of language, in a context with subtle assimilation of narratives of power imbalance that lead multilinguals to concede with the requirement of the majority language to adapt and fit in, relies on the good will of others at best. As a minority language speaker, a mother of multilingual children and a language teacher of international students, I have a personal humanistic agenda under which, reflecting on the work on identity threads in Holliday and Amadasi (2017), I argue that there is a need to have narrative threads linked to the positive contribution of multilingualism to provide safe contexts that empower multilingual performances of role.

In the same vein, in the next section, I present a reflexive consideration of the methods used in this study and the contributions they make to address power imbalances in research.

Under a translanguaging lens, this work moved the focus from language, language as a code, and enabled the opportunity to explore deeper issues that take place in multilinguals' identity construction. This is also reflected in the methodology of the study with the inclusion of participatory methods that share the power between the researcher and participants, thus, decolonising research.

This study makes two significant contributions to methodology in the study of identity construction. One of the methodological contributions of this study is the use of languaging as a data collection tool. As explained in chapter four, languaging refers to the act of producing language to think out loud (Suzuki & Storch, 2020), providing rich data and allowing me to tap into my participants' private use of language, which was not possible using interviews only. Another crucial contribution is the use of participants' homemade videos that allows the participant to collect data of their choice and the researcher to look through that window into the multilinguals' everyday lives. In this study, the participants are the owners of rich data that the researcher collates and analyses. That said, methodologically, this thesis contributes to a body of literature on the value of translanguaging as a paradigm to explore identity construction in everyday situations.

### 9.2.1 THE POWER OF HOMEMADE VIDEOS

Taking translanguaging as the lens for data analysis, homemade videos highlight the importance of the appraisal of language use: translanguaging for multilinguals could be defined simply as speaking. The homemade videos provide a window into the everyday life of the participants and translanguaging allows a deep discussion about the intricate elements that are at play in their identity construction.

Homemade videos are a practical method because they allowed me to make the repeated revisions needed to undertake my observations and transcripts of their dialogue. More importantly, using homemade videos enabled the participants to pick which instances they

wanted to share with me. Their videos captured the participants interacting with their families which enabled me to observe the participants performing their roles and to compare and analyse their role performances and their perceptions of them.

Languaging as a method was used to widen the scope of the data to include the internal, inaudible manifestations of verbal thinking. The result are participants' reflections on the use of language that put the backstage of language use in the spotlight. This is an advance in multicultural communication, a method that is more common in psychotherapy counselling and coaching and has only been used in the context of education for language acquisition.

Working from the perspective that language and identity are social practices, previous studies have gathered languaging by making sure the participants moved away from the social use of language (Guzula, et al., 2016). In Guzula, et al. (2016), after playing a game, the researchers asked children to reflect on how that made them feel, in doing so they facilitated a multimodal third space where the participants had a space to use both their languages. The children in the study felt empowered to draw on their diverse linguistic resources.

As described in chapter three, human development takes place through the internalisation of social speech (Vygotsky, 1978). This also is the theoretical basis for languaging that is used as a method in this study. The method gathers what Vygotsky (1978) describes as the inner use of language, also described as the 'subvocal self-talk that takes place in an identifiable linguistic code and is directed primarily at the self' (Pavlenko 2014: 256). Vygotsky (1978) asserts that languaging is a daily occurrence of talking aloud even if nobody is listening and an essential part of problem-solving that has been used as a pedagogic strategy in language education and as a method in language learning and research (Suzuki and Storch, 2020). Suzuki & Storch (2020)'s findings on languaging contribute to sociocultural theory with a focus on learning as a process mediated by verbalisation. I build on their advances to argue that languaging, as a method, has been used successfully in this study to elicit private reflections that usually take place in inner speech.

In the same way that interviews and videos account for the social use of language; languaging, as a method, brings out the voice of the inner conversation. Languaging as a method prompts reflection and the opportunity to contemplate the intrinsicality of identity. Future research

should continue the use of participatory methods to bring participants to research to discuss issues that affect them.

