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Cover Page Footnote

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Portuguese and German Repertoires Perceived by Portuguese Speaking Children in Germany: A Tale of Two *Continua*

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After a theoretical overview of the concept of heritage language (HL) from a plurilingual perspective, we will present the project “Images on the (teaching of) Portuguese Language abroad”. For this project, several drawings were collected, produced by lusodescendant children living in Germany and attending supplementary Portuguese lessons. We will analyze four tendencies of students’ representations towards Portuguese and German, as well as towards the skills they have developed in those languages. These representations illustrate four profiles of Portuguese Heritage Language (PHL) learners present in the classroom (in terms of motivations, skills, linguistic repertoires, etc.). As conclusions, we will point at: (a) the validity of a study on representations by means of a drawing collection method, in order to understand the heterogeneity of PHL learners and the need to diversify the teaching-learning strategies; and (b) the advantages of understanding the relationships subjects establish with their languages and with the multilingual and plurilingual *milieu* they live in, in order to enhance the efficiency of HL education.

Keywords: heritage language, Portuguese Heritage Language, German National Language, learning profile, visual narratives

The concept of *heritage language* (HL) has integrated the European conceptual landscape in the field of language education and policies, slowly incorporating the discourse of linguists and teacher educators who work on education and the integration of migrant communities. As an imported concept, first coined in Canada then developed in the United States where migration dynamics and integration policies are quite different from European ones, its use in those discourses is not absent of misunderstandings and inaccuracies. This is especially so when intended to be combined with current tendencies in terms of linguistic policy in Europe and with the concepts that frame those policies, such as *Multilingual Competence* and *Multilingualism*.

Integrating the concept of HL in the current linguistic, language education, and teacher training discourses in Europe means also to reflect upon other concepts related to the relationships, subjects, and societies established with languages. Using the term HL means revisiting the realities expressed by

concepts such as *mother language*, *second language*, *foreign language*, *majority language*, *minority language*, *language of origin*, *integration language* and so many others. It also implies, as Blommaert (2010) suggests, rethinking the concept of *linguistic community* and updating it in light of the identitarian dynamics lived by the (still called) migrant populations.

It is not our goal to approach all these issues in the present paper. We will start with the consideration that “language education policy has to strike a democratic balance between the plurilingual repertoires of indigenous minorities and immigrant groups on the one hand and *official* languages and their use on the other” (Little, 2010, p. 9). It is our intention to analyze the relationships that subjects of a certain minority (children of the Portuguese diaspora in Germany) establish with both the language of the immigrant community (Portuguese) and with the official language (German), through the diagnosis of images of those languages. In other words by using more complex identity-related concepts, we will analyze the relationships they establish both with minority/heritage languages and the majority language (schooling and socialization language), grasping their learning profiles.

The study was based on the assumption that children have already developed images and stereotypes not only of the Portuguese and German languages, but also of other languages and linguistic communities, since they are integrated in a multilingual society and have already developed heterogeneous linguistic repertoires. Hence, this study aimed at diagnosing those images, through children’s multimodal voices, especially those that allow us to analyze the concept of HL from a plurilingualⁱ perspective, meeting the current *visual turn* in language education and in applied linguistics (Kalaja & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2017). It also aimed at better understanding Portuguese Heritage Language (PHL) learners’ profiles and imagining new curricular scenarios for PHL education in Germany (as we defend a contextualized linguistic policy for HL education). Our research questions, which we found answers for in the analysis of children’s visual narratives, were thus: (a) How can children’s relationship with the heritage language (minority language) and the national language (majority language) be described?; (b) how differently can these relationships be represented by children?; and, (c) what do these differences tell us about children’s heterogeneous profiles as heritage language learners?

