
THE LEARNER DEVELOPMENT JOURNAL

学習者ディベロップメント研究部会誌

ISSN: 2433-5401

<https://ldjournal.ld-sig.org>

The Learner Development Journal Issue 5: Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations

Author: Andy Barfield

Title: Re-interpreting University Students' Multilingual Lives: Connections, Questions, and Wider Issues in Society

Date of publication online: 2021

Author contact: <abarfield001f@g.chuo-u.ac.jp>

Published by the Japan Association for Language Teaching
Learner Development Special Interest Group, Tokyo

<http://ld-sig.org/>

Copyright 2021 each respective author

The APA citation reference for this paper is:

Barfield, A. (2021). Re-interpreting university students' multilingual lives: Connections, questions, and wider issues in society. In A. Barfield, O. Cusen, Y. Imamura, & R. Kelly (Eds.), *The Learner Development Journal Issue 5: Engaging with the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development: Practices, Issues, Discourses, and Theorisations* (pp. 104-124). Tokyo: The Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT) Learner Development Special Interest Group.

Articles are published in the Learner Development Journal under a Creative Commons Attribution License (CC BY), of which CC BY 4.0 is the most recent version. Under this agreement, authors grant users the right to unrestricted dissemination and re-use of the work. They ask only that proper attribution is given to the work.

Re-interpreting University Students' Multilingual Lives: Connections, Questions, and Wider Issues in Society

Andy Barfield, Chuo University <abarfield001f@g.chuo-u.ac.jp>

In this narrative account I explore how university students see their linguistic repertoires and what connections they make to wider issues in society. The site for this exploration is a weekly general education lecture course taught in Japanese and English on "Multilingual Issues in a Globalising World" at a university in Tokyo. The main tools of this exploration are language portraits and written reflections by four students, and later interviews with them about their portraits and reflections, as well as discussions with colleagues teaching the course, my "response community," and two reviewers for this issue of *The Learner Development Journal*. These different interactions lead to questions of linguistic privilege, discrimination, and oppression, as well as to a consideration that a critical stance towards the multilingual turn in learner development may need to take account of the deep-rooted historical and political impacts of imperialism and nationalism.

このナラティブアカウントでは、大学生が自身の言語レパートリーをどのように考えているのか、またそれを幅広い社会問題にどのように関連付けているのかを探求する。東京都の大学で、毎週日本語と英語で開講される「グローバル社会における多言語主義問題」という一般教養の講義で調査を行った。その講義を受講した4人の学生の言語ポートレートと振り返りを収集し、それらに関するインタビューを行った。また、「レスポンス・コミュニティ」として私と共に講義を担当する同僚、そして「The Learner Development Journal / 学習者ディベロップメント研究部会誌」の本号の2人のレビュアーとも議論も行った。これらの異なる相互作用は、言語的特権、言語差別、言語的抑圧に関する問題に焦点を当てるとともに、学習者の発展における多言語的転回に対する批判的な姿勢は、帝国主義とナショナリズムの根深い歴史的・政治的な影響を考慮する必要があるかどうか考えることに至った。

ဤဇာတ်ကြောင်းပြန်ဖော်ပြချက်သည်တက္ကသိုလ်ကျောင်းသား/သူများကသူတို့၏ဘာသာစကားစုံအသုံးပြုနိုင်မှုအပေါ်အမြင်၊ဘာသာစုံစကားသုံးမှုအားလူမှုအသိုင်းအဝိုင်းတွင်ဖြစ်ပျက်နေသောကျယ်ပြန့်သောဘာသာစကားသုံးစွဲမှုပြဿနာများနှင့်မည်သို့သောဆက်စပ်မှုများပြုလုပ်ခြင်းနှင့်စပ်လျဉ်းသောလေ့လာမှုဖြစ်ပါသည်။ယခုလေ့လာမှုသည်အပတ်စဉ်သင်ကြားသော အထွေထွေပညာရေးပို့ချချက်အတန်း "နိုင်ငံတကာ ဆက်နွယ် နေသော ကမ္ဘာကြီး (globalizing world) တွင် ဖြစ်ပွားနေသော ဘာသာစုံပြဿနာများ " တွင်ပြုလုပ်သော လေ့လာမှုဖြစ်သည်။ ဤလေ့လာမှုသည်ကျောင်းသားငှယောက်ရေးဆွဲသောဘာသာစုံရုတ်ပုံများထိုကျောင်းသားများနှင့်တွေ့ဆုံမေးမြန်းဆွေးနွေးမှုများနှင့်အတန်း အတွက် ရေးသားထားသော စာတမ်းများ၊ ထိုအတန်းအားအတူသင်ကြားနေသော ဆရာ၊ဆရာမများနှင့် ကျွန်တော်၏ဆွေးနွေးဝိုင်းအဖွဲ့ဝင်များနှင့် ဆွေးနွေးသော စကားဝိုင်းများ၊ *The Learner Development Journal* (သင်ယူသူ ဖွင့်ဖြိုးတိုးတက်မှုဂျာနယ်) သုံးသပ်သူများ၏ မှတ်ချက်နှင့် ဆွေးနွေးသုံးသပ်မှုများအပေါ်အခြေခံ၍ရေးသားထားပါသည်။ထိုအပြန်အလှန်သုံးသပ်ဆွေးနွေးမှုများသည်ဘာသာစကားခြုံခြားမှု၊ဖိနှိပ်မှု၊အခွင့်ထူးခံရမှုများ၊သင်ယူသူ(ကျောင်းသားများ)အား ဘာသာစုံ အသုံးပြုမှုသို့ပြောင်းလဲရာတွင် ကိုလိုနီဝါဒနှင့် အမျိုးသားရေး ဝါဒ၏သိုင်းဆိုင်ရာနှင့် နိုင်ငံရေးဆိုင်ရာ နက်ရှိုင်းသော လွှမ်းမိုးမှုအား အလေးပေး စဉ်းစားရန် လိုအပ်ကြောင်း သိမြင်စေသည်။

Keywords

language portrait, linguistic repertoire, linguistic privilege, linguistic discrimination, linguistic oppression

言語ポートレート, 言語レパートリー, 言語的特権, 言語差別, 言語的抑圧

ဘာသာစကားသုံးစွဲမှု ရုတ်ပုံများ၊ ဘာသာစကားစုံ အသုံးပြုနိုင်မှု၊လူမှုအသိုင်းအဝိုင်းတွင်ဖြစ်ပွား နေသော ကျယ်ပြန့်သော ပြဿနာများ၊

ကိုလိုနီဝါဒနှင့် အမျိုးသားရေးဝါဒ၊ သင်ယူသူစမ်းစစ်သုံးသပ်ဖွံ့ဖြိုးမှု ။

Starting Points

“When I was small, I resisted to use it (Korean) in public. Now it’s my identity.”—Kaori,¹ a mixed heritage student in Tokyo

In mid-February 2020 I meet up with my colleague Yoko to talk over the changes that are starting to take shape for the coming academic year in a general education course, *Multilingual Issues in a Globalising World*, that we co-coordinate and teach in the Faculty of Law at a university in Tokyo. Eight colleagues (from Politics, Law, and the Chinese, English, French, and German departments in the faculty) each teach two or three classes of this “rotation” course in a 14-week semester. Yoko herself is a specialist in south-east Asian politics and speaks Japanese, English, Indonesian Bahasa, and Thai fluently. My background is in applied linguistics, and in our lunchtime meeting I hope to share some initial thoughts from interviews that I had recently done with students about their linguistic repertoires. I start by mentioning what Kaori, one of the interviewees, had experienced. She had grown up in Tokyo, using Korean at home with her mother and Japanese with her father, but became reluctant to use Korean outside of the home. For several years Kaori had restricted her language use to Japanese in public, although she now sees using Korean as central to her identity. This leads me to recall some of the pressures that my son (born to my wife, his Burmese mother, and me, his British father) went through growing up trilingually in Japan with English and Japanese, together with some everyday family Burmese. He had a strong desire to be the same as his peers, but had a difficult period during elementary school where he felt ashamed of being different. That our son had mixed heritage and was fluent in Japanese and English was only ever acknowledged by one of his teachers in six years of elementary school. Otherwise his cultural and linguistic diversity was invisibilised.

I ask Yoko whether she has ever felt similar restrictions on her language use. She responds that language rights have long been a fundamental issue in her life. Born in Japan, she comes from Fukui prefecture, which she finds is not so familiar to many people: “Ah Fukushima!”, “Ah Fukuoka!”, others often say. When she moved to Tokyo to go to university, Yoko started realising how Tokyo-centric everything is, and since then questions of identity have come up for her throughout her adult life. Many students from local areas/outside Japan may think about that, Yoko ventured, but in Tokyo people are mostly unfamiliar with how language discrimination is experienced by minorities.

Had she felt positioned as provincial or unsophisticated? I ask. “Always!” but Yoko was good at adopting new languages and could switch between her local Fukui variety of Japanese and standard Japanese (which is based on the Tokyo variety). She remembers deciding—during her one-year at high school in the US—that she would purposefully use Fukui-ben when she came back from the US to Japan. At university in Tokyo as an undergraduate, Yoko had used standard Japanese most of the time, but would switch into Fukui-ben whenever she was with friends from Fukui. She still does this when she meets up with her high school generation for reunions: “It’s *densenteki* / 伝染的 [contagious],” she remarks, using a term beginning to circulate in the mass media in early 2020.

