LINKING "HERITAGE LANGUAGE" EDUCATION AND PLURILINGUAL REPERTOIRES DEVELOPMENT: EVIDENCES FROM DRAWINGS OF PORTUGUESE PUPILS IN GERMANY

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Abstract

This article discusses the outcomes of an investigation of social representations of Portuguese primary school pupils in Germany towards "their languages" (mainly Portuguese and German) within a theoretical framework based on the concept of "Heritage Language" and its role in the development of plurilingual competences.

The results of the collected data (956 drawings from pupils in 7 German Federal States) point at the existence of: i) bounds between Heritage Language and the development of Plurilingual Competence; ii) stereotyped representations towards languages and cultures; and iii) the building up of a "linguistic culture", since the pupils have already developed attitudes, knowledge and aptitude to deal with linguistic and cultural diversity. The study emphasizes the need to develop a more consistent multilingual awareness in order to optimize attitudes, knowledge and aptitudes evinced, namely in Heritage Language classroom.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung.

In diesem Beitrag werden die Ergebnisse einer Studie über Sprachenimages portugiesischer Erstklassenschüler zu "ihren eignenen Sprachen" (hauptsächlich portugiesisch und deutsch) besprochen. Im Hintergrund steht dabei eine theoretische Diskussion des Konzepts der "Herkunftssprache" und dessen Bezug zur Entwicklung von plurilingualen Kompetenzen. Die erhobenen Daten (956 Zeichnungen von Schülern aus 7 Bundesländern) deuten auf die Präsenz einer "linguistischen Kultur", da die Schüler bereits bestimmte Haltungen, Kenntnisse und Fähigkeiten im Umgang mit sprachlicher und kultureller Vielfalt entwickelt haben.

Keywords: Heritage language, Plurilingual Competence, Social Representations, Drawings

1. INTRODUCTION

Recent literature on linguistic and cultural diversity promotion and enhancement has acknowledged the role of migrant children's linguistic and cultural repertoires as a key to academic and social success, to personal accomplishment, to empowerment and to individual well-being. Those linguistic and cultural repertoires are designated under different terms, such as "Heritage Language", "Home language" or "Langue d'Origine", which emphasize different aspects of their status, use or individual and social appreciation. This terminological fluctuation may help to foresee the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic issues, problems and complexities related to their use when trying to understand citizens' relationship with this component of their language biography (Little, 2010).

In fact, a "Heritage Language", despite its socio-affective connotation, may be or become an undesired legacy, mainly if the monolingual social and educational context is claimed to be a factor of social and academic success. We may then refer to a Heritage as a heavy symbolic inheritance, something that an individual prefers or chooses rather not to receive. Furthermore, as pointed out by Hornberger & Wang, "heritage sometimes carries a negative connotation, pointing out to the (ancient, primitive) past rather than to a (modern, technological) future" (2007: 16-17).

The term "Home Language(s)" also gives rise to serious problems when describing the relationship speakers entail with that/those language(s) and the use they make of it/them, since it does not suggest the huge diversification of social and domestic uses: single or just one of many languages of communication at home, communication with all or just with some family members, in private and public spheres and it/their relationship with the communities (the "native" and the Diaspora one). 'Home Language' suggests primarily a private use in a very limited context (the family members living together in the same space).

Finally, the French concept "Langue d'Origine", as well as "Heritage Language", suggests an undertone of a social and affective relationship with that language and its community, mainly in the first immigration generation (Moussouri, 2010). However, it can be deceptive to attribute an origin to someone who does not recognize it or wants to deny or to erase it (Bertucci & Corblin, 2007). Origin can be a stigma within an ideologically monocultural social milieu. Furthermore, the more we search the so-called "roots" of individuals, the more probable it is to discover their several origins. From this point of view, an origin can be a personal choice or/and a (re)creation based on social representations towards languages and cultures and towards individual's self-perceived images. An origin can be claimed by the individual or attributed by society. It can thus be a place of memories and utopias as well as a sign of endorsed prejudice; a mirror or a magnified self/hetero image.

Since these concepts are all rather slippery and presume different connotations, we adopted, in this contribution, the term Heritage Language, since it does not so heavily refer to linguistic contextual use (as "Home Language" does), neither does

it critically underline the above mentioned problems linked to the social, affective and linguistic origins of individuals (as "langue d'origine").

From a Sociolinguistic perspective, the concept of "Heritage Language" refers to languages (generally minority languages) of citizens with a mobility/migration background (professional, educational or other) in specific national and educational contexts (Bauer & Chlosta, 2010; Brinton, Kagan & Bauckus, 2007; Valdés, 2005). As stressed by Moussouri:

> The notion of language and of heritage language are defined through sociolinguistic elements, both objective and subjective. The objective sociolinguistic elements are related to the positions language have in social and linguistic situations regulated by language policies. The subjective sociolinguistic elements are related to social representations regarding those languages (our translation) (2010 : 143).[1]

It thus refers to a language with an "in-between" status in terms of mother tongue/foreign language and formal/informal instruction, depending on the role it plays in speakers' daily life and in the relationship they entail with it (Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2012a). In terms of Language Education, pupils' and students' skills in Heritage Language are quite heterogeneous and asymmetrical – with highly developed listening comprehension and interaction skills – in what we could call a continuum between productive and receptive skills.

In this paper, we will principally focus on Portuguese as Heritage Language (PHL) and German National Language (GNL), mainly from Psycholinguistic and Language Education perspectives, identifying and describing pupils' Social Representations towards those languages and also the Social Representations circulating in the German sociolinguistic landscape. Additionally, we aim at describing the way Heritage Language Education contributes to the development of plurilingual and intercultural repertoires.

2. PLURILINGUAL REPERTOIRES DEVELOPMENT: WHICH ROLE FOR "HERITAGE LANGUAGE(S)"?

Even while adopting the concept HL in this paper, we have to admit that the current literature on HL still seems to be very much attached to the analysis of receptive and productive comparative patterns from HL speakers and learners and the so-called native speakers (see Valdés, 2005, for a synthesis). Those analyses clearly have a linguistic approach, based on Contrastive Linguistics, namely concerned with error prediction and error explanation in those atypical patterns. Other kinds of studies adopt the same comparative approach, but from another angle: they com-

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[1] *Les notions de langue seconde et de langue d'origine se définissent par des facteurs d'ordre sociolinguistique, à la fois objectifs et subjectifs. Les facteurs sociolinguistiques objectifs concernent le positionnement des langues dans des situations sociales et linguistiques définies par des politiques linguistiques. Les facteurs sociolinguistiques subjectifs portent sur les représentations que se font les locuteurs des langues en présence sur ces mêmes langues.*

pare HL learners' productions with those of learners of that same language as a Foreign Language. Both approaches follow different starting points: the first kind predicts learners and speakers linguistic "deficit" and usually explains it from a transfer/interference perspective; the second one, resorting to concepts like "privileged contact" or "in put", tends to explain why heritage language learners perform better in some aspects than FL learners. So, to keep it short, the first kind has a propensity to highlight linguistic deficit, attrition or erosion (see Jessner, 2003 for a review from a multilingual perspective), whereas the second one tries to address the advantages of HL competences in terms of linguistic acquisition in formal contexts (Cho, Shin & Krashen, 2004).