In this article, we start by framing the theoretical discussion around the concept of heritage language by taking a multilingual stance on the concept and explaining the consequences for language education. Next, the empirical path and context of our study is presented, explaining the heuristic values attached to drawings as a research method. The empirical section presents the four extreme tendencies identified in our study: (a) Portuguese Heritage Language represented with mother tongue traits; (b) Portuguese Heritage Language represented with foreign language traits; (c) German National Language (NL) represented as mother tongue; and (d) German represented as foreign language. We use these tendencies as the different categories to organize the discussion of the analysis. Our contribution will end with pedagogical and methodological perspectives anchored in the results of

our analysis and address some issues related to the use of the European Framework of Reference for Languagesⁱⁱ in the assessment of HL competencies.

Theoretical Discussion: A Multilingual Perspective of the Concept of Heritage Language

The concept of heritage language (HL) relates to a relatively recent field of investigation (Kagan & Dillon, 2008). It therefore seems hard to define, especially if we take into account the diversity of concepts used to refer to the relationships speakers establish with their languages, namely when they have such unstable and uncertain status (ranging from mother tongue to foreign language). These concepts come from different epistemological and academic traditions, but also from different languages and countries (*heritage language*, *langue d'origine*, and *home language*), and they are very ideologically charged in terms of the linguistic policies implemented by the host countries (Wiley, 2014).

We have been adopting the term heritage language (Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2012, 2013), in line with the North-American tradition, since this brings a tendency to step away from negative connotations associated to the term *origin*, which can be strongly contested by individuals. Heritage language is also not so strongly attached to the context and speakers of that language (as in, *home language*). As we mentioned in a previous work,

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 on the relationship they entail with it. ...In terms of Language Education, Heritage Language pupils’ and students’ skills 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 (Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2012, p. 3).

Our approach to the concept of HL, conceptually and methodologically speaking, steps away from an isolated vision of this language in the speakers' repertoire (monolingual or bilingual perspective), analyzing it in the light of a clearly plurilingual perspective (Bono & Melo-Pfeifer, in press; Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2013). That is, in a perspective that values the integration of HL repertoires in the plurilingual, heterogeneous and dynamic repertoire of the speakers (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 2009). In fact, our perspective does not approach HL speakers and learners in terms of a *deficit* (by comparison to the so called *native speakers* of that language), but instead highlights the intrinsic value and specific roles of the repertoires in HL, as they are experienced by the speakers themselves (Blommaert, 2010; García, Zakharia, & Otcu, 2013). These roles and values attributed to the HL depend largely on the linguistic and plurilingual awareness of the speakers and on the maturity of their plurilingual competence (knowledge of other languages, as well as attitudes, motivations and/or images towards other languages and cultures).

Thus, in a plurilingual approach, HL becomes one among many other *mobile resources* (Blommaert, 2010). These resources are developed, adapted, reevaluated, or devalued with greater or lesser agency according to the social contexts and the

communication- and action- situations the subjects move in. We observed that these communicative (and cognitive) resources are a result of individuals' linguistic biographies. Thus, the linguistic biography of HL speakers is a determining factor in understanding the *patchwork* of linguistic resources they possess.

A plurilingual approach to the concept of HL highlights a wide range of aspects (Bono & Melo-Pfeifer, in press; Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2013), according to the adopted viewpoint. From a *sociolinguistic* point of view, the HL may not be linked to migratory flows, due to the more or less different individual mobility contexts; besides, this concept may be used in the plural form, in the case of bilingual families moving into a third linguistic space (for example, the child of an Italian-Albanian couple in Germany). Finally, it can even be a notion with no real referent, as in the case where this language was abandoned through the course of a life or generations, replaced by other languages and other linguistic repertoires (*language attrition*, Cook, 2003).

From an *emotional* point of view, the HL can be a designation given by the host society, its affective value being often puzzling and problematic for the individuals, and/or, it can indicate a sociocultural reality which is more or less hidden by the speakers, who may or may not want to recognize or be recognized as part of it.