Unlike Yoko, I have limited experience of using a non-standard variety of my main language, English. I grew up in a small commuter market town, Berkhamsted, in the green belt around London, using standard Southern British English (SBE). If I once had a local variety of Hertfordshire English when I was younger, it was soon standardised through family, school, mass media, and other middle-class language socialisation processes. As

1. Student and colleague names in this narrative account are aliases.

SBE became my natural (and beguilingly unmarked, prestigious) variety of educated British English, I acquired, without being aware, a certain linguistic privilege (Deguchi, 2020; McIntosh, 1988; Subtirelu, 2013). After working in Paris for 6 months in my late teens, I studied French and German language and literature at university, spending a year at Johannes-Gutenberg University of Mainz in (then West) Germany as an exchange student. By the time I graduated, I could use French and German more or less fluently, and still speak both languages with some degree of facility now—and often with different colleagues on the *Multilingual Issues in a Globalising World* (MIGW) course. As well as living and working in Japan, I have lived and taught in France, Spain, and the former Yugoslavia, so, together with my intermediate proficiency in Japanese, I speak some Serbo-Croat and Spanish, some phrases and expressions in Burmese, as well as a few words in many other languages. That is my multilingual self. Like Yoko, I know and use several different languages, and we have shared interests in languages, politics, and language issues in society.

We are talking a few weeks ahead of the declaration of the COVID-19 pandemic. While we have the sense that a multilingual consciousness is “gradually gaining foothold in Japanese society” (Shoji, 2019, p. 193), we also recognise that such advances are ideologically contested (Horner & Weber, 2018)—and that for people from minoritised communities, whether Japanese or non-Japanese, language discrimination frequently figures as a contentious issue in their lives (Gottlieb, 2006; Barfield, 2019). A month or so earlier Foreign Minister Taro Aso had once again announced that “*No other country but this one has lasted for as long as 2,000 years with one language, one ethnic group and one dynasty*” (Yamaguchi, 2020). Kaori and Yoko’s experiences, and my family’s too, both confirm and contradict the ideological sway that such monolingual myths still hold in Japan.

As Yoko and I talk further, we agree that for us a central part of education is for students to connect their personal experiences to issues in society, and move back and forth between issues in society and their own lives. It is also important for students to engage with questions of equality, discrimination, and social justice. We aim to nurture such critical awareness in the MIGW course, but we are never completely sure how that works for students. In the introductory lecture, for example, we look at the linguistic landscapes of global cities like Tokyo, Manchester (England), and Singapore, as well as introduce the concepts of linguistic repertoires and language portraits. Emphasising the impacts of nation-state building on language use, we delve into how languages and varieties (and their users) are socio-politically constructed. We also present historical perspectives on language standardization and linguistic diversity in Japan, including minority language communities and newcomer immigrant groups in Japanese society. Subsequent lectures in the course take a broad interdisciplinary focus on multilingual issues in different European and North American societal contexts (Canada, France, Germany, South Tyrol, Sweden) in the spring semester, and in various Asian societies (China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Myanmar, Taiwan, and Thailand) in the autumn. Questions to do with the impacts of colonialism, imagined national communities, global languages, multilingual education, language rights, and majority/minority relationships are constantly re-threaded through the course. To help students take up and engage with the many topics that come up over the course, they have pair discussions every 20 minutes or so, as well as write a weekly reflection about key issues that a lecture covers.² As for languages used in MIGW, roughly half of the lectures are given

2. The current guideline for the weekly reflection encourages students to write in more than one language: 総括を書く際は、日本語のみならず、可能な限り英語、またはその他の言語も使用してみてください。例えば、前半で日本語、後半で英語を使用する、あるいは日本語と英語を交互に切り替えながら書くなど、自身が書きやすいように工夫してください。もし日本語をメインで使いたい場合は、それでも結構ですが、英語またはその他の言語を使用することに挑戦してみてください。As you write your reflection, try to use Japanese, English, or other languages as much as possible. You decide. For example, you can try to write the first part in Japanese, and the second part in English, or you can switch from one language

in Japanese, with a quarter in English, and the remainder in both Japanese and English. At the end of either semester students choose a multilingual issue to research and write a short report in Japanese, English, or both languages.

Despite these efforts to make MIGW student-centred, it sometimes seems as if the issues covered in the course are at some distance from the students. What then can we do to understand and appreciate better the connections that the students themselves make, see, and develop, from their own languaged lives to different multilingual issues in a globalising world? Just as importantly, what can we do to help students make connections from the cases and issues that the course covers to their own lives? And what might we learn from the students in the process? These questions come up in the lunchtime discussion with Yoko in early 2020. They follow on from a new focus in the initial lecture in the 2019 autumn semester on showing and talking through example student language portraits (LPs), and then asking the students to produce their own, annotated with comments in Japanese, English, or both languages. Later, in January 2020, at the end of the autumn semester, I had interviewed a small group of students, including Kaori (the student mentioned above), about their LPs and linguistic repertoires to develop deeper understanding of their languaged lives and the diverse connections they made to wider issues in society. This led to further conversations with colleagues, as well as to other interviews with students about connections from cases and issues in the course to their own lives.

In this narrative account I would like to share the stories of four students taking the MIGW course and reflect on the responses of myself and others to their experiences and perspectives, particularly to do with issues of linguistic privilege, discrimination, and oppression that their stories illuminate. These three phenomena cluster around recurrent questions of language power and inequality, as well as linguistic restriction, choice, and access (Coulmas, 2018). I see “linguistic privilege” as referring to the material and immaterial advantages that an individual gains from acquiring (a) particular language(s), or a prestigious variety of (a) particular language(s) (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986, 2015³). Advantages may include, for example, “easier access to social, political, and educational institutions, (and) access to an additional form of capital” (Subtirelu, 2013), as well as not being negatively evaluated because of accent (Lippi-Green, 1994; Gallagher-Guertsen, 2007). Thus, an individual growing up with the dominant, fully legitimated, standard language of a society will have greater educational, employment, and social opportunities than another person whose main language has low status and is not widely used within the same society. Second, I take “linguistic discrimination” as the unjust and prejudicial treatment that individuals experience based on the language(s) or variety of a language that they use (or do not use). Linguistic discrimination also includes unequal access to power and resources that individuals have on grounds of language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986, 2015). Language discrimination can be perpetrated intralingually, as well as interlingually: Individuals who have acquired a prestigious variety of a global language such as English, for example, may well have greater employment opportunities, just as those who do not have the standard variety of a particular language may often face prejudice and stigmatisation (Lippi-Green, 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986, 2015; Subtirelu, 2013). In contrast, I understand “linguistic oppression” as ongoing systematic marginalisation and eradication of (a) language(s) used by minorities within a particular state (Roche, 2019), ultimately leading to erasure. Language oppression has been defined as “the enforcement of language loss by physical, mental, social, and spiritual

to the other as you write. If you prefer to write mostly in Japanese, that is OK, but try to use some English (or another language) too.

3. Skutnabb-Kangas discusses this in her 1986 work, but the original publication in Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas (1986) is not readily accessible. The 2015 discussion by Skutnabb-Kangas can be retrieved online.

coercion” (Taff et al., 2018, p. 863). A case in point is “the destruction of the indigenous language, culture, and lifestyle” (Okazaki, 2019, p. 361) of the Ainu in Japan.

With questions of linguistic privilege, discrimination, and oppression emerging at different points in the stories further below, I will consider, in the final part of this narrative account, what this may entail for how we look at the multilingual turn in learner development. I continue by focusing on learners' language portraits and the connections that the four students make to wider issues in society.

Linguistic Repertoires and Language Portraits

I first became interested in language portraits in 2015 through a workshop that Alice Chik gave at the JALT international conference (Chik, 2015). A few months later during teacher education work that I was doing in Burma/Myanmar, my co-facilitator and I used different ways of doing language portraits with the teacher trainer participants. The language diversity that they brought into life in their language portraits was completely inspiring for us (Barfield & Morgan, 2016). Since then, through trial and experimentation, I have come to use different portraits as near-peer role models (Murphey, 1996, 1998) to help students imagine their own ways of representing their linguistic repertoires.

Linguistic repertoires are constituted of an array of linguistic, communicative, and semiotic resources. They are highly individualised, variable, dynamic, and mobile and can offer insights into “the peculiar biographical trajectory of the speaker” (Blommaert, 2008, p. 16). Users' repertoires include “concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities such as writing” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 102) and “ways of using language in particular communicative settings and spheres of life, including the ideas that people have about such ways of using, their language ideologies” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 102). Importantly, the view of linguistic repertoires put forward by Blommaert and other researchers such as Busch (2012, 2015, 2017, 2018) is both intralingual and interlingual. It is not only a question of the different languages that individuals use, but also of the range of ways in which they use a particular language. In other words, exploring linguistic repertoires involves looking at individuals' language use, experiences, and beliefs both *within* and *across* languages.