If the majority of available research work on HL acquisition still explores and emphasizes integration problems and academic failure/difficulties of children and adolescents with a migrant background, proposing several pedagogical approaches in order to diminish those issues (Castellotti & Moore, 2010; Knapp, 2006), other research perspectives analyze how and under which conditions HL skills and their integration within the Plurilingual Competence (PC) promote the acquisition of school subjects (Thürmann, Vollmer & Pieper, 2010). Finally, other studies, as the one we are presenting now, refuse to analyse HL speakers and learners in terms of deficit (in comparison to native speakers' skills or to integration paths of "national" citizens), highlighting the intrinsic values and roles of HL repertoires, as designed by the individuals themselves. These values and roles, we hypothesize, are highly dependent on the subjects' multilingual and multicultural awareness and on the maturity of their PC (skills in different languages but also images of languages and speakers, …).

Consequently, it is our conviction that a comparative approach does not bring justice to the dynamics of HL acquisition, to the tensions involved in this process and to learners' and/or speakers' perspectives, mainly because the so-called native-speakers and bilingual speakers are intrinsically different (Cook, 2003):

> Whether they [users] acquired the societal language and the heritage language simultaneously as infants or sequentially as young children or adolescents, L1/l2 users utilize their two languages on an everyday basis with interlocutors who are both monolingual in each of their two languages as well as bilingual in both languages. Moreover (…), L1/L2 users are not two monolinguals in one, but rather specific speakers-hearers who have acquired their two languages in particular contexts and for particular reasons. Viewed from a bilingualism rather than a monolingualist perspective, L1/L2 users have acquired two knowledge systems that they use in order to carry out their particular communicative needs, needs that may be quite unlike those of monolingual native speakers who use a single language in all communicative interactions (Valdés, 2005: 415).

A comparative "native speaker-HL speaker" approach implies, in our opinion, two issues: first, it does not take into account a plurilingual perspective and is biased by a monolingual point of view (the quotation of Valdés already takes into consideration a bilingual perspective, but other linguistic combinations are possible and entail a complex set of dynamics, as stressed by Coste, 2008); second, it lacks re-

search dynamics with other areas related to language acquisition, like Sociolinguistic, Psycolinguistic and Foreign Language Education (see also Valdés, 2005, for a similar perspective; these theoretical approaches are present in the studies covering the so-called « Langues d'Origine », as Dabène, 1989 or Bertucci & Corblin, 2007). It is also our conviction that a relationship with concepts like PC (Coste, Moore & Zarate, 2009), Third language Acquisition (De Angelis, 2007), Multicompetences (Cook, 2003) and Multilitteracies (Sollars, 2002) would enable a better understanding of this research area and a complexification of its theoretical and methodological approaches. Accordingly, we will try, in this contribution, to call upon some of those "missed links" in order to contribute to that enrichment.

Plurilingual Competence has been proved to be composite, heterogeneous and unequal, since it combines and builds on diverse linguistic and cultural knowledge and skills. From a socioconstructivist approach, this competence is developed through interaction and co-action with other social actors: during those processes, individual plurilingual repertoires, as a result of subjects' linguistic biographies, are mobilized and constituted as communicative common resources (Bono & Melo-Pfeifer, 2011).

One of those languages which constitutes individuals' plurilingual repertoires is the Heritage Language (HL), i.e., "nonsocietal and nonmajority language spoken by groups often known as linguistic minorities" (Valdès, 2005: 411), which can be a school subject (or not). This definition suggests that HL is acquired in (*quasi*) natural contexts (during primary socialization) and/or in academic ones. Simultaneously, individuals with a HL background (learners and/or speakers) are also very heterogeneous in terms of their linguistic profile, with different aptitudes for diverse linguistic skills (receptive and productive skills), with clear advantages in terms of aural abilities (Carreira & Kagan, 2011). From a language education perspective, this means that HL studies, more than other Languages, highlights the different attributes of PC: its unbalanced nature (since different skills are dominated differently) and the possibilities of dissociating skills during teaching and learning processes (as the research on Intercomprehension has been providing evidence of).

Furthermore, if we consider that PC is a key competence towards an Inclusive Linguistic Education, acknowledging HL skills allows the recognition of individuals' different paths in terms of linguistic biographies and thus, in terms of repertoires and linguistic potential. Acknowledging this diversity, by the social actor, as well as by school agents and society in general, has been pointing at both of the following dimensions within HL acquisition process:

- Instrumental – HL skills and their development are recognized factors involved in foreign language acquisition (namely the schooling language), being recognized as a cross linguistic affective and cognitive bridge; from this perspective, HL promotes learners' integration and their academic success, namely because it benefits the acquisition of the national language (Coste, 2005);
- Empowerment – promoting integration and social cohesion and working to achieve both means recognizing, activating and developing learners' plurilin-

gual repertoires (Castellotti & Moore, 2010), where HL knowledge and skills are integrated; this work places the plurilingual subject in the centre of the pedagogical perspective, contributing to subjects' self-esteem and to their command of acquisition and socialization process.

When referring to integration, we are referring to "an encounter between the different traditions, values and practices that emerge, not without difficulty, from a comparison and a joint interpretation of experiences and usages (Castellotti & Moore, 2010: 5). Both HL's instrumental and empowerment dimensions provide individuals with assets and toolkits for better learning and better social and schooling integration.

Following our line of thinking, this study will analyze the social and affective dimensions within PC and the interplay of individuals' representations on their HL, their National Language and the other languages of their milieu. Thus, we approach these languages from "the standpoint of the significance and representation of societal and individual identities" (Hornberger & Wand, 2009: 17). It will thus highlight another dimension of HL: the affective one.