Thirdly, from a *schooling* point of view, the HL can be seen as one of the schooling languages (in the case of European sections or bilingual schools) and/or seen as an extra school subject, learned marginally, parallel to the country's school curriculum (structured by the host country, the country of origin or organized by the communities themselves). Moreover, it can also be integrated in the curriculum as a foreign language. Predictably, each of these schooling statuses consequently imply different social images on the very same language and different legitimization degrees of a certain linguistic *origin*.

Lastly, from an *acquisition and use* point of view, the HL can either be learned at home, before the schooling process (in which case, according to most theories, it would be closer to the so called *Mother Tongue* or L1), or it can be voted to the status of language learned at school right from the beginning (commonly known as *foreign language* or second language or L2); in the first case, it would be a language usually spoken at home (being a part of the family's *rituals of literacy*), whereas in the second case, that language is not the primary language of communication anymore; hence, criteria such as place of acquisition (school vs home) and order of acquisition (L1 vs L2) may not be enough to specify the characteristics of the HL and to identify the student.

In our perspective, a HL is a language usually transmitted at home and through a linguistic community in the host country. As a language, it coexists with others in the subjects' linguistic repertoire. This perspective is closer to the ones argued by Valdés (2005), García (2012), and Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt (2012), which refer to the interdependency and the inter-influence of linguistic, pragmatic, and cognitive repertoires in a broad communicative competence.

Irrespective of the analytical point of view, it is acknowledged that the appreciation and recognition by host and origin communities are of paramount

importance for the maintenance of the HL in the family and as a bond between members of the migrant community (Tse, 2001a). These considerations are essential to understanding the profile of the HL learner. Moreover, because social representations inevitably and unequivocally influence intercultural encounters, and therefore influence the appreciation and recognition of languages from other communities, it is useful to study the images of HL, not only those circulating in host communities (hetero-representations) but also those circulating in migrant communities (self-representations). This is the conceptual framework of the project presented next.

The Project "Plurilingualism of *Lusodescendant* Children"

This study is part of a broader project, "Images of Portuguese (Teaching) Abroad"ⁱⁱⁱ, which aimed at collecting and analyzing representations of the Portuguese language and culture and on its teaching and learning around the world by wide and diversified participants. With these goals in mind, we used two complementary methodologies directed at different groups of participants:

- collecting drawings produced by primary school children attending Portuguese Heritage Language (PHL) classes in Germany, adapting the methodologies described by Mavers (2009), Melo-Pfeifer (2015a), and Perregaux (2011), that aim at giving a multimodal voice to children, namely when they are being alphabetized or have very uneven command of the language(s) of instruction;
- creating and implementing an online questionnaire aimed at the members of Portuguese communities abroad belonging to different generations, including tutors/parents, high school students, Portuguese teachers, lecturers, university professors, and students of Portuguese language.

The study we present here is based on the collection and analysis of children's drawings, conceived as *visual narratives* (Kalaja, Dufva, & Alanen, 2013; Melo-Pfeifer, 2017). The main purpose of this part of the project was studying children's representations of their linguistic biographies, generally, and of the Portuguese Language (PL), more specifically.

In the next sections, we contextualize the study and explain the research path in order to clarify the analysis and the results. We focus on the epistemological research background of the study, the socio-historical context of the data collection and "the local context of the narrative telling" (Barkhuizen, 2013, p. 7).

"Social representations of languages" in the centre of our pedagogical approach.

The concept *Social Representations of Languages*, used as a synonym for *Images of Languages* (Araújo e Sá & Pinto, 2006), is at the core of our investigative project's design. The concern about knowing the representations different actors have about the Portuguese language and culture (Portuguese speaking countries) is based on the evidence and findings from psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, pedagogy, and teacher education. Social representations of languages influence teaching and learning paths, motivation for language learning, and speakers' choices in their

linguistic options and, therefore, their linguistic projects. From this perspective, it is assumed that stereotyped ideas about languages and cultures circulate in different spaces and in social interactions and that these help to predict, understand, and assess the behaviour and attitudes of social actors (in our case, mostly students and teachers of Portuguese language teaching abroad).