One useful way to understand how individuals see their languaged lives is for them to visualize their linguistic repertoires through drawing language portraits (Kalaja et al., 2008; Pietikäinen et al., 2008; Krumm, 2010; Busch, 2012; heteroglossia.net, n.d.; Chik, 2014), and to share stories and experiences that emerge for them from reflecting on and talking about their portraits. While some researchers have also looked at how LPs can be multimodally extended through the use of video (Kusters & De Meulder, 2019), multiple drawings (Prasad, 2014b), personalised drawings created from digital photos (Farmer, 2012; Prasad, 2014a), and visual narratives (Melo-Pfeifer & Fidalgo Schmidt, 2014), it is striking that much LP research tends to take an interlingual view and give greater emphasis to users' experiences *with separate languages*. Yet, within individuals' experiences with their first languages, there are many potentially fertile connections to wider issues within the communities, networks, and societies that they are part of. For this very reason, in the MIGW course, we ask students to consider both intralingual and interlingual perspectives for their own language portraits.

Language portraits are most often created within a silhouette outline (heteroglossia.net, n.d.; Chik, Markose, & Alperstein, 2018). In the MIGW course, we have come to use a hybrid approach—somewhere between free-form and silhouette outlines—where we present several near-peer LPs (i.e., LPs produced by other learners close in age and experience to the students in question) as examples of how students might produce their own Language Portraits. Figure 1 shows one near-peer LP created by a MIGW student that we use to raise

students' awareness of their own linguistic repertoires and of possible ways to make their own language portraits.

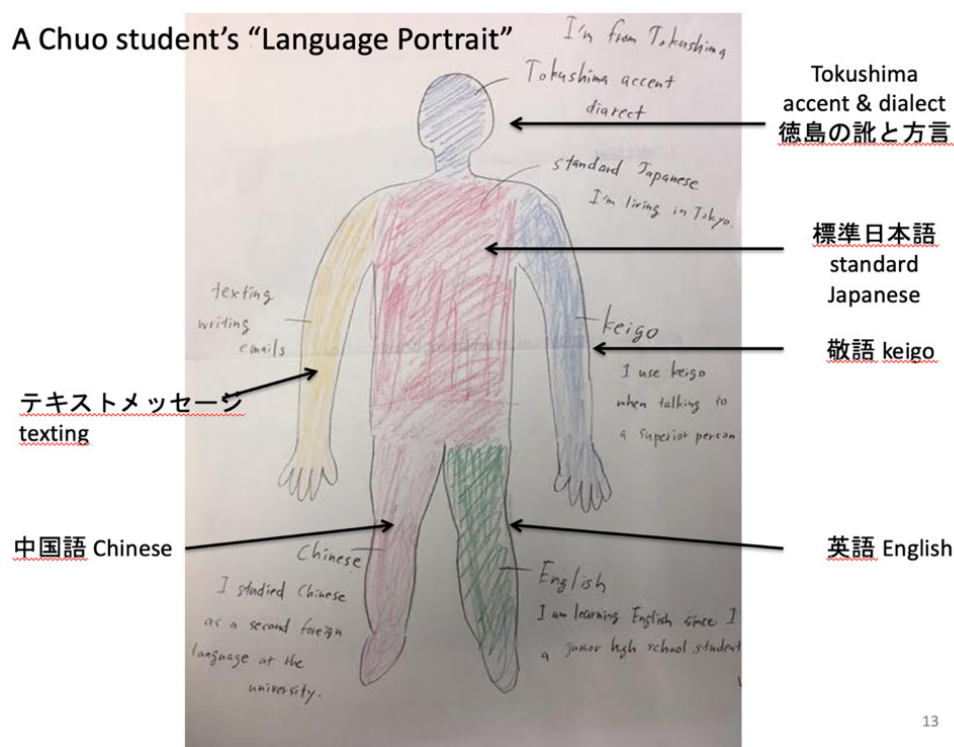


Figure 1. Near-peer Language Portrait Used in the Multilingual Issues Course⁴

The portrait illustrates how individuals can express a strong sense of their intralingual range. In this case the student highlights their Tokushima accent and dialect, standard Japanese, texting, and *keigo* (a polite and respectful register in Japanese, used according to age and status). The student also includes their use of Chinese and English. The upper body, arms, and head all represent the student's intralingual range in Japanese, with the Tokushima variety colouring the head and face. Other languages (Chinese and English) are shown in the student's legs and have less pictorial prominence. They are just one part of this individual's linguistic repertoire. Moreover, such a near-peer LP is immediately tangible for students and lets them imagine how they might draw their own LPs.

Language Portraits and Connections to Wider Issues in Society

In January 2020 I asked for interview volunteers from the autumn semester MIGW course and ended up interviewing six students about their original Language Portraits that they had made at the start of the autumn semester in late September. In these interviews I wanted to move beyond the experiential and probe what connections the students saw between their language portraits and wider issues in society. First, I invited the students to interpret and talk about their language portraits. Then, drawing on recent work done by Hatoss (2019) into unpacking monolingual ideologies, I asked the students to consider, based on their own experiences and understanding of multilingual issues in society, what they noticed as dominant language ideologies in Japan, and why people might have particular views towards others who speak or use language in different ways. I next guided each interviewee to place their A4 language portrait in the middle of an A3 sheet of paper and make notes around their

4. The figure shows a screenshot of a slide used in the opening lecture.

original portraits so as to extend their LPs to the wider societal perspectives that they noticed. The interviews concluded with a final discussion about what they had each noted. The interviews were carried out in English for the most part, with students free to use Japanese when they wanted or needed to. Each interview took 45–60 minutes. For reasons of space, I will limit the focus here to the original and extended LPs of two students, Kaori and Nanako, by providing an interpretative commentary of their language portraits and the extended connections towards issues in society that they each made.

Kaori's Language Portrait: Connections and Questions

Kaori grew up in Tokyo, and used Korean at home with her mother and Japanese with her father, but for a period of her life became reluctant to use Korean outside of the home. As she started talking about her LP (see Figure 2), she was quick to identify standard Japanese as her “mother tongue.”

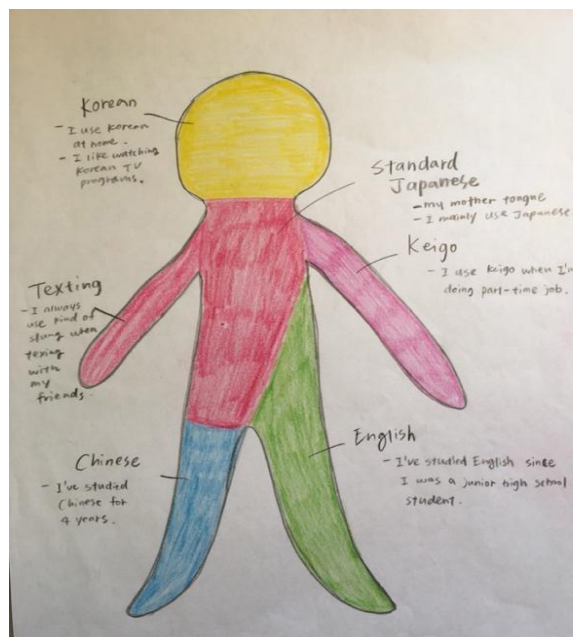


Figure 2. Kaori's Language Portrait

While her parents and siblings use standard Japanese at home, Kaori also stressed the importance of Korean in her life, which she referred to as her second language:

My second language is Korean. My mother is Korean so sometimes I use Korean at home and I like watching Korean TV programmes. Listening was from the beginning and I learnt grammar when I was six.

Initially Kaori's mother spoke Korean to her and Kaori responded in Japanese. As a child she started reading in Japanese, and sometimes watched TV and videos in Korean. “I have to use Japanese because I live in Japan, but I want to use Korean and sometimes I think in Korean,” Kaori said, adding “My brain is Korean” and that Korean is an unfinished project for her: “I still have to learn writing or reading but I only think in Korean.” Nowadays Kaori sometimes uses Korean with her mother, other times Japanese.

Kaori has occasionally used Korean in her part-time job. When a Korean customer came to the furniture shop where she works, she tried to explain in Korean and the customer

was grateful to her. Kaori also talked about using *keigo* working at the cash register. As for university, Kaori uses colloquial Japanese with other students, and *keigo* with her teachers.

English and Chinese feature in Kaori's life too. When Kaori was 15 or 16, she went to the Philippines to study English for a few months. At the school she made Korean friends and still keeps in touch with them by Line (a popular messenger app in Japan):

Until I went to the Philippines, I didn't use Korean, except my mother, so I didn't have chance to Korean people but after when I got to the Philippines I got Korean friends and I tried to speak. ... I didn't think I could make them understood but I could and I got confidence.

Unusually, Kaori also started learning Chinese at high school and had already been learning Chinese for four years. While she uses Korean in text messages with a friend ("My Japanese friend can speak and write Korean, and we have the same hobby so sometimes we text in Korean"), she did not feel that there were public spaces where she could use Chinese or Korean freely.