This study adopts an inalienable plurilingual perspective when analyzing children's representations, bearing in mind the three following principles:

- it is aware of both the interpenetration of factors that build up a "multilingual mind" (Jessner, 2006) and children's "pluriliteracy development as an [ongoing] continuum" (Castellotti & Moore, 2010: 7);
- it recognizes that developing competences in HL and in other languages does not only evidence skills and knowledge acquisition, but also a certain socio-affective dimension (such as individuals' subjectivity and the co-constructed intersubjective stance in multilingual and intercultural communication);
- although acknowledging issues related to integration and academic success, our work stresses the importance of addressing HL and PC questions from an identitarian perspective, which puts individuals and their metamorphoses in the centre of a path to self-recognition and to the recognition of the Other.

3.   EMPIRICAL STUDY

3.1 Methodology: context, data and research questions

This study is a part of a broader project focusing on social representations on Portuguese language(s) and culture(s) – seen out of Portugal –, and on its teaching and learning worldwide: "Imagens do (ensino do) Português no estrangeiro", a project coordinated by S. Melo-Pfeifer and A. Schmidt, supported by Instituto Camões and the Portuguese Embassy in Germany[2].

In order to respond to these goals, the project has been developed adopting two main methodologies: the first refers to the use of drawings to identify young

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[2] *http://cepealemanha.wordpress.com*

pupils' representations (since they are starting their alphabetization process) and the second brings up an on-line inquiry, internationally disseminated, addressed to Portuguese Speaking communities worldwide, secondary and university students (with or without migration background), parents, teachers and lecturers. In both cases, our public has a migration background ("Diaspora" background) and Portuguese – from different Portuguese speaking countries – is commonly a Heritage Language.

In this text, we will focus on the drawings gathered in Germany. We asked primary school pupils (between 6 and 12 years old) with Portuguese immigration background enrolled in PHL classes (beyond their German curriculum, in what is commonly called "parallel school") to draw themselves while speaking their languages. The activity, which was developed in class (as school work), was conducted in the presence of their teachers. Since drawing is a task familiar to children, we felt that children were free to express their multilingualism this way. This doesn't mean, however, that children were familiar with the thematic content of the task itself: we received feedback from the participant teachers referring to the original nature of this task in their classes and how children were affectively engaged during their creation. Even if the instruction was "Draw yourself while speaking the languages you know", the instruction was interpreted very differently:

> Quelques-uns se dessinent exclusivement soi-mêmes en train de parler (l'activité étant représentée par des boules de dialogue), comme un portrait plurilingue ; d'autres en train d'apprendre une langue à l'école (avec tous les outils qui constituent l'imaginaire de l'apprentissage scolaire des langues) et d'autres en situations communicatives de contact avec d'autres langues dans un cadre social ; d'autres encore, finalement, dessinent son entourage multilingue et les signes culturels qu'ils y attachent. (Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2012b)

This methodology allows the "mise en mouvement d'un imaginaire" (Moore & Castellotti, 2011: 122), both linguistic and cultural, through a reflexive and multimodal activity anchored on each pupil's experiences (see Mavers, 2011; Molinié, 2009; Moore & Castellotti, 2011; and Perregaux, 2011 about this methodology). The oral instruction allowed, as we predicted, to gather drawings mainly regarding both languages of our Heritage Language Learners (see Valdés, 2005 and Carreira, 2004, for a definition): German and Portuguese. However, other languages emerged in our data, drawing attention to the rich linguistic biography of Portuguese HL learners enrolled in our project.

We collected drawings in 7 Federal States (where these Portuguese Heritage Language classes take place) among 956 PHL learners (the same number of drawings), with the local support of 34 teachers. This means that the quantity of our corpora, even if not submitted to narrative description and co-interpretation by children and researchers (as advocated by Moore & Castellotti, 2011) nor accompanied by video observations (as made by Hopperstadt, 2010), can however, shed light into common linguistic and cultural representations: in fact, our corpora show

regular features in the accomplishment of the reflexive and multimodal task (Mavers, 2009; Perregaux, 2011).

Our approach to this huge corpus can be clarified through the example below, which emphasis the plurisemiotic analysis we carried out (see Figure 1).
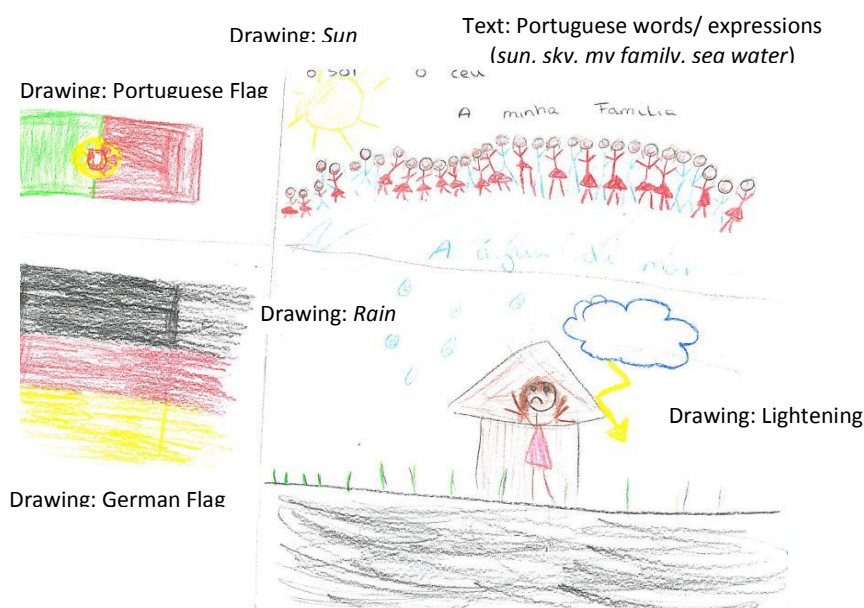

Figure 1. Analytic semiotic decomposition (drawing by R. C., 10 years old, Minden).

Even if the drawn elements and the written words and/or expressions are sometimes very hard to detach (some words are drawn resorting to flag colours, for example), we decided to make it in order to clarify the elements we analyzed and to quantify them, since their selection represents "the focus of the individual's immediate "interest"" (Mavers, 2009: 265). Furthermore, this approach does not reveal the connections between drawing and text (concurrence, complementarities and redundancy, through explanations or labels, …). However, since our study comprises a huge corpus from children's productions with many similarities and transversal elements (same framings, same *topoi*, same words…), our results highlight the common traits and the specificities pointed out by our public regarding each language-culture, i.e., the patterns (Mavers, 2009). Our methodology will thus combine a qualitative and quantitative approach, even if it is qualitative in its basis (since it aims at understanding and interpreting a rather subjective corpus), keeping in mind that "where image is combined with writing (…), meanings are distributed across modes" (Mavers, 2009: 263).