## 9.3 THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTION

This thesis advances research and argues that translanguaging moves away from a systematic approach that tallies the use of language as a code and towards deeper, more complex questions that explore the reasons behind and around language use. In this sense, it builds upon García (2009)'s and Canagarajah (2018)'s works and advances the use of translanguaging as a paradigm and as a frame of analysis outside education. This study is situated within sociolinguistics and used translanguaging as a framework to describe and analyse communication patterns which appear to have become, and continue to become, more dynamic, mobile, and complex (Creese and Blackledge, 2010)

This thesis agrees with García (2009)'s statement that *'Translanguaging is the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximise communicative potential'* (García, 2009: 140). I argue that if translanguaging is about communication, and not about language itself, there are less differences between monolinguals, bilinguals, and multilinguals. This premise encourages research to take participants in their own right and concurs with Canagarajah (2013)'s argument that *'all speakers, whether monolinguals or multilinguals, code mesh and are thus translinguals to a certain degree'* (Canagarajah, 2013: 8). After evaluating the scholarship on translanguaging in different academic disciplines and social domains, Canagarajah (2013) raises critical questions on theory, research and pedagogy and proposes the term "translingual practice" to capture the common underlying processes and orientations of the mobility and complexity of communicative modes. Canagarajah (2013)'s conclusions point to the need for further research to understand the complexity of communicative strategies that make up social relations. I argue that this thesis takes this orientation forward and contributes to the expanding orientations to translingualism that are currently motivated by a gradual shift from the structuralist paradigm (Canagarajah, 2018).

Translanguaging has been used in identity research in education settings (Creese and Blackledge, 2015). They reflect upon the scholarship that views identity as socially constructed in interaction and argue that languages as bounded systems of specific linguistic features may

be insufficient as an analytical lens through which to view language practices. Creese and Blackledge (2015) consider the complexity of language in use and action with the dynamics of identity construction, performance, and negotiation and the implications of translanguaging for education. Their study assesses translanguaging in the classroom as a key element to foster learner engagement through identity investment, transforming relations of power between teachers and students.

The history of debates about language and thought has been a history of thinking of language in the singular. There are still divisions in the literature on the impact of language and identity. There is literature that describes empirical studies that claim that the bilingual mind is neurologically different from a monolingual one, based on neurological, psycholinguistic, and observational evidence (Javier, 2007). Javier (2007)'s findings show that faster switching occurs when structural first language characteristics are respected and when the level of stress is manageable. Although my study is not around neurologically research and although my data analysis suggests that multilinguals and monolinguals might have more in common in regard to role performance while his work is focused on the conditions required for a more accurate psychoanalytic treatment, I concur with the author's call for a more flexible approach to multilingual speakers that respects their unique linguistic and cultural needs. I agree that there is a need to create a positive context for successful community integration to occur.

The study has presented multilinguals' identity construction through an exploration of language in the performance of everyday roles. To do so, it followed translanguaging as a paradigm and participatory methods that enabled the analysis of the social and the private use of language.

### 9.3.1 DYNAMIC AND EMPOWERING

Firstly, adopting translanguaging as a paradigm enabled a deep exploration into identity using linguistic repertoires. I argue that language is a tool of empowerment and representation. In this case, as large numbers of people migrate across multiple borders there is a multitude of linguistic resources available, thus, rendering communication in flux and in development. Given these conditions, the notion of separate languages as bounded systems of specific linguistic features may be insufficient for the analysis of language in use and in action (Jørgensen et al., 2011), but also for the study of identity. The overarching finding here is the dynamic nature of multilingualism as normal and unremarkable (García, 2009). A

translanguaging approach to language engagement might recognise that: first, we all draw from our communicative repertoires in different ways and across spaces and places; and secondly, we all bring multiple skills and experiences to interaction.

The use of language is not as simple as the skills in one or another language and translanguaging is the thread that waves multilinguals' practices in the complex multimodal analysis afforded by the framework of the study. As participants told their narratives on language use, one thing became clear:  multilinguals can switch between languages whenever they find it necessary, useful, or helpful. This choice was not always a conscious decision but was rather linked to some sort of emotion and outweighed the investment on a certain part of their identity.

There is a body of literature that shows that speakers manipulate their language to emphasise or play down particular sides of their social identities (Luykx, 2003). A study on bilingual speakers shows links between language choice and identity where code-switch serves the purpose to talk about emotions (Pavlenko, 2009). At the same time, another study with bilingual speakers argues that being bilingual is not only the management of two languages, but also the feeling of belonging, in various degrees, to two cultures and, this, the choice of a language or the combination of languages is reflected in the relationship between the choice of languages in different types of linguistic expressions and the nature of the overall bilingual identity (Bakic and Škifić, 2017).