This internalised sense of restriction was a theme that Kaori elaborated in talking about her extended LP as shown in Figure 3. Kaori now identifies strongly with her Korean heritage. From her ten years onwards, this became a central part of how she sees herself.

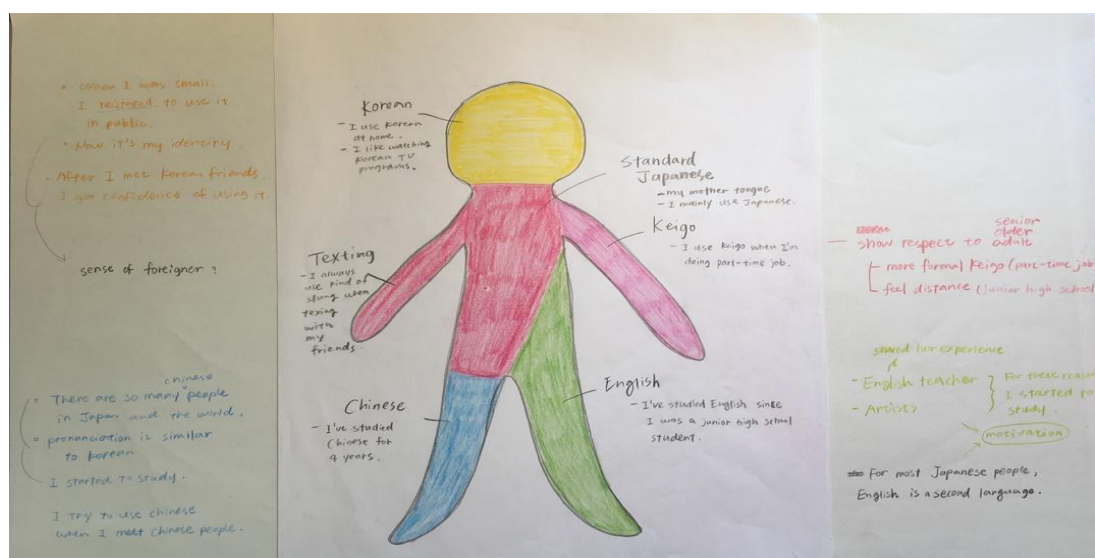


Figure 3. Kaori's Extended Language Portrait

At her junior high school there were no other mixed heritage or foreign children, and Kaori confided about her identity with her close friends only. As her name was Japanese, not even her teachers, apart from her homeroom teacher with whom she was particularly close, knew that Kaori had a diverse background. In contrast, at senior high school, many of her peers came from mixed backgrounds ("there are many *haafu*⁵ students like me"), and this was when she started to accept and value her own diversity. Later, by making Korean friends in the Philippines, Kaori's confidence grew in using Korean and affirming her Korean identity.

Reflecting on the issues in wider society, Kaori observes that, for many Japanese, people

5. The term *haafu* [= half] is commonly used in Japan to refer to persons who have one Japanese and one non-Japanese parent.

who use different languages are “just others.” She explains, “They accept but ‘*sen o hiku* / 線を引く’ [they draw a line].” Kaori illustrates this by imitating typical comments that might be made in response to people speaking different languages around them: “*nihonjin kadoka ... gaikokujin dato gaikokugo shabetteru to ... ahh nanka chigau* / 日本人かどうか...外国人だと、外国語喋っていると...ああ何か違う” [whether you are Japanese or not ... if it’s a foreigner speaking a foreign language ... ahhh there’s something different about this]. Kaori recalled that when she was smaller, she felt she should not use Korean in public spaces: “When I was small, I thought I must not speak Korean in public space...” If she were to use Korean in public, Kaori felt that she would not be seen as Japanese by others: “... People think she’s not Japanese ...” Her mother however had no such reservations about using Korean in public, and when she did, Kaori secretly whispered to herself, “Don’t speak, don’t speak.” At that time of her life Kaori had a deeply felt need to be seen as normal, “Yes, now it’s my identity but at that time when I was small, I want to be normal child.” Normal meant being Japanese-speaking, and learning a “second language” meant English, as most people in Japan assume, Kaori noted.

Kaori also expressed the view that people can be fearful of minorities because of the *shogai* / 障害 [barriers or obstacles] that they may need to deal with if they recognise people as different from themselves. All the same, Kaori felt that societal norms are changing because people from minority groups and communities had become more open about expressing their identities as part of their own *kosei* / 個性 [individuality]. Although she now claims a more complex and diverse identity for herself, she still struggles to use Korean publicly in her daily life.

Nanako’s Language Portrait: Connections and Questions

Nanako comes from Kansai, the region of Honshu that includes the cities of Kobe, Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara and that extends over seven prefectures.⁶ In her LP (see Figure 4) Nanako highlights “Kansai-ben,” the Kansai region variety of Japanese, at the top, with notes about *keigo* (a polite and respectful register in Japanese), standard Japanese, and Persian on her left, and English and Spanish on her right. Nanako begins by explaining that Kansai-ben is her main language and that she uses it for talking with her friends at university in Tokyo, no matter where they come from. She thinks in her head in Kansai-ben (“*Kansai-ben is the core of my speaking*”), and everyone in her family uses Kansai-ben, including her father, although he comes from Gifu prefecture. Nanako’s home is a city in Shiga prefecture, and all through school from elementary school onwards she remembers everyone (children and adults) using Kansai-ben. School textbooks were written in standard Japanese, but Nanako read them with Kansai-ben intonation. So, Kansai-ben is at the centre of herself for Nanako.

Nanako started using *keigo* in club activities at junior high school when she joined the water-polo club. She spoke *keigo* with teachers and her seniors, and in turn as she became a senior, she expected the new juniors to use *keigo* with her. “If I didn’t speak *keigo*, people would dislike me,” she explained, as they would think she was not showing them respect: “It’s a Japanese way.” She also uses standard Japanese when she does her part-time job as a swimming instructor at a fitness club. She does not want the children to get distracted by her Kansai-ben. Rather, she wants to be sure that they can understand clearly what she says. Nanako also opts for standard Japanese when she writes reports at university (adding that she would do so too if she were at university in Kansai) because universities use standard Japanese: “I don’t feel strange so much.”

Our conversation moves to how Nanako likes learning English. She started with English in her first year at elementary school. At that time she was not particularly interested in English,

6 These are Hyogo, Kyoto, Mie, Nara, Osaka, Shiga, and Wakayama prefectures.

but that changed at junior high school when she started learning grammar and vocabulary and doing translation. She realised she understood grammar and how to make sentences. She could also remember English words. Nanako's image of English was transformed as a result.

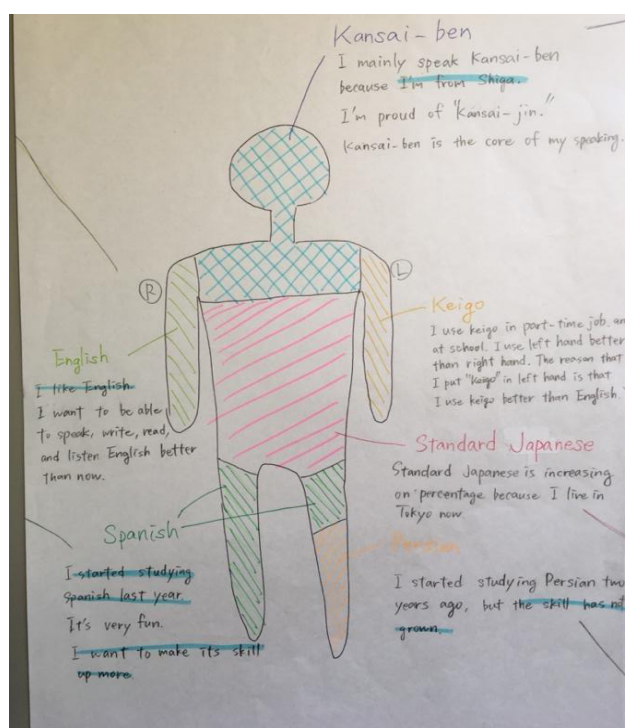


Figure 4. Nanako's Language Portrait

At university, Nanako decided to take Persian as her second foreign language. Originally Nanako had wanted to study Spanish, but she didn't get into the university where she hoped to do this, so she decided to take up Spanish in addition to Persian. She wanted to do something different from other people, she commented. Nanako started Spanish with *dokugaku* / 独学 [self-study] and then did a volunteer job where she could do some basic translating and interpreting for Mexican companies and retailers in Tokyo. Later, in the first semester of her third year, Nanako took a public lecture adult education class in Spanish at a university in central Tokyo.