The table below shows the geographic distribution of PHL courses in Germany (covered by Instituto Camões) and the allocation of our drawings by federal state:

Table 1. Distribution of our corpora

Federal State	Number of drawings
Baden-Württemberg	583
Berlin	14
Bremen	22
Hamburg	143
Hessen	43
Lower Saxony	54
North Rhine-Westphalia	97
Total	956

We carried out the following research path in order to understand children's dominant multilingual imaginary:

1) firstly, we analyzed the most frequently represented languages and the semiotic traits associated with them, in order to understand the children's language biographies, namely their multilingual and multicultural "milieu";
2) second, we conducted a more in-depth study of the representations attached to PHL and German National Language/ GNL (symbols, words, …).

In this paper, following this research path, our research questions are: i) which Social Representations are attached to GNL and to PHL?; ii) how does PHL relate to GNL and other languages present in the Communities?; and finally, iii) how does Heritage Language Education contribute to the development of plurilingual and multicultural repertoires?

3.2 Analytical categories to understand Social Representations

Representations and stereotypes play an essential role in both the acquisition of a new language (Zarate, 1993) and the construction of the affective relationship between subjects, people and their languages, since "les représentations stéréotypées de l'Autre traversent inévitablement le vécu de la rencontre" (Amossy & Hershberg Pierrot, 1997: 42). This means that representations and stereotypes are understood as pre-existing elements to interaction and are constituents of the imaginary "self". Being socially constructed, they are neither to be separated from the affective dimension, nor consequently from the plurilingual and intercultural communication (Melo, 2006), as well as from the scholar/academic linguistic choices (Araújo e Sá & Pinto, 2006; Pinto, 2005):

References to the concept of representation are becoming increasingly common in studies on languages and language learning and teaching. In particular, it is accepted that speakers' representations of languages – including their rules, features and status in relation to other languages – shape the processes and strategies they develop and implement for language learning and use (Castellotti & Moore, 2002: 7).

Regarding HL's representations, we could say that they represent the way speakers perceive their influences, the feeling of being or not integrated in a social group and of possessing a symbolic capital, and the relationship with other linguistic groups and social representations about them (Zarate, 1995). In fact,

It is not important to know whether stereotypes are true or false, because this depends on the psicosociolinguistic of the reference group and on certain circonstances that can change their content; more important are their social effects and the way they affect relationship between groups and, thus, for example, the learning processes of those groups' languages (Moore, 2001: 14) (Our translation)[3]

In order to understand what young pupils think and feel about their languages (PHL and German, since the majority of children is, at least, bilingual in these two languages), we used the following 5 categories (Melo, 2006) to analyze the lexical words (pupils wrote, at least, in Portuguese and/or German) and drew elements:

- *Learning object* – perception about languages as curricular realities (acquired in specific contexts, with specific purposes and resources, …) and about the acquisition of different linguistic skills (ex: "teacher", blackboard);
- *Affective object* – likes and dislikes associated with languages, which shed light into pupils' emotional relationship to languages and cultures (ex: "my family", heart);
- *Empowerment tool* – perceptions about the advantages associated with the acquisition of skills and competences in those languages (ex: "I am strong, I speak several languages");
- *Cultural object* – cultural associations with countries and people (namely Gastronomy, Clothes, Literature, Music, Architecture, Geography and History, as "fado" or "rancho folclórico").
- *Interpersonal relationships instrument* – perceptions about the way the language fosters or limits interpersonal relationships, in the linguistic community (in-group) or between linguistic communities (out-groups), as the many conversations represented in our corpora.

These categories will be analyzed through the plurisemioticity and multimodality of the collected drawings. As we will see, lexical items are usually used as captions or proof of linguistic and communicative skills (interpersonal relationships instru-

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[3] (…) ce n'est pas la véracité des stéréotypes qui est importante, puisque celle-ci va dépendre de la psychosociologie du groupe de référence et de certaines circonstances qui peuvent en modifier le contenu, mais plutôt leurs effets sociaux, la manière dont ils affectent les relations entre les groupes et corollairement, par exemple, l'apprentissage des langues pratiquées par ces groupes (Moore, 2001: 14).

ment); cultural objects are normally illustrated. These complementarities show the interest of decomposing the drawings in terms of modes (drawn and/or written).

Finally, these categories will help us understand not only children's representations but also "the shared references of a society [or of a particular linguistic community, in our case], the representations of implicit assumptions that facilitate communication and enable speakers to recognize themselves as social actors who have constructed the same affiliation" (Perregaux, 2011: 20).

4.   DATA ANALYSIS

As stated, regarding another experience where drawings were directly requested, our corpus shows that "with eagerness to cooperate, the children represented facts, experiences and views in ways that could be readily understood" (Maver, 2009: 265). Despite the differences observed in the representation of languages and cultures (which will be observed in the next sub-sections), some general tendencies are easy to recognize, in terms of imaginary, interpersonal and textual meanings (Hopperstad, 2010, based on Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996).

The first is that children usually combine image and writing. This feature is noteworthy since "choice of mode is significant for the meanings that can be made because modes have particular affordances – or potentialities and constraints" (Mavers, 2009: 263). Another common feature is that children represent themselves in happy communicative or relaxed moments: faces are always smiling (we reported just 2 exceptions, one being illustrated in Figure 1) and stress is absent.

Regarding the representation of languages and of multilingual repertoires, children usually refer to their languages by juxtaposition, i.e., through a sequence of languages or country names, words in different languages or visual representations (the most common being national flags), the so-called "domains of language representation" (Perregaux, 2011: 17). Another frequent aspect is the tendency to illustrate either communicative situations (outside the school), or schooling ones (formal instructional linguistic education), which Perregaux defines as "domains of socializing representations" (idem). This probably means that languages seem to possess primarily both these status and that these status are kept separately.

The following analysis will help clarify these transversal tendencies as well as identify the distinctive traits between children´s representations of their different languages and cultures. We will combine a quantitative and a qualitative interpretation of our data, resorting to examples in order to illustrate our analysis.

4.1 Children's multilingual and multicultural "milieu"

Our pupils allude to at least 28 languages other than PHL and GNL (the imprecise number we are referring to is due to the fact that we were not able to identify some references). Due to this enormous number of languages children refer to, we will present languages with more than 50 occurrences. Other languages with some

quantitative expression were: Polish (21 references), Swiss German (21 references), Chinese (20 references), Japanese (19 references) and Greek (18 references). The following table shows the six more represented languages, besides PHL and GNL, including the terms in which they are referred to (drawn or written).