Previous studies have shown a link between multilingual communication and emotions. There is also a perception that emotions in the second language might be linked to the speakers' language skills (Bhatara et al., 2016), highlighting that there is an ingroup advantage for native speakers over those speakers outside of the language or culture. This suggests that the participants' negative emotions were in general easier to identify than their positive emotions. Gawinkowska, et al., (2013) followed an emotion related language choice theory on language switching behaviour that links language choice and emotions in bilinguals to social and cultural norms. They hypothesise that emotionality of first language L1) and artificiality of second language (L2) can lead to talking about emotion-loaded issues in L1 or in multilinguals' L2 if they regard the cultural and social norms of L1 too burdensome. This systematic investigation focused on the meaning that using a different repertoire has for parents in parent-child communication and looked at the affective factors that influence language choice in bilinguals. They find that code-switch is used to convey closeness or distance in emotional expressions,

highlighting, however, that it is an oversimplification in multilingual families' parents who communicate regularly in their second language and might have developed new emotional links with the new language. Consequently, the most emotional language might not be their L1 (Pavlenko, 2004). Her study makes a point regarding language choice also being influenced by the interlocutors' interactional histories with each other, their linguistic competence in performance of affect in the language used, and by cross-linguistic differences in affective repertoires and emotion discourses.

The reflection on the emerging findings in light of previous literature shows that in the socialisation process, a new language affects the overall language use and that is linked to a variety of emotion and cost benefit assessments. However, the literature does not discuss how that emotive stance in language choice has an impact on the speakers' identity: how that emotional link to language choice is connected to their perception of self and others.

The present data analysis so far shows that language choice has a stronger connection with the individual's history with each of the languages, the interlocutor's language skills, how the speakers want to be perceived and the purpose of the communication rather than a straight connection between the theme of the message and a language. This hints to the fact that to explore the link between language and identity in multilingual speakers there is a need for a theoretical framework that provides multiple filters to reflect the interactions at play in language choice. The findings are a lightship for the methodology of further data collection. Informal interviews have shed some light in language choice and self-perception, but it would be interesting to see data of language choice in action. To do that an amendment on the ethics form has been submitted to consider the option of asking participants to self-video language interaction in everyday situations. Parallel to this, a new framework that gathers more holistic data is required to include the contextual and personal motivations for language choice. It is hoped that these additions would gather data to dig deeper into language choice and identity.

In my study, I have brought together the concepts of multilinguals' use of language in languaging reflections and evaluations, thoughts and emotions towards their use of language with their perceptions of self. This is relevant to stakeholders in family and women's care and health, professionals among them: teachers, social workers, and doctors. My findings are consistent with the theoretical premise of the work of (García and Wei, 2014). I argue that there is a translanguaging space offered here, a safe third space provided in the family context that offers a legitimate space for a translanguaging continuum. Further research identity should

continue to voice the heterogeneity of linguistic repertoires and, thus, to abandon the predominant monolingual perspective that characterises research with multilinguals

## 9.4 CONCLUDING NOTE

As exploratory research, this thesis aimed to open up a space to discuss identity construction in multilinguals. It has been an invaluable experience for me as a multilingual speaker, a mother and a teacher. This learning journey has given me knowledge I wish I had had in my parental support sessions and in my teaching training courses. In the almost six years that this work has taken I have grown in confidence as a multilingual, and I am now more at peace with my hybrid use of my linguistic repertoire, a lesson I hope to share with those around me.

This study puts multilinguals at the centre of every narrative here described. I hope my work leaves a door opened for further research on multilingual identity construction. There is an opportunity to further this research by conducting studies that invite participants to record videos of interactions from their daily lives outside their homes. It would also be interesting to discuss my findings on a multilingual male perception of language and role.

My hope is that this research has been efficient in furthering our understanding of the complexity of identity construction and the nuances of role performance in multilinguals' everyday interactions. This study has focused on the translanguaging identities of seven multilingual women in the southeast of England. It started taking into account the participants' definitions of language and shed light on their performances of their everyday roles in both private and social contexts. Their narratives are complex, contrastive and, yet, they all complement each other to contribute to the performance of their everyday roles that make up their identity. The findings of my study are, therefore, restricted and I do not imply that they should be read as evidence for a generalised claim about the emotional lives of all multilingual women. Despite these limitations, my hope is that my study works as a starting point for further research that would scrutinise the use of language in multilinguals' performances of everyday roles, especially in the context within which this research has been conducted to change the wider social narrative for multilinguals.