When I ask Nanako about tensions she has experienced to do with language in her life, she mentions that sometimes her Kansai-ben way of speaking is not understood by other students. When this happens, she explains what she wants to say, but she doesn't feel any negative judgment from others about her use of Kansai-ben. What she does notice, though, is that others (for example, teachers in the MIGW course) tend to put a broad label of "minority language" or "minority variety" on Kansai-ben, whereas she sees a range of varieties within Kansai-ben across the different prefectures of Kansai. For Nanako, Shiga-ben, for example, is different from Kyoto-ben, and Osaka-ben is completely different from Shiga-ben too. She feels it is important that her minority variety is recognised as there are differences in culture too. So, for Nanako, *gengo no taiyousei* / 言語の多様性 [linguistic diversity] is very much connected to her sense of local identity. Yet, if such finer linguistic diversity is not recognised, her own identity is similarly neither seen nor recognised. It is not so much a question for Nanako that "we are the same but different," but rather that "we are similar (but not the same)."

In her extended portrait, Nanako places English in relation to what, in her view, are minority languages, Japanese, and dialects in Japan (on the left side of her extended portrait in Figure 5), commenting that they should be preserved because they embody regional culture.

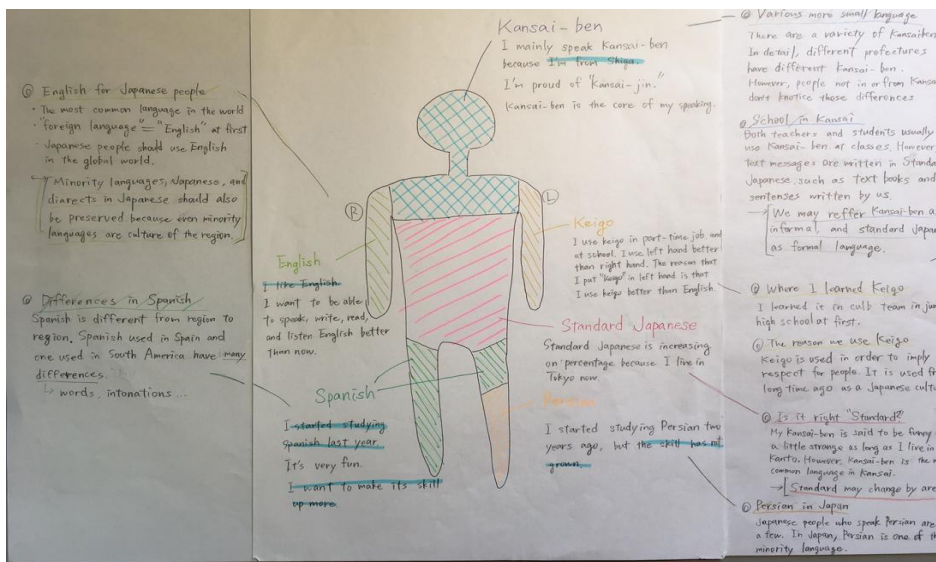


Figure 5. Nanako's Extended Language Portrait

Nanako also includes different varieties of Kansai-ben (in the top right corner), observing that Kansai-ben is used informally in schools between students and by teachers, and that standard Japanese is the formal variety in secondary education in Kansai. From the start of the interview when Nanako said, “Kansai-ben is my main language,” she expresses a very strong sense of using language differently from the dominant Tokyo and standard Japanese norms at the ideological centre of multilingual issues in Japanese society.

Learning from Kaori and Nanako's Stories

Kaori and Nanako put forward detailed interpretations of their linguistic repertoires from both interlingual and intralingual perspectives. They each locate the language that they identify most strongly with in their head and shoulders (Korean for Kaori, and Kansai-ben for Nanako). Their portraits seem to point to an embodied language hierarchy in the top-down axis. In Kaori's case this goes from Korean to standard Japanese (with *keigo* and texting) to English, then Chinese, whereas in Nanako's case the hierarchy is configured with Kansai-ben at the top, then standard Japanese, with English and *keigo* in her arms, and Spanish in both legs, with Persian at the bottom of the hierarchy. It is also noticeable how personal relationships, particular domains, and specific places rather than wider societal conditions figure in their interpretations. Friendship networks play an important role for Kaori in finding her way to use Korean more freely, while Nanako's use of standard Japanese is largely confined to her work at the fitness club and report writing at university.

Kaori and Nanako have each faced language discrimination, but in differing ways. Kaori followed the monolingual norm in her surrounding environment and became ashamed of using Korean. Later, the external conditions changed for her in high school and during her stay in the Philippines where she could see, hear, and interact with others using different languages. Although she began using Korean again, this remains largely a home language for

her. Nanako, on the other hand, grew up using Kansai-ben within her family, at school, and in her social life. She could freely use Kansai-ben in her life. For Nanako, Kansai-ben seems to have a social, economic, and cultural prestige, as well as recognition, that is completely absent for Kaori in relation to Korean. At the same time Nanako is sensitive to others overwriting her own linguistic and cultural practices and imposing labels that mask her own diversity within a non-majority way of doing things.

It is noticeable that both Kaori and Nanako *themselves* see the wider issues largely in terms of practices that directly affect their lives rather than in relation to specific ideologies or wider social, political, or economic conditions, or systems within Japanese society. Their understandings come across as naturalised in that they are mostly focused on their experiential worlds. While this goes hand in hand with the personalised reflection that language portraits engender, it also results, in hindsight, from my asking the students to make written extensions outwards from their language portraits to dominant language ideologies in society, and to particular views that people may have about others who speak or use language in different ways. In terms of coming to appreciate and understand important language issues in Kaori and Nanako's immediate social worlds, this extending process was effective. Yet, this also made me aware that the process of connection and extension goes both ways—not only from how individuals relate their own experiences *outwards*, but also how they mediate external conditions and factors in society *inwards* to themselves (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). As these extensions were initially made through writing, it seemed well worth reconsidering the use of reflective writing in the course itself.

In turn this led to changes in the reflection tasks in the 2020 MGIW course. One of the key adjustments we made was to ask students (a) in Week 1 to make their language portraits together with a longer reflection in Japanese, English or both languages, and (b) in Week 12 to look back at Weeks 1–12 and write about three common issues that they saw across different lectures and cases in relation to their own lives and to changing conditions in society. For this second longer reflection the students were asked to use Japanese, English, or other languages as much as possible. I would like to look next at what these two longer reflective tasks led to for two other students, a year later at the end of the 2020 autumn semester.

Making Further Connections

Ji-woo and LiMing are both international students doing their undergraduate studies who took the 2020 MGIW course. In January 2021, after the end of classes, they volunteered to be interviewed about their language portraits and the connections that they had explored in their second longer reflections. The interviews were held in English and Japanese, video-recorded in Zoom, and lasted 45 minutes (Ji-woo) and 60 minutes (LiMing). I have reconstructed below two short narratives for Ji-woo and LiMing about their multilingual lives and the connections they made to wider issues in society.

LiMing's Story

LiMing was one of the few students who made a digital drawing of her language portrait (see Figure 6 below). She grew up with her grandparents in Shanghai, and the first language that she started using was Shanghainese (shown as purple hearts in her language portrait). From the age of 3 when she started going to kindergarten, LiMing started learning and using standard Mandarin or “Putonghua” (the reddish orange in her head, body, and upper legs), and continued to speak Shanghainese with the members of her family. When LiMing was six years old, Putonghua became the sole language in her school education apart from English, which she

began learning in the first grade (shown as turquoise in her arms). This continued for the next 9 years. Then in Years 10–12 LiMing went to an English-only “international” high school.

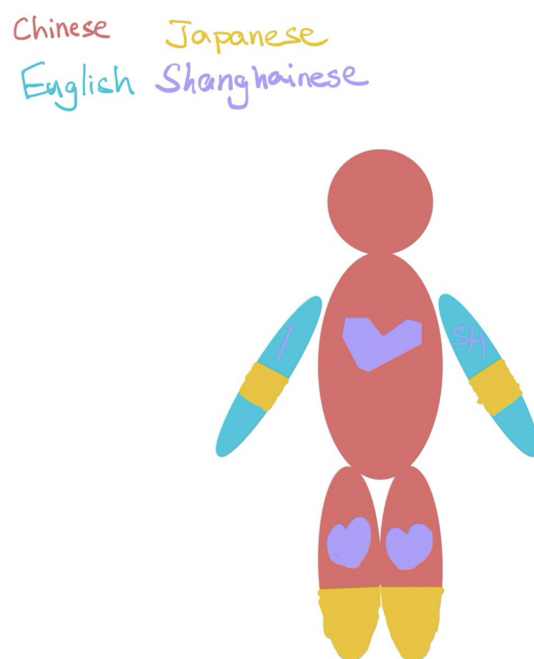


Figure 6. LiMing's Language Portrait

From the age of 3 LiMing also learnt Japanese by herself (the yellow part in the middle of her arms and lower legs) from watching Japanese anime. Until three years ago she could speak Japanese, but not read and write it. In preparation for university in Japan, she attended a language school in Kyoto for one year to learn Japanese grammar, reading, and writing. As we talk, she mentions that she is obsessed with a Japanese animated film these days, so she is writing fan fiction in Japanese and Chinese to capture the tone of the characters. LiMing understands and speaks some Korean from watching Korean TV variety shows. She also has some basic proficiency in Cantonese that she acquired from her grandmother, who comes from Guangdong province, in south China, bordering Hong Kong.