Table 2. Representations of Other Languages

Language	Written references	Drawn references	Total
English	393	270	663
French	136	124	260
Spanish	46	74	120
Italian	51	50	101
Brazilian	6	59	65
Turkish	23	32	55

Table 3. The most representative foreign communities in Germany, in 31st December 2009.
(Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, in http://de.statista.com)

Main communities in Germany	Inhabitants
Turkey	1.658.083,00
Italy	517.474,00
Poland	398.513,00
Greece	278.063,00
Croatia	221.222,00
Russia	189.326,00
Austria	174.548,00
Bosnia and Herzegovina	154.565,00
Holland	134.850,00
Ukraine	125.617,00
Serbia and Montenegro	122.897,00
Portugal	113.260,00
France	107.257,00
Romania	104.980,00
Spain	104.002,00

As in Perregaux's study, we believe that children "could not draw the languages requested if they did not have physical contact in their close environment with a person who knew this language; therefore they [need] proximity socialization to

begin building an image of these languages" (2011: 17). This means that these languages are probably present in these children's everyday life (through school fellows and the media, for example), in what could be called the "multilingual and multicultural milieu". Following this hypothesis, we compared the 10 most depicted languages with the statistic of foreign communities present in Germany (table 3).

This comparison suggests that references to large communities and languages like Turkish, Italian and Spanish are probably anchored in contacts with those communities and the same happens with Polish and Greek. French evinces an ambiguous status from our analytical perspective, since it is simultaneously a minority community language and a school subject (we would, however, think that, taking into account the age of our public, here French probably refers to a community language, since the school curriculum privileges English as a Foreign Language at Primary School). This means that children depict, more than their plurilingual repertoires, their multicultural environment, as the following drawing implies (figure 2):
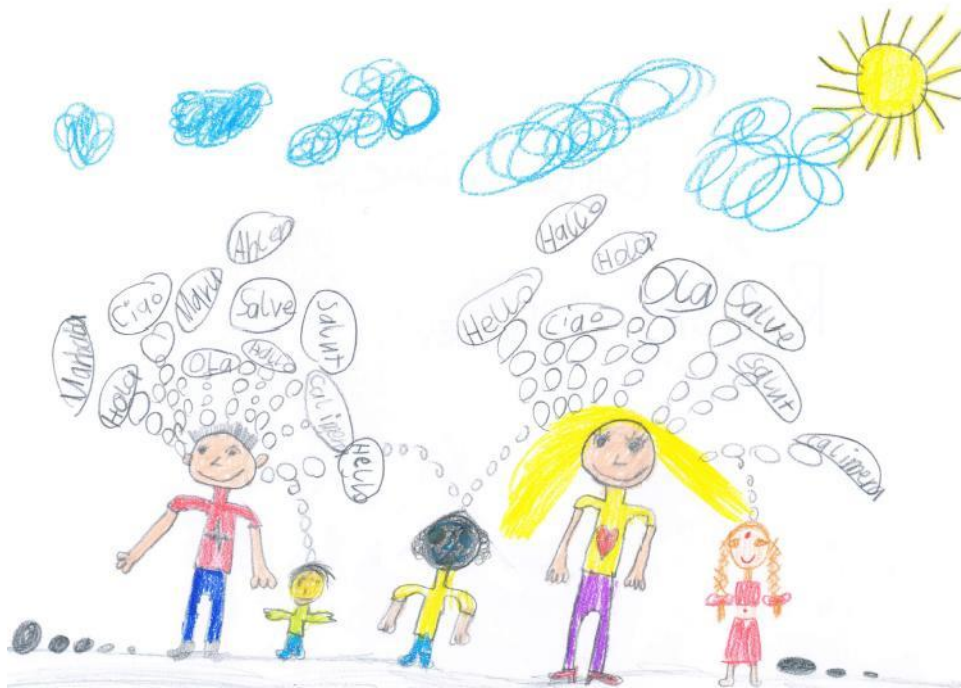

Figure 2. A multicultural and plurilingual milieu (drawing by R., 9 years old, Bad Urach)

This multicultural and multilingual contact is, however, largely overcome by linguistic school subjects (such as English; see table 3). The school system (and hence the

language teacher) is thus perceived as a privileged context of contact with languages, being a sort of a qualitative reference to this public. This hypothesis can also be corroborated by some drawings where children represent themselves while learning English (and the school equipment they need to achieve this goal). As a result, parallel to other circumstances and means of socialization, school can be said to be a social and political institution highly responsible for creating, disseminating and thus changing linguistic social representations (Andrade, Araújo e Sá & Moreira, 2007).

If we now compare the social representations attached to the two most represented languages (English and French), we can observe some differences that explain the different status of these languages:

Table 4. Comparison between social representations associated with English and French

Analytical categories	English		French	
	number	%	number	%
Learning object	23	3,5	3	1
Affective object	53	8	2	1
Empowerment tool	1	0,1	1	0,2
Cultural object	266	40	128	49
Interpersonal relationships instrument	305	46	124	47,8
Other / undetermined	15	2,4	2	1
Total	663	100	260	100

As this table illustrates, both English and French are mainly cultural objects and communicative tools. However, while English is perceived mostly as a communicative instrument, representations on French are slightly higher in terms of its cultural dimension. Furthermore, even if the affective and the schooling object of both these languages are almost absent, they are more significant regarding English (even if we admit that these rather small values suggest that other contexts and discourses are responsible for the construction and dissemination of images towards English). Another aspect worth discussing is the low (almost inexistent) rate of references to these languages as empowerment tools: this may indicate that this representation of languages (namely those of international communication) is mostly acquired in other periods of life and thus within the evolution of the school path (and the consequent orientation towards academic success) and within a certain social discourse regarding language learning and language utility.

We can finally observe that some minority communities, even if largely present in Germany, as shown in table 3, are barely mentioned by our children (no reference to Romania was found, for example). This raises the question about what

makes a community, its culture and its language easily remarked and what can be said about the "blindness" towards other cultural and linguistic minorities. Our hypothesis is that these "silenced" communities in our drawings may indicate that they are absent from the (schooling) linguistic landscape (Gorter, 2006), the symbolic social sphere where languages are exposed to by their speakers and observed by other communities.

In the following two sections, we will explore the images of both German as the National Language and of Portuguese as Heritage Language, since they are worth separated analysis, because of their particular sociolinguistic status.

4.2 Social representations attached to German

German is the national language assigned to our research context. This means that

> parce que la langue nationale a statut de langue commune et est celle de la norme (pas seulement linguistique) de l'écrit et de la transmission culturelle, elle opère comme vecteur quasi exclusif de la construction des capacités et de connaissances et devient ainsi « naturellement » condition nécessaire de la réussite scolaire (Coste, 2005 : 98).