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Canterbury
Christ Church
University

28th March 2017                                                    Ref: 16/Edu/CL116

Ana Emilia McDermott
c/o Research Development
Faculty of Education

Dear Ana

**Confirmation of ethics compliance for your study** *"Identity and the second language speaker"*

I have received your Ethics Review Checklist and appropriate supporting documentation for proportionate review of the above project. Your application complies fully with the requirements for proportionate ethical review as set out in this University's Research Ethics and Governance Procedures.

In confirming compliance for your study, I must remind you that it is your responsibility to follow, as appropriate, the policies and procedures set out in the *Research Governance Framework* (http://www.canterbury.ac.uk/research-and-consultancy/governance-and-ethics/governance-and-ethics.aspx) and any relevant academic or professional guidelines. This includes providing, if appropriate, information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the storage and use of data. Any significant change in the question, design or conduct of the study over its course should be notified via email to red.resgov@canterbury.ac.uk and may require a new application for ethics approval. It is a condition of compliance that you **must** inform me once your research has been completed.

Wishing you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Carol Clewlow

Carol Clewlow
RKE Co-Ordinator
Tel: +44 (0)1227 922893 (direct line)
Email: red.resgov@canterbury.ac.uk

cc:      Dr. Patricia Driscoll
         Dr. Adrian Holliday

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Professor Rama Thirunamachandran, Vice Chancellor and Principal

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18/EDU/018                                                    28th May 2019

Dear Ana,

Project title: **Identity and Second language speakers**

Thank you for your ethics application which was reviewed by the Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee (FREC).
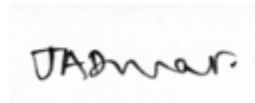
We have agreed that as this is an amendment to your original application, it is not necessary to complete a risk assessment form.