LiMing still uses Shanghainese with her family (“I drew my heart with purple is because, I still think as a Shanghainese”), and she speaks warmly of using this regional language and keeping close relationships with the older generation. As a Chinese citizen and as a Shanghainese she loves to speak in the Shanghai variety: “The happiness that you find someone who can speak in some dialect outside of your country or hometown is beyond description.” Yet, in the striking red orange of her language portrait, Putonghua has become the main language in her life and, together with English, it has displaced Shanghainese.

Language loss runs through LiMing's sense of wider societal changes. She is concerned with problems of communication between the older people and the young. The old have no need to shift from their local or regional language to Putonghua, whereas younger people who have learnt in school to use Putonghua as their main language have no need to speak local or regional languages. The two generations lack a common language. LiMing is also alert to the impact of the promotion of Putonghua (together with Standard Chinese characters) as the national lingua franca in China. Children in China now have to finish learning to read *pinyin* (the official romanised system for writing Putonghua) in pre-school so that they are ready to use standard Chinese from the very start of elementary schooling. LiMing sees these policies

as creating great pressure on young children in their education and on parents in talking with their children. Another effect is that the use of regional languages like Shanghainese is fast decreasing and their status has become devalued. “All languages are equal ...,” observes LiMing in a rueful tone. However, the priority given to English as the primary foreign language in China further restricts the use of regional and local languages, as well as access to other foreign languages within formal education.

Ji-woo's Story

Born and raised in Gyeongsang province in south-east Korea, Ji-woo sees standard Korean (green in her head, shoulders, and upper body in her language portrait) as the language that she uses most often.

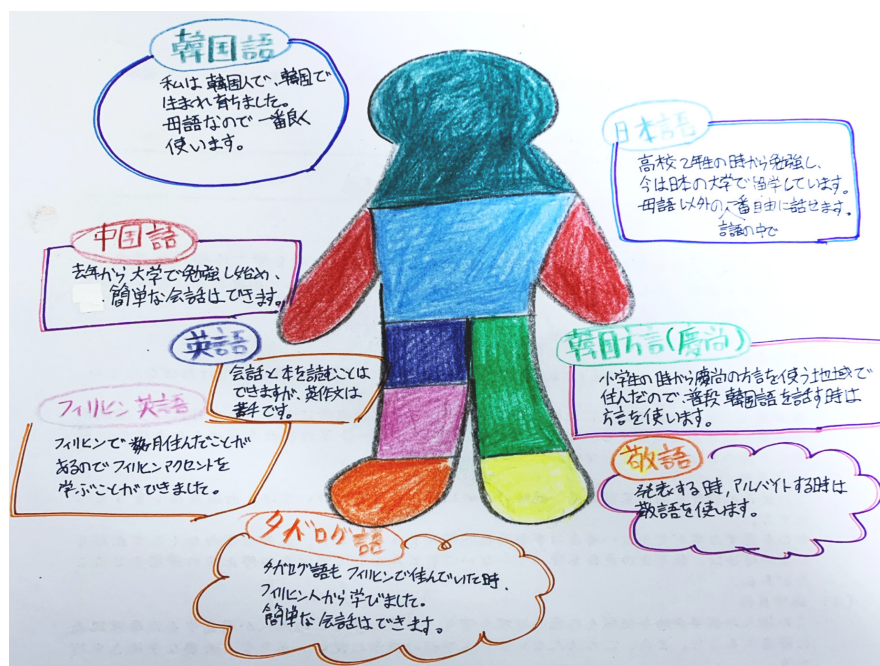


Figure 7. Ji-woo's Language Portrait

As Ji-woo grew up, the people around her spoke the Gyeongsang dialect of Korean (left leg, green), so she came to use this with family and friends. It was also the medium of instruction and interaction for all of her school years. At university standard Korean was the norm. Ji-woo felt that she stood out because of her Gyeongsang dialect, and she found it difficult to change to standard Korean. Although standard Korean is now the language that she thinks in, Ji-woo usually uses the Gyeongsang variety outside of university and with her family and friends in her local area.

Ji-woo started studying Japanese (body, light blue) in the 11th grade at high school. She found Japanese characters easy to learn, and much of the vocabulary was similar to Korean. Japanese is now the language that she speaks most fluently after Korean, commenting in Japanese: “My Japanese is not as good as my Korean, but I can express my thoughts and feelings in Japanese now.” Ji-woo also uses *keigo* (left leg, yellow) when she gives presentations at university or does her part-time job. She began learning Chinese (hands, red) at university in Japan and, now in her second year, she can have simple conversations. She speaks and reads English (right leg, purple), which she started learning in elementary school, but she doesn't feel so confident about writing in English. At age 12 Ji-woo lived in the Philippines for several

months where she learnt to speak English with a Philippine accent through talking with her Filipino friends (right leg, pink). She also learnt some basic Tagalog (right leg, orange) in the Philippines.

Combining languages in writing is nothing new for Ji-woo. At high school her Japanese teachers asked her to keep a diary in Japanese, which she still does now in Japanese and Korean. In her high school English classes, for essay writing practices, she was asked to write the first half of the essay in Korean, and the second half in English. Ji-woo explains that the students were not allowed to use dictionaries, so she learnt to think by herself in English. She later prepared her applications for Japanese universities in Japanese and Korean.

Language conflict resolution, big and small, seems to underlie the connections that Ji-woo makes to the ever-increasing problems of communication with foreigners, the problems of language education in this global age, and the issues that minority languages speakers face from the spread of majority languages in national policies. She expresses concern that translation software has limitations for resolving communication problems between foreigners and different public and state actors (such as medical services, the police, and within the judicial system). Rather, bilingual staff should be hired so that the risk of linguistic misunderstandings can be lessened. With respect to the problems of language education, she recalls having classes in elementary school where both languages were spoken. This was a very positive experience for her, but much of her English education after that focused on English grammar and specialised reading for university entrance examinations. She lost interest, and now feels that foreign language education should put greater emphasis on practical speaking and writing.

The other issue that Ji-woo highlights is to do with the problems that minority language speakers face with the dominance of majority languages in national policies. She refers specifically to the “Jeju 4/3 Incident,” which started on 3rd April 1948 on Jeju island, south of the Korean peninsula. In 1948 many islanders who used the Jeju language were massacred for political reasons. Ji-woo recounts: *After the incident, prejudice and discrimination against Jaeju language users became so serious that the use of Jaeju language was banned in public on Jaeju Island and classes were held in standard language in schools* (translated from Japanese). In 2010 UNESCO identified the Jeju language as a critically endangered language. Since then, according to Ji-woo, the government and the people of Jeju have engaged in various activities on social media and in textbook production in the Jeju language, Jejueo, to revitalise use of the language. Towards the end of talking about the Jeju case, Ji-woo relates it to the Ainu in Japan and the Hakka people in Taiwan, expressing the view that Jeju islanders’ activism, government support, and international recognition could act as a positive model for other countries in Asia in protecting their own minority language communities.

Learning from LiMing’s and Ji-woo’s Stories

LiMing’s and Ji-woo’s stories bring into focus tensions between their individual language diversity and national(ist) integrationist policies and societal norms, within their families, and their experiences of formal education. Although LiMing’s use of Shanghainese outside the family became restricted from very early on in her formal education, it remains central to her sense of local identity and connection. Similarly, Ji-woo needed to switch to standard Korean when she started her university studies in Korea, but has continued to use her Gyeongsang dialect with family and friends in her local area. At the same time LiMing and Ji-woo’s individual stories of local linguistic displacement are accompanied by their experiences of linguistic globalization, so to speak, in their acquisition and use of “gateway” languages, English and Japanese—languages that provide educational access for them. LiMing was able

to go to an English-medium international high school, and then master Japanese, so that she could do her undergraduate studies in Japan. Ji-woo, on the other hand, learnt Japanese as her second foreign language after English, gaining full proficiency in high school so that she could, like LiMing, migrate to Japan for her university education.

LiMing and Ji-woo each make connections from their own experiences of language change to wider issues of language loss and oppression in China and South Korea. In her own life LiMing faces huge generational differences in the way that the young and old use Shanghainese and Putonghua. She notices that this difference is becoming increasingly accentuated as the use of standard Mandarin is imposed at ever earlier ages for young children in China. On the other hand, Ji-woo looks beyond her direct experiences to issues of language oppression and endangerment for Jejueo users on Jeju island in post-war Korea. Ji-woo frames the Jeju 4/3 Incident within a historical national context; yet, the more distant impacts of pre-war Japanese colonisation and Jeju labour migration to Japan do not come into view.

Learning from LiMing and Ji-woo about these language shifts and conflicts in Shanghai and Jeju was an unexpected outcome of talking with them about their language portraits and their longer written reflections. Their stories spurred me to extend my own understanding of the language issues that they highlighted. I came to find out that from 1992 Shanghainese was banned in Shanghai schools, both in class and after class, and speakers were publicly scolded if they used it. Under the ban, Putonghua was imposed as the sole official language in class and at school (Xiaoru, 2012). Currently the official promotion of Putonghua is being challenged by a local movement to protect the use of Shanghainese in Shanghai, but the future is uncertain: “The government doesn’t encourage people to use dialects in any situation...and there is no evidence that the government is really trying to preserve them at all,” noted a local academic a few years ago (Boreham, 2016). The use of Shanghainese is under threat, as are many other local and regional varieties in China (Roche, 2019; Wong, 2019). LiMing’s own language life directly touches on these wider effects of centralising language policy and linguistic oppression.