These preconceived ideas are not in themselves a good or a bad thing – in fact, without social representations there can be no social interaction on or about the language, because there will be no reference frameworks to share (Melo, 2006). However, those images become negative when they block interpersonal relationships or are used to justify discriminative behaviours or attitudes of avoidance or denial. On the opposite end of the spectrum, they have positive effects when they are used to promote approximation between speakers and inter- and intra-group cohesion. *Veracity* of the representations is not at stake, rather their effect on social interaction is.

In the field of *Heritage Languages*, images and representations are usually linked to the value of learning and maintaining these languages within the host society (Tse, 2001b). These issues relate to an influence in the proficiency in the HL and the host language and benefits of using a HL while being educated and integrated in another official linguistic landscape, but also to the effects of maintaining a minority language on speakers' social, economic and academic integration. In fact, learning and maintaining a HL is usually debated in terms of (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015b):

- the social status of the heritage and host-society languages and of their speakers;
- the lack of value those languages have as school subjects and/or potential economic advantages; and
- the literacy practices families engage with in order to maintain the HL (Braun, 2012; Quiroz, Snow, & Zhao, 2010).

Many studies on HL Images focus on the relationship students establish with those languages (Carreira & Kagan, 2011), exploring their impact on linguistic proficiency, cultural and ethnic identity construction, and migrants' integration trajectories (Billiez, 1989; Castellotti, 2010). From these studies, a common standpoint emerges: recognition that speakers' relationship to the HL is much more affective and implicated in identity construction than any language with a different social status (Carreira & Kagan, 2011; Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2012). HL affiliation is either an emancipatory *locus* or an identitarian cage (Castellotti, 2010).

The Portuguese community in Germany: History and sociolinguistic profile.

The history of the Portuguese community in Germany can be traced back to 1964 (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015b), the year of a protocol between the former Federal Republic of Germany and the Portuguese government that established the conditions regarding the acceptance of Portuguese "*Gastarbeiter*" [invited workers]. The principal aim of the German government was to provide the country with a workforce for the reconstruction after World War II. Infra-structure recovery was the main employment for Portuguese workers at the time. Several protocols were also signed

with other countries, such as Turkey, and Turkish workers remain, until this day, the largest guest community in Germany.

When we collected the data in 2013 data circa 3500 students were enrolled in heritage language courses financed by Camões across Germany. (See End Note iii.) The majority were of Portuguese nationality (73%). The second most present nationality was German (25%), followed by Brazil and Angola. In a previous study on enrolment enquiries for the 2012/13 school year Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt (2013) observed that 76% of students used Portuguese at home; 18% used German; and 5% both languages. In terms of other linguistic social uses, namely at school, the proportion was quite the inverse: 74% used German, 18% Portuguese, and 8% used both.

Methodology of Corpus Collection

Nine hundred fifty-six (956) drawings were collected from children between the ages of 6 and 12, enrolled in PHL classes in Germany, in the Federal States named in Table 1. The collection of drawings from primary school PHL learners was possible with the collaboration of 34 teachers of Portuguese

Table 1. Collected Corpus

Federal State	Drawings collected
Baden-Wurtemberg	583
Berlin	14
Bremen	22
Hamburg	143
Hessen	43
Lower Saxony	54
North Rhine Westphalia	<u>97</u>
Total	956

language teaching in Germany, who developed their professional activity as teachers of Portuguese for Portuguese communities in Germany through the Camões Institute. This methodology ensures the task – drawing – is done as part of the daily school activities, giving it a familiar character: on the one hand, drawing is considered part of the activities in the classroom or children's free time activities; on the other hand, the

task's setting is also well known both in term of place and the actors involved. Associating this task to the school context at the primary level makes possible an evaluation of repertoires and experiences lived or imagined both inside and outside the school. We consider this task an appropriate one to work with this particular group of participants, because, despite its still low level of alphabetization (children would hardly respond to a questionnaire, for example), drawing is a familiar task that can give children a multimodal voice.