We are happy to approve this application but with the following recommendations:
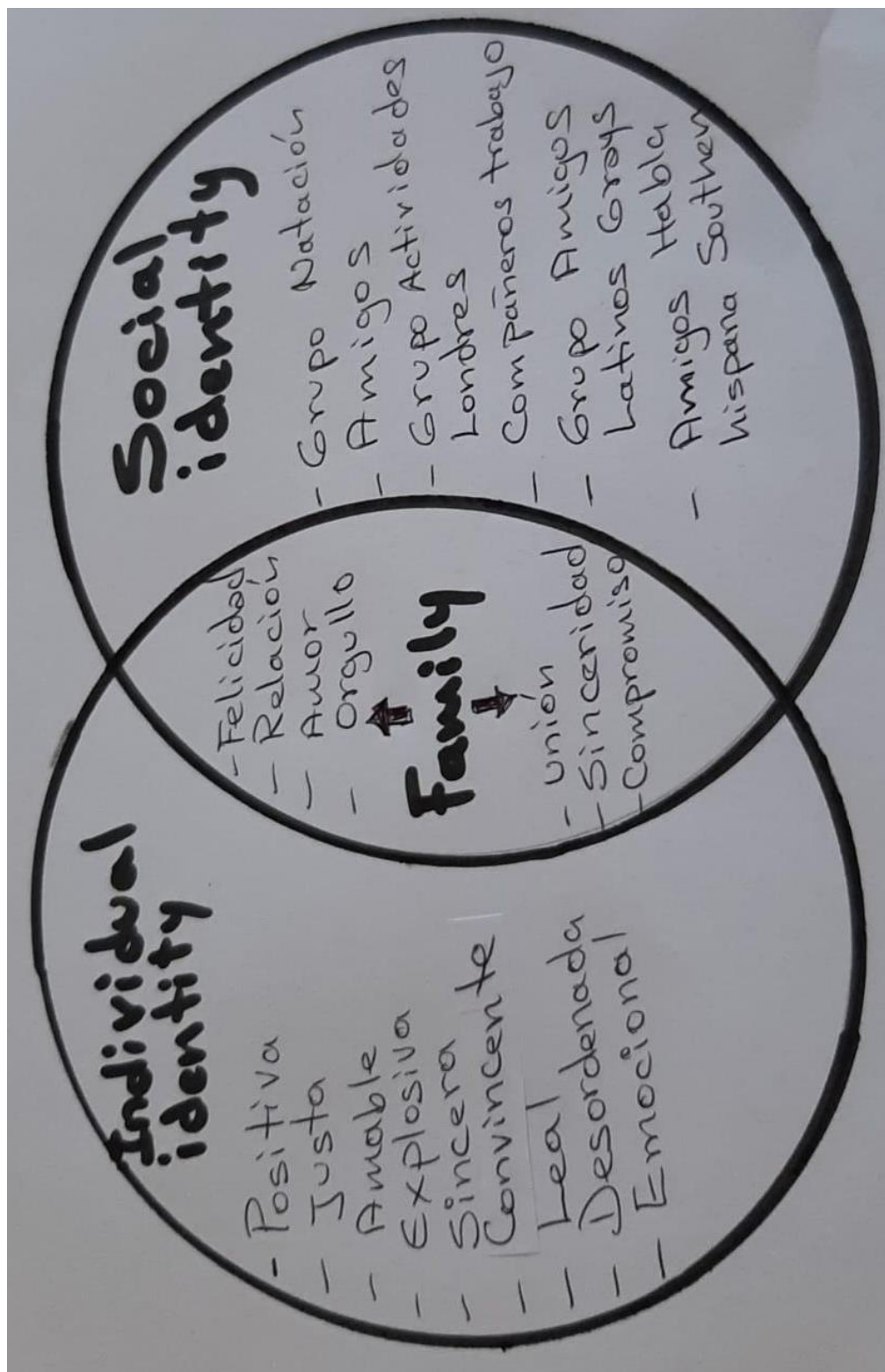
- Check age on assent forms, seems to miss out age 11.
- What do you do with the video before using it in your thesis? Safeguarding has been carried out.
- Children are not taken to be participants so they fade in to invisibility unless they are mentioned e.g. in q6.
- Need to ensure you are managing the situation with the families and helping the families with what they choose to do in their home and what video footage they choose to give the researcher.
- Consent form – do you need a new consent form now it's changed. This seems to be a two phase study, now involving video. Noted participants have already given their consent once. Hope consent will be secured for this additional phase.
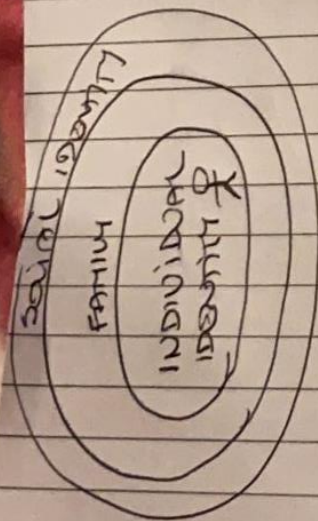
Good luck for the study.

Yours sincerely

Dr Judy Durrant
Chair, Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee.
Judy.durrant@canterbury.ac.uk

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Professor Rama Thirunamachandran
Vice-Chancellor and Principal, Canterbury Christ Church University

## Social identity

- Grupo Natación
- Amigos
- Grupo Actividades Londres
- Compañeras trabajo
- Grupo Amigos Latinos Greys
- Amigos Southev hispana Habla

## Family

- Felicidad
- Relación
- Amor
- Orgullo
- Unión
- Sinceridad
- Compromiso

## Individual identity

- Positiva
- Justa
- Amable
- Explosiva
- Sincera
- Convincente
- Leal
- Desordenada
- Emocional

Lucia.

My first layer is my individual identity, second is family and third is social identity. When I am able to separate them I can act from a place of awareness.

DONKEY - INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY
SADDLE - FAMILY
PERSON - SOCIAL IDENTITY

**IDENTITY**
FAMILY — INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY — SOCIAL IDENTITY

**SOCIAL IDENTITY**
- White
- Neurodivergent
- Different
- Empathic
- Don't fit
- weird
- Weak/strong
- Judged/misjudged
- Never good enough
- Often
- Big heart
- Need to belong / life in the wild
- Unequal
- Unfair
- Woman
- gynglobid