In order to understand German's social representations, being this language one of the main ones integrating our public's language biographies, we used the categories presented in section 3.2. Their quantitative distribution is shown in table 5.

Table 5. German representations

Analytical categories	Examples	Written references	Drawn references	Total
Learning object	Teacher, school	28	27	55
Affective object	How beautiful!	76	48	124
Empowerment tool	I master X languages	29	-	29
Cultural object	Berlin, FC Bayern	16	460	476
Interpersonal relationships instrument	Hello! Thanks!	501	-	501
Other / undetermined	Horse, salad, monkey	56	-	56
Total		706	535	1241

As German probably is the vehicular language in terms of daily life, it is the first language mainly used to convey emotional meanings and preferences (Figure 3) as well as an important interpersonal relationship instrument. In fact, German is

commonly associated with communicative situations with friends (Figure 4). Not surprisingly, the exposure to a German way of life and cultural experiences explains the rich presence of cultural representations and is a sign of children's identification with the German culture.

Figure 3. Talking about personal preferences in German (Hello! I love to draw / Ich male gerne) (drawing by D. W., 8, Singen).

Figure 4. Communicating with friends in German (You have a beautiful dress! / Thank you!)
(drawing by S. K., 8, Ulm).

Another observation relates to the "intermodal relationship between writing and image" (Mavers, 2009: 265): cultural objects are rather sketched, whilst the symbolic values attached to the interpersonal relationships are written down. This tendency will also be present in the analysis of the representations of PHL.

A closer look at the most frequent references enables us to specify those representations (we considered references when there were more than 10 incidences):

Table 6. A closer look at the representations of GNL

Semiotic channel	Item	Number of occurrences	Total	%
Drawing	German flag	419	459	85,7
	Football	16		
	Sun	14		
	School Books	10		
Written	Hello *(Hallo)*	286	436	61,7
	My name is *(Ich heisse...)*	43		
	How are you? *(Wie geht's dir?)*	31		
	I am... *(Ich bin...)*	30		
	I can speak ... *(Ich kann ...sprechen / reden)*	19		
	My name is *(Mein Name ist...)*	17		
	I am... years old *(Ich bin... Jahre alt)*	10		

This angle of perspective suggests very consistent and compacted social representations of German language and culture, attached to the children's communicative daily experiences and practices. In fact, the four drawn elements with more than ten occurrences represent almost the whole corpus. Less meaningful but also expressive, are the seven more frequent words or expressions representing more than half of the full amount of occurrences we analyzed, and which exclusively refer to interaction and self presentation (very similar to interaction in foreign language beginners' classes.

4.3 Social representations attached to Portuguese Heritage Language

Portuguese is, as shown in table 3, one of the most important foreign communities in Germany. These data suggest that our children, namely because they have contact with a local Portuguese community and are enrolled in PHL classes, find them-

selves in some social and schooling micro-cosmos where Portuguese is the main linguistic resource. Accordingly, they are in touch with social representations about Portuguese language and culture, as they circulate between community members, mediating their communication.

The following table presents the analytical distribution of the 1280 direct references to Portuguese language and culture:

Table 7. Representations of PHL

Analytical categories	Examples	Written references	Drawn references	Total
Learning object	School, Teacher, Pronouns	27	19	46
Affective object	Beautiful, My family	126	91	217
Empowerment tool	I master several languages, I am strong	9	-	9
Cultural object	Lisbon, Ronaldo, Cinema	24	469	493
Interpersonal relationships instrument	Hello, How are you?, Good bye, I speak Portuguese at home	480	-	480
Other / undetermined	Book, Tree, Mouse, Table	45	-	45
Total		711	579	1280

Table 7 allows us to conclude that, even if the pupils take part in Portuguese classes (which could suggest a high predominance of representations attached to its scholar object), PHL is mainly regarded as a cultural entity, with a high communicative value, both within the family and the community (Figure 5). The high presence of cultural representations seems to be quite surprising since Portuguese is far from being present in the German linguistic and cultural landscape (even if the Portuguese community is quantitively important as we mentioned previously). It is thus an evidence that the family (and the Portuguese community), as well as the PHL classes, are major vehicles for the transmission, the identification with and the recognition of Portuguese cultural aspects.

The affective values attached to PHL are also quite common, mainly those related to the family (both in Germany and in Portugal), as well as the pleasure experienced while speaking Portuguese and the opportunity this language gives them to talk about their emotions and feelings.

Another rather curious aspect is that, being Portuguese the 7th most spoken language in the world (according to *Ethnologue*, http://www.ethnologue.com/), pupils do not refer to this fact. We can assume that assets related to linguistic power and economic wellbeing come in later stages of life, when subjects are more

familiar with curricular and empowerment issues related to language skills and aptitudes' acquisition and use. We can then conclude that children seem not yet to have been corrupted by a utilitarian and liberalist discourse about languages, and that they attach a rather affective and emotional value to them.
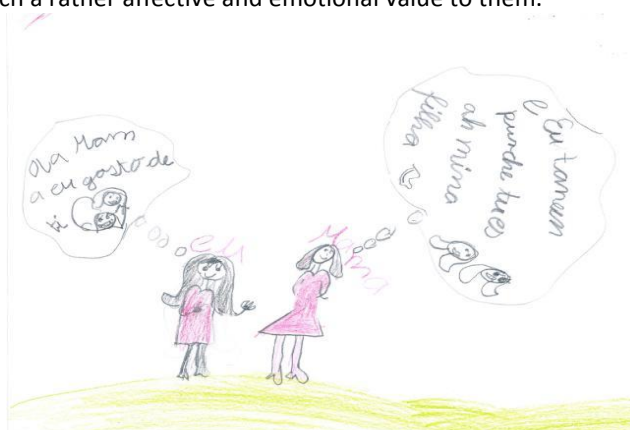

Figure 5. Use of PHL between mother and child. (Child: Hello, mama! I love you / Mother: I love you too, because you are my child) (drawing by B.R., 8, Stuttgart)

Once again, we analyzed the 10 most frequent topics. No huge differences can be observed in comparison to GNL, as table 8 shows:

Table 8. A closer look at the representations of PHL

Semiotic channel	Item	Number of occurrences	Total	%
Drawing	Portuguese flag	424	520	89,8
	Sun	32		
	Flowers	19		
	Football	18		
	School	14		
	Beach	13		
Written	Hello (*Olá*)	287	416	58,5
	I am (*Eu sou...*)	52		
	My name is (*Chamo-me…*)	35		
	My name is (*O meu nome é...*)	16		
	Good morning (*Bom dia*)	15		
	Yes (*Sim*)	11		

In fact, this table points at rather similar and consistent social representations of both Portuguese language and culture, closely related to personal experiences (we may imagine both in Portugal and in Germany) and communicative practices (once again here depicted in a very simple way, as the students were absolute beginners both in Portuguese and in German, as we have already mentioned).