Completely unfamiliar with the Jeju 4/3 Incident, I decided to dig a little deeper. This led me to discover that between 1948–1954 forces of the US-backed South Korean government had brutally slaughtered 25% to 30% (25,000–30,000 people) of the Jeju population (Song, 2010). Before then, earlier in the 20th century, Jeju islanders had been recruited as industrial workers for Japan from 1914 onwards (Sunhui & Barclay, 2007), and by 1934 one in 4 of Jeju’s population lived in Osaka (Southcott, 2013). In the Jeju community (known as “Little Jeju”) that has long been established in Tsuruhashi in Osaka, many people, it seems, still speak the endangered Jejueo language (Southcott, 2015). Fast-forwarding to the 2000s, I then learnt that the Language Act for Jejueo Conservation and Promotion (revised in 2011) was enacted in 2007 in Korea, with an annual General Plan for Jejueo Conservation Education put into action a few years later (The Language of Jeju Island, 2017/2020). According to Shields (2019), there are now living on Jeju island under 10,000 people who have Jejueo as their main language. It is “only fluently spoken by an ever-shrinking group of people aged 75 and older” (Shields, 2019; see also Endangered Languages Project, n.d.). Notwithstanding this, Ji-woo identifies strongly with recent initiatives to revitalise the Jejueo language and relates this to the plight of the Ainu in Japan and Hakka in Taiwan.

The language portraits, experiences, and the wider connections that Ji-woo, Kaori, LiMing, and Nanako shared have formed a central part of this narrative account. These storied re-interpretations have let us see questions of linguistic privilege, discrimination, and oppression from a range of interesting perspectives. In the final part of this narrative account I would like to consider what we might take forward from their stories in reaching towards a critical view of the multilingual turn for learner development.

Moving Towards a Critical View of the Multilingual Turn for Learner Development?

Starting from a general concern with questions of linguistic privilege, discrimination, and oppression, I have, in this narrative account, tried to understand and appreciate better the connections that students make between their own languaged lives and different multilingual issues in society. This has involved exploring students' original and extended language portraits as well as longer written reflections by which the four students in this research have made more explicit connections between issues covered in the MIGW course and their own lives.

In their reflections, the students have moved back and forth between their languaged lives as individuals (micro level) and broader community/group (meso) level and nation/state (macro) level societal contexts. At all levels Ji-woo, Kaori, LiMing, and Nanako have encountered different norms, practices, pressures, and restrictions that not only regulate, but also legitimize—or de-legitimize—to differing and variable degrees the use of particular languages—and their users (Coulmas, 2018). LiMing indirectly questions the claim that all languages are equal, as she recalls the increasing restrictions that she faces in using Shanghainese; at the same time, her story highlights the educational privilege that using English has brought her. Ji-woo and Nanako similarly navigate linguistic inequality by switching between local and standard varieties of their national languages in their education and personal lives. In this respect it is striking how Kaori confronts linguistic discrimination in Japanese society as she tries to find spaces in which she can freely use Korean. Tellingly, she initially finds such spaces outside of Japan in the Philippines where she goes to study English for a few months. In these particular episodes all four students have the material means to make such choices and develop their linguistic capital for their advantage. They are, in this sense, socially and linguistically privileged.

The paradox of privilege is something that Elizabeth Bekes, one of the open reviewers of an earlier draft of this narrative account, took up. She observed how the students' direct experiences of linguistic discrimination enable them to develop more critical perspectives on language issues in their own lives and within wider society. "The really insightful details come from speakers who have either witnessed or have been at the receiving end of linguistic discrimination," commented Elizabeth. That said, she also questioned how other facets of the students' identities (including their socio-economic status and their university education in Tokyo) might help or hinder their understanding of multilingual issues—a point that Paul Collett, my other reviewer, raised and examined further. Paul suggested that the students' conceptions of language are differently affected by the multilingual linguistic landscapes that they move through in Tokyo, compared to the "much more monolingual, linguistically homogeneous landscapes" that students studying in provincial regions of Japan experience. For Paul, Kaori and Nanako's linguistic privilege, for example, is underlined by the relatively high status of their university, the access they have to learning multiple other languages such as Persian or Spanish, as well as the opportunities they enjoy for using in authentic situations the languages that they are learning.

So, as much as we have come to understand the intricacies of these students' languaged lives, it is important to acknowledge their relatively elevated socio-economic position and the access that this brings them. "Privilege is easy to understand if you think of it as a series of automatic doors that open quickly and easily as you walk towards your goal,"⁷ notes

7. The original Japanese reads: 特権とは、ゴールに向かって歩き進むと次々と自動ドアがスーッと開いてくれるもの、と考えればわかりやすい。自動ドアは、人がその前に立つとセンサーが検知して開くが、社会ではマジョリティに対してドアが開きやすいしくみになっており、マイノリティに対しては自動ドアが開かないことも多い。[Tokken to wa, gōru ni mukatte aruki susumu to tsugitsugi to jidō doa ga sūtto aite kureru mono, to kangaereba wakari yasui. Jidō doa wa, hito ga sono mae ni tatsu to sensā ga kenchi shite hiraku ga, shakai dewa majoriti ni taishite doa ga hiraki yasui shikumi ni natte ori, mainoriti ni taishite wa jidō doa ga akanai koto mo ōi.] (Deguchi, 2020)

Deguchi (2020) in her analysis of majority privilege. Other doors, though noticed, remain shut for minorities. Kaori and Nanako's, as well as LiMing's and Ji-woo's, changing positions complicate this vivid picture. Under certain conditions they have majority access, and doors automatically open before them; under different circumstances, they are positioned as linguistic minorities, and particular doors remain firmly shut.

Through learning about how these four students, my MIGW colleagues, and my LDJ5 collaborators see their languaged lives, as well as reflecting on my own, I recognise again that linguistic privilege is reproduced and awarded within different social systems, historically, locally, and globally. Such privilege intersects with other forms of advantage—for example, educational, gendered, social, and racial—that benefit some and marginalise others (Subtirelu, 2013). From my own white, male, British, middle-class position such privilege is ultimately linked to the legacy and enduring impacts of British colonialism, and other colonial powers, including Japan, but I learnt little, if anything, about this in my formal education. Where colonial legacies were addressed, it was invariably about the mythical benefits of colonialism for the peoples that the imperial nation had enslaved (but see Tharoor, 2016, for an extended discussion of the myth of enlightened colonial despotism). A critical view was almost completely absent. McIntosh, a key scholar of white privilege, has written of the US education system that it “discourages students from recognizing systems of both discrimination and advantage, or privilege, and from seeing that our opportunities for choice are in part determined by the systems of power in our society” (McIntosh, 2009, p. 4). The same holds true for my own education as much as it does for the MIGW students of their education in Japan and other countries. McIntosh further argues that recognising systems of (linguistic) discrimination and privilege requires us to locate our individual experiences, beliefs, and values in relation to “many kinds of existing social, linguistic, cultural and political systems” (McIntosh, 2009, p. 6). We (learners, teachers, citizens) also need to learn to see “how our locations in those systems influence our experience and understanding of ourselves and the world” (McIntosh, 2009, p. 6), as well as to “recognize that systemic hierarchies have created discrimination and disempowerment, which all of us experience to a degree” (McIntosh, 2009, p. 6). This is not necessarily easy to do, but it is part of the necessary work that needs doing if we are to move closer to a critical understanding of our learners and ourselves as we engage with the multilingual turn for learner development. The multiple social, political, gender, racial, and historical perspectives and intersections that may be uncovered through learners' stories and our own offer one possible starting point for pursuing such an engagement.

Acknowledgments

My thanks go to the four students for taking part in this research, and to Lorraine de Beaufort and Akiko Nakayama for the highly enjoyable collaboration in our response community. I also thank my open reviewers, Elizabeth Bekes and Paul Collett, as well as Tanya McCarthy of the Journal Steering Group, and my fellow editors for their stimulating feedback, comments, and questions.

Author Bio

Andy Barfield teaches in the Faculty of Law at Chuo University, Tokyo, where he helps to coordinate an English curriculum in which students do self-directed research projects into social, political, legal, and global issues. His current research interests include multilingual issues in society, critical literacy, and fieldwork.

Andi Barfield predaje na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta Chuo u Tokiju, gdje pomaže u koordinaciji nastavnog programa engleskog jezika u kojem studenti rade samostalno istraživačke projekte o društvenim, političkim, pravnim i globalnim pitanjima. Njegovi trenutni istraživački interesi uključuju višejezična pitanja u društvu, kritičku pismenost i rad na terenu.

Review Process

This paper was open-reviewed by Elizabeth Bekes, Paul Collett, and Tanya McCarthy. (Contributors have the option of open or blind review.)