**FAMILY**
- Important/obsessive
- love/hate
- care/abuse
- support/put down
- expectation/understanding
- Balance/disbalance
- Trying to work, family/social things, past traumas, to be ok in myself, my mad family and in society.
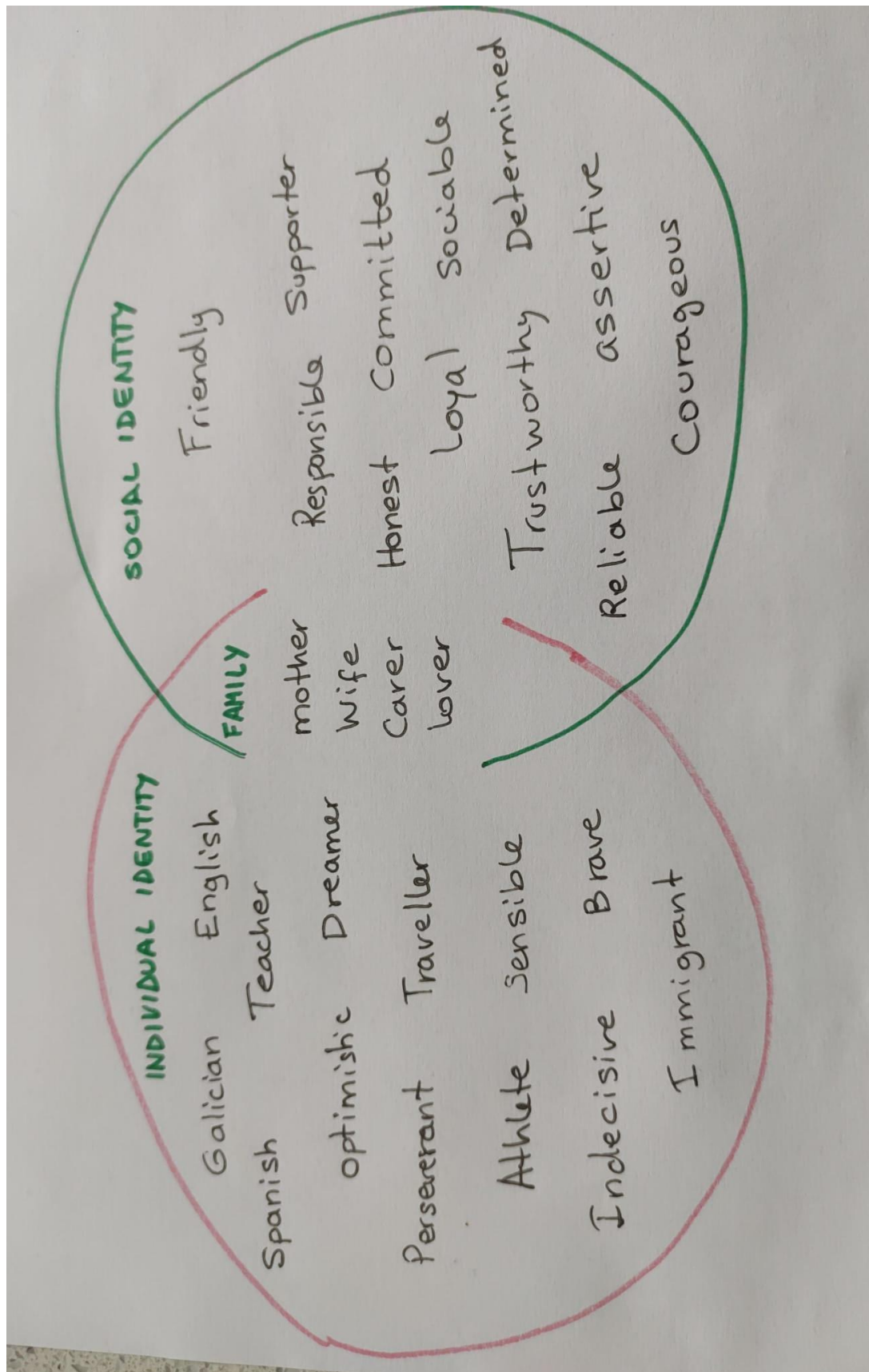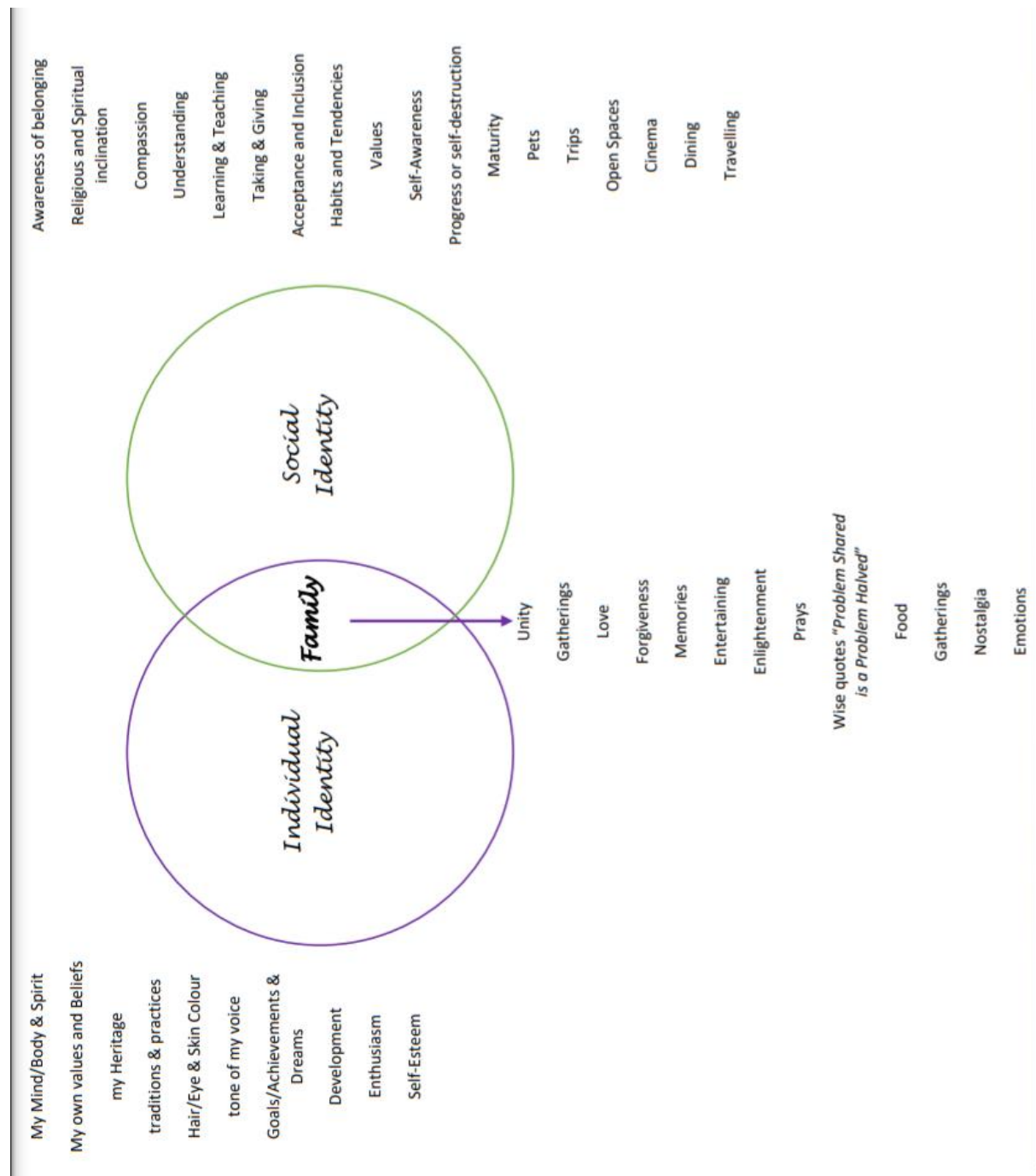- Need
- Belonging/feeling lost

**INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY**
- Who I really am to myself.
- What it needs to be / we to be we.
- Spiritual
- My core
- love
- light
- Free
- separate/together
- life/death/spirit
- Body/soul/mind
- unique

Clara

**SOCIAL IDENTITY**

Friendly

Responsible Supporter

Honest Committed

Loyal Sociable

Trustworthy Determined

Reliable assertive

Courageous

**FAMILY**

mother
Wife
Carer
lover

**INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY**

Galician English

Spanish Teacher

optimistic Dreamer

Perseverant Traveller

Athlete Sensible

Indecisive Brave

Immigrant

Nina

Sara.

Vera