A major difference, however, are the references to weather and vacations depicted by children (sun and beach): this difference corroborates the more affective relationship to Portuguese language and its use than to the German one.

In terms of written items, we can assume that the children's Portuguese repertoires are exposed to influences of German languages (syntax and vocabulary). The presence of "My name is (*O meu nome é...*)" is just a clue of this exposure and interdependency of repertoires. In fact, this structure, even if grammatically correct, is not used in current Portuguese: the normal expression would be "*Chamo-me X*" (third occurrence in this table), a quite opaque verb with no correspondence with the other languages reported by children in section 4.1 (in Brazilian Portuguese, the expression would be "Meu nome é", without the definite article "O meu nome é").

4.4 Some comparisons and relationships: GNL and PHL

During our analysis, we also analyzed the number of different items chosen to represent German and Portuguese language and speakers. The results show, once again, a slight difference between both of them. However, as Figure 6 illustrates, German mobilizes a greater variety of words and expressions (187 and 176, for German and Portuguese, respectively).

Furthermore, when calculating the total number of words employed by the children, we noticed that this difference was also present in the length of expressions: 786 words for German and 722 for Portuguese.

These discrepancies between German and Portuguese, in terms of variety and length of linguistic forms used, point to differences in terms of skills in both languages, being German more developed and predominant (as the language of schooling and social use, as remarked by Coste, 2008). However, further analysis needs to be done in order to better understand these differences and their extent.

Another comparison is worth an analysis in our study: the representation's categories attached to both languages, as shown in Figure 7.
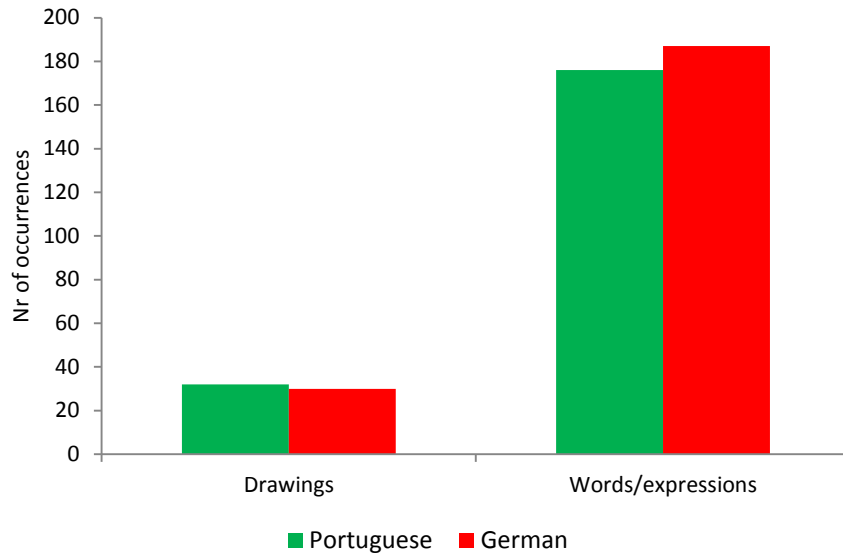
Figure 6. Variety of representations attached to PHL and GNL (with number of occurrences).
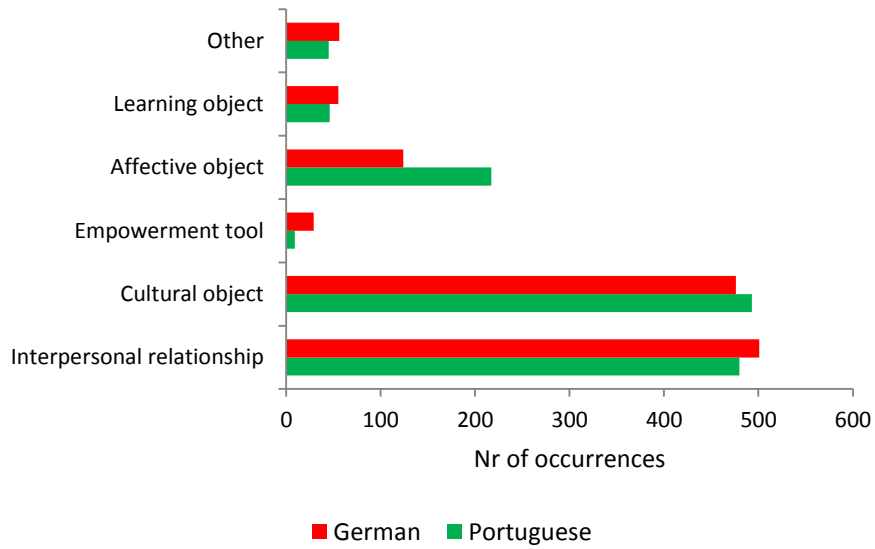

Figure 7. Comparison between representations of German NL and Portuguese HL.

Regarding both languages, the three major categories are, in this order: interpersonal relationships instrument, cultural and affective object. Being German the language of the social environment, it prevails in the first category: this indicates that German is probably the privileged vehicular language (Figure 8). However, in terms of emotional attachment, Portuguese is the privileged language for private contacts and feelings. In fact, children often associate Portuguese language and culture with family (in Germany or/and in Portugal) and Portuguese traditions/folklore, as a private sphere of language use and learning. Once again, these results underline the predominant affective relationship speakers and learners entail with their heritage language (Figure 9).

Figure 8. German NL as a vehicular language. (Hello! My name is Andrea and I speak German, Portuguese and English) (drawing by A. M., 9, Ittlingen)

`Figure 9. Affective value attached to PHL. (I speak Portuguese, German and English. I speak Portuguese at home) (drawing by C. H., 10, Einbeck).*

As a learning object, we can say that German's curricular importance prevails in comparison to the Portuguese one: it is the language of school and of academic success. It is also probably taken more seriously as a school subject, being Portuguese only seen as an extra option. This uneven status of both languages can also help explain why German is seen as stronger in terms of empowerment tool: as other research projects have shown, the representation of the importance of a language is not directly related to the number of speakers (German being the 10th most spoken language (Araújo e Sá & Schmidt, 2008)[4].