References

- Barfield, A. (2019). Exploring identity conflict in learners' linguistic repertoires: Portraits, stories, poems, and issues. *The Learner Development Journal*, 3, 111–134. <https://ldjournalsite.files.wordpress.com/2020/02/ldj-1-3-barfield.pdf>
- Barfield, A., & Morgan, J. (2016). Learning together with an extraordinary community of educators in non-state education in Burma/Myanmar. *Learning Learning*, 25(2), 9–17. <http://ld-sig.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Article-2-Barfield.pdf>
- Blommaert, J. (2008). Language, asylum, and the national order. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, 50, 1–21.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge University Press.
- Boreham, A. (2016). The life and death of Shanghainese. *Sixth Tone*. <https://www.sixthtone.com/news/1286/life-and-death-shanghainese>
- Busch, B. (2012). The linguistic repertoire revisited. *Applied Linguistics*, 33(5), 503–523.
- Busch, B. (2015). Expanding the notion of the linguistic repertoire: On the concept of *Spracherleben*—the lived experience of language. *Applied Linguistics*, 38(3), 340–358.
- Busch, B. (2017). Biographical approaches to research in multilingual settings: Exploring linguistic repertoires. In M. Martin-Jones & D. Martin (Eds.), *Researching multilingualism: Critical and ethnographic perspectives* (pp. 46–59). Routledge.
- Busch, B. (2018). The language portrait in multilingualism research: Theoretical and methodological considerations. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, 236, 1–13.
- Chik, A. (2014). Constructing German learner identities in online and offline environments. In D. Abendroth-Timmerr & E.-M. Hennig (Eds.), *Plurilingualism and multiliteracies: International research on identity construction in language education* (pp. 159–173). Peter Lang.
- Chik, A. (2015). *Visualizing language learning*. Workshop conducted at the 2015 Japan Association for Language Teaching International Conference, Shizuoka, Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan.
- Chik, A., Markose, S., & Alperstein, D. (2018). *Languages of Sydney: The people and the passion*. Candlin & Mynard ePublishing. <https://www.candlinandmynard.com/sydney.html>
- Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. Jossey-Bass.
- Coulmas, F. (2018). *An introduction to multilingualism. Language in a changing world*. Oxford University Press.
- Deguchi, M. (2020, July). マジョリティの特権を可視化する ~差別を自分ごととしてとらえるために~/ Majoriti no tokken o kajika suru ~ sabetsu o jibun-goto to shite toraeru tame ni ~ [Making the majority's privilege visible: To make discrimination personal]. クローズアップ [Close Up]. 東京人権啓発企業連絡会 [Industrial Federation for Human Rights, Tokyo]. https://www.jinken-net.com/close-up/20200701_1908.html

- Endangered Languages Project (n.d.). *Jejueo*. <http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/lang/8409>
- Farmer, D. (2012). Portraits de jeunes migrants dans une école internationale au Canada. *La revue internationale de l'éducation familiale*, 31, 73–94.
- Gallagher–Guertsen, T. (2007). Linguistic privilege: Why educators should be concerned. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 9(1), 40–44.
- Gottlieb, N. (2006). *Linguistic stereotyping and minority groups in Japan*. Routledge.
- Hatoss, A. (2019). Unpacking monolingual ideologies. In A. Chik, P. Benson, & R. Moloney (Eds.), *Multilingual Sydney* (pp. 66–78). Routledge.
- heteroglossia.net (n.d.). Research, projects and information on multilingualism. <http://heteroglossia.net/Home.2.0.html>
- Horner, K., & Weber, J–J (2018). *Introducing multilingualism: A social approach* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Kalaja, P., Alanen, R., & Dufva, H. (2008). Self–portraits of EFL learners: Finnish students draw and tell. In P. Kalaja, V. Menezes, & A. M. F. Barcelos (Eds.), *Narratives of learning and teaching EFL* (pp. 186–198). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Krumm, H–J. (2010). Mehrsprachigkeit in Sprachenporträts und Sprachenbiographien von Migrantinnen und Migranten [Multilingualism in language portraits and language biographies of migrants]. *AkDaF Rundbrief*, 61, 16–24.
- Kusters, A., & De Meulder, M. (2019). Language portraits: Investigating embodied multilingual and multimodal repertoires. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 20(3). <http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-20.3.3239>
- The Language of Jeju Island (2017/2020). <https://sites.google.com/a/hawaii.edu/jejueo/>
- Lippi–Green, R. (1994). Standard language ideology, and discriminatory pretext in the courts. *Language in Society*, 23(2), 163–198.
- McIntosh, P. (1988). White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women's studies. *Working Paper 189*, Wellesley Centers for Women, Wellesley, MA. https://www.wcwonline.org/images/pdf/White_Privilege_and_Male_Privilege_Personal_Account-Peggy_McIntosh.pdf
- McIntosh, P. (2009). *White people facing race: Uncovering the myths that keep racism in place*. We're all in this together initiative. St. Paul, Minnesota: Saint Paul Foundation. <https://nationalseedproject.org/about-us/white-privilege>
- Melo–Pfeifer, S., & Fidalgo Schmidt, A. (2014). Integration as portrayed in visual narratives by young refugees in Germany. In P. Kalaja & S. Meolo–Pfeifer (Eds.), *Visualising multilingual lives* (pp. 53–72). Multilingual Matters.
- Murphey, T. (1996). Near peer role models. *Teachers Talking to Teachers*, 4(3), 21–22. https://td.jalt.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/V04_03_1996.pdf
- Murphey, T. (1998). Motivating with near peer role models. In B. Visgatis (Ed.), *On JALT'97: Trends and transitions* (pp. 205–209). Japan Association for Language Teaching.
- Okazaki, T. (2019). Ainu language shift. In P. Heinrich & Y. Ohara (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of Japanese sociolinguistics* (pp. 354–369). Routledge.
- Phillipson, R., & Skutnabb–Kangas, T. (1986). *Linguicism rules in education*. Roskilde University Centre, Institute 6.
- Pietikäinen, S., Alanen, R., Dufva, H., Kalaja, P., Leppänen, S., & Pitkänen–Huhta, A. (2008). Languageing in Ultima Thule: Multilingualism in the life of a Sami boy. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(2), 79–99.

- Prasad, G. (2014a). Portraits of plurilingualism in a French international school in Toronto: Exploring the role of visual methods to access students' representations of their linguistically diverse identities. *The Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 17(1), 51–77.
- Prasad, G. (2014b). Reflexive drawings. *I am plurilingual! Je suis plurilingue!* <https://www.iAMPLURILINGUAL.com/drawings.html>
- Roche, G. (2019). Articulating language oppression: colonialism, coloniality and the erasure of Tibet's minority languages. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 53(5), 487–514. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2019.1662074>
- Shields, S. L. (2019, December 31). Studying Jeju Island's endangered language. *The Korea Times*. https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2020/01/177_280951.html
- Shoji, O. (2019). Japan as a multilingual society. In P. Heinrich & Y. Ohara (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of Japanese sociolinguistics* (pp. 184–196). Routledge.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1986). Multilingualism and the education of minority children. In R. Phillipson & T. Skutnabb-Kangas, *Linguicism rules in education* (pp. 42–72). Roskilde University Centre, Institute VI.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2015). Linguicism. In C. A. Chapelle (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*. Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal1460>
- Song, J. H. (2010, March 31). Islanders still mourn April 3 massacre. *The Jeju Weekly*. <http://www.jejuweekly.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=657>
- Southcott, D. (2013, September 10). The story of Little Jeju - Jaeil Jejuin. *The Jeju Weekly*. <http://www.jejuweekly.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=3510>
- Southcott, D. (2015, September 7). Blue-collar town with a rich Jeju history. *The Jeju Weekly*. <http://www.jejuweekly.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=4903>
- Subtirelu, N. (2013, June 26). Language privilege: What it is and why it matters [Blog post]. *Linguistic pulse*. <https://linguisticpulse.com/2013/06/26/language-privilege-what-it-is-and-why-it-matters/>
- Sunhui, K., & Barclay, K. (2007). Traveling through autonomy and subjugation: Jeju Island under Japan and Korea. *The Asia Pacific Journal*, 5(5), 1–23. <https://apjjf.org/-Kate-Barclay-Koh-Sunhui/2433/article.pdf>
- Taff, A., Chee, M., Hall, J., Dulitseen Hall, M. Y., Martin, K. M., & A. Johnston (2018). Indigenous language use impacts wellness. In K. L. Rehg & L. Campbell (Eds), *Handbook of endangered languages* (pp. 862–883). Oxford University Press.
- Tharoor, S. (2016). *Inglorious empire. What the British did to India*. Penguin.
- Wong, W. (2019, February 21). The slow death of China's dialects. *The McGill International Review*. <https://www.mironline.ca/the-slow-death-of-chinas-dialects/>
- Xiaoru, C. (2012, September 13). Fighting for their language. *The Global Times*. <https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/732895.shtml>
- Yamaguchi, M. (2020, January 14). Deputy prime minister calls Japan a nation with single race. *Associated Press News*. <https://apnews.com/article/shinzo-abe-race-and-ethnicity-taro-aso-asia-pacific-japan-8296991ddb3ed200b24b8ee571c3ff3b>