Pupils usually draw themselves in communicative situations, both monolingual and multilingual, which represent the settings where Portuguese and German are means of communication. The most represented situations show moments in which they meet someone (usually, a friend) or get in touch with someone for a first time, with stereotyped self-presentation dialogues (name, age, …) and, finally, evoking information about their own feelings and the feelings of others. These communicative representations are sometimes addressed to particular individuals of the children's milieu; other times, they are directed to the viewer, as children portray themselves looking directly to an unknown viewer. Situations of multilingual intercomprehension, i.e., situations where pupils and their interlocutors communicate resorting to different languages are quite frequent (Figure 10). This

[4] http://www.ethnologue.com/ethno_docs/distribution.asp?by=size) but to the social perceptions of utility and economic advantages

seems to indicate that these pupils overcame the common stereotype related to the need for a single linguistic code in order to communicate efficiently.

Figure 10. Multilingual communicative situation (Arabic, German and Portuguese) (drawing by L. R., 10, Ulm).

Situations of plurilingual talk are also quite frequent, in which children convey meanings resorting to different languages. This situation can be seen in terms of representations of individual repertoires: some children translate the same sentence in several languages (Figure 11), while others use different languages to say different things (Figure 12).

Figure 11. Individual multilingual talk (English, German, Portuguese and French). (Hello! My name is Carina) (drawing by C. F., 12, Ravensburg)

Figure 12. Individual plurilingual talk (Portuguese, German, English and French. (I am 9 years old! I have a small brother! My name is Felicia! Good morning) (drawing by F.A., 9, Altona)

We can thus hypothesize that these different representations of the self and of its linguistic repertoires illustrate two perspectives regarding the multilingual mind: a juxtaposed model and an integrated and dynamic one (Jessner, 2006). However, the use of words in different languages present in the drawings, namely in GNL and PHL, indicates "the multisemiotic resources of biliterate children" (Kenner & Kress, 2003). In conclusion, the drawing of these situations seems to be a clear evidence of how "in their daily life, children manage their heterogeneous linguistic inventory, their various ethnic, social and cultural imaginaries" (Perregaux, 2011: 20) and their sense of belonging to a multilingual and multicultural society.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES: HL EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLURILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL REPERTOIRES

This study was able to identify patterns of children's plurilingual and multilingual repertoires:
- the majority of children seems to have very positive attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity, which is a quite favourable aspect towards foreign language learning projects and broad citizenship (see also Perregaux, 2011);
- they have developed different relationships with different languages, indicating a considerable level of self-knowledge and emotional self-perceived images;
- children are able to distinguish between their own different linguistic repertoires and the situations they are brought into, which points out at an accurate perception of the linguistic and communicative resources they deal with; it also indicates that children are able to "choose, construct and perform their so-

cial identities (…) vis-à-vis the different groups of people with whom they interact" (Hornberger & Wang, 2009: 5);

- multilingualism and multilingual interaction are portrayed in a very constructive way, which evinces positive and well succeeded experiences; multilingual and intercultural experiences are thus perceived as "cognitive resources" (Castellotti & Moore, 2010: 7) and potential learning situations;
- children perceive the different rules and "ingredients" attached to different communicative situations, i.e., they develop communicative awareness in multilingual and intercultural situations;
- they are developing a "multilingual lexicon" to be mobilized in contact with other languages and cultures, even if this "multilingual lexicon" is still quite stereotyped and limited; they are becoming "multicompetent" (Cook, 2003);
- HL skills and repertoires link socialisation at home and schooling experience; thus, PC assures the transition from one communicative and learning context to another.

In the tradition of using drawings' to investigate children's representations of their conceptual knowledge and attitudes, our analysis illustrates that languages are generally portrayed separately, sometimes with clear boundaries between them or between the situations they are used in. This means that children seem to conceive their linguistic repertoires as a sum of skills in different and separated languages which are used in specific situations.

This hypothesis sheds some light on children's multilingual competences and awareness stages: they recognize the differences between several linguistic codes and they are able to classify them. In addition, children are also aware of linguistic and cultural diversity around them and they acknowledge some distinctive traits between communities. Furthermore, they recognize the diversity of situations where languages are used and they distinguish between them, in order to distribute their repertoires accordingly (Figure 13):

Figure 13. Distribution of multilingual repertoires according to the situation (Family or friends).(Left: Hello, mama and dady! How are you? / Well, and you?; Right: Hello Luis and Fiona! How are you? / Very good and you?) (drawing by M. P., 9, Breuberg).

This means that they already possess some "linguistic culture", since they already developed attitudes (generally positive, as also reported by Perregaux, 2011), knowledge (even if stereotyped) and aptitudes to deal with linguistic and cultural diversity. However, some clichés regarding linguistic diversity and distribution as well as some common stereotypes need to be approached during (mother tongue, foreign or heritage) language learning. For example, a language is usually attached to a single country, and a country is seen in terms of linguistic homogeneity. That's why, from our perspective, flags or countries' names are used to represent a language, or, when representing other German-speaking countries, these are attached to the label "Plattdeutsch" (which could be translated as "Low German") in comparison to the so-called "norm" spoken in Germany. Furthermore, linguistic diversity gives the impression of being attached to exotic languages and cultures and the accuracy of linguistic attributions does not seem to be relevant. This importance given to the more distant linguistic families, which is not significantly visible in the social "milieu", makes it difficult to perceive closer communities and their languages.

Our outcomes point out at some potentialities of multilingual and intercultural education resorting to drawings, namely in HL classes. First, HL is understood mainly as a place of private sphere manifestation and where awareness is raised of being a linguistic and minority community. In consequence, HL classes can be a privi-

leged space for developing awareness regarding differences and similarities across languages and cultures. The use of drawings in this particular situation can therefore help understand how young children articulate ideas and understandings about themselves and the others, "in ways verbal language may not offer" (Hopperstad, 2010: 431).

We would like to corroborate the value of our methodological approach to respond to the research questions we made. Our public is being educated in several languages and they have different proficiencies in those languages. Our study of "children's writing and drawing as graphic multimodal ensembles" contributes to understanding how "they deploy the resources available to them and how this gives particular shapes to meaning" (Maver, 2009: 264). Furthermore, it presents the production of drawings as a valid reflexive activity which leads children to reflect upon multilingual and multicultural diversity and, finally, a suitable methodology to understand their multilingual and multicultural imaginary.

Despite our acknowledgement of the validity of our methodological and analytical approach in order to answer out research questions, we still consider that some explanations cannot be fully developed without additional analysis of our corpus and without a more in-depth research of our children's linguistic biography. The correlation of the representations of children' linguistic milieu and their biographies, for example, cannot be fully understood without individually interviewing them. Thus, we consider some of our interpretations can provide us with some clues and raise new questions that will be worth exploring in forthcoming research we are presently developing.

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