Teachers were instructed to ask their students to draw themselves while speaking the languages they know, for example, *Draw yourself speaking the languages you know* (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015a, 2017).

This instruction aimed at:

- placing the plurilingual children in the center of the reflexive task, inspiring an evaluation of *the already lived* (Molinié, 2009; Moore & Castellotti, 2011; Perregaux, 2011);
- eliciting a self-portrait from the child and a representation of a communicative situation or of several communicative situations, in what could be considered a visual narrative i.e., “the focus of analysis can thus be ‘the story of the production of an image, the image itself, and how it is read by different audiences’” (Kalaja, Dufva, & Alanen, 2013, p. 106; Riessman, 2008, p. 145);
- highlighting the children's plural linguistic repertoires, as well as the relations between them, without ranking them in terms of learning scenarios, of competence perception or in terms of affective relationship with the different languages.

It is important to highlight that the same instruction was interpreted in different ways by the children, so the images depict a wide range of realities, from representations of the school environment and diverse communication contexts to simple symbols associated with the different languages and countries. Although it was not the purpose of the task, the way children rank languages seems to be inevitably present in their drawings: school languages or the ones learned at school (English and French), the immigrant communities' language (Portuguese), official language (German) and the languages of other immigrant communities (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015a, 2015b).

The activity was carried out in the first moments of the class activities; according to teachers' accounts of the experience: (1) the instruction was repeated in Portuguese and in German, to ensure comprehensibility for all, as children display very different command of the HL; (2) children were immediately motivated by the task and sometimes commented their productions with their pairs; (3) no further instructions were given to children, to ensure that all receive the same amount of information; and finally, (4) a white sheet and painting material was provided for all children.

Considering that “the linguistic and educational integration of children/adolescents from migrant backgrounds ultimately depends on how effectively language is brought into focus in the different curriculum subjects” (Little, 2010, p. 20), namely in language curricula, the activity we designed aimed at being an opportunity to value children's plurilingualism and to appreciate their multiple repertoires.

The methodological path employed in this study comes from the “recent sociolinguistic discourse analysis of ‘small stories’” (Barkhuizen, 2013, p. 1) perspective, providing small individual insights about phenomena with collective significance in a given spacio-temporal context. We followed Rose's perspectives on multimodal analysis of visual data (2016), combining a content analysis with the semiotic analysis of the productions. A content analysis of the visual material, defined as “counting the frequency of certain visual elements in a clearly defined population

of images, and then analyzing those frequencies” (Rose, 2016, p. 88), was carried out, followed by a thorough interpretation of the represented elements and the relationships between them. Our analysis did not resort to any sort of posterior explanation made by children; this aspect may be seen as an inaccuracy, as several studies elicit children’s responses about their productions. We claim, however, that we cannot be sure that children posterior interpretations would be more objective than ours, because of the nature of this interpretative task: “following Bakhtin, any dialogic task includes the voices of the other, even if those voices are only expectations regarding the other. So, if the task of drawing was accomplished in the classroom and we acknowledge the impact of this particular setting in the production, we must also recognize that a co-interpretation by the child in the classroom would face the same criticism” (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015a, p. 212).

Aims of Study and Methodological Design

This empirical study has two main goals: (1) reflect upon the heterogeneous linguistic *background* of lusodescendant children attending supplementary Portuguese lessons in Germany, and (2) analyze how children represent or/and imagine their relationship with the German and Portuguese languages in specific sociolinguistic contexts.

In order to achieve these goals we created an exploratory analytical model to study the children’s drawings (Figure 1). This model crosses two *continua* (axes) based on discussions on the concept of *heritage language* (Flores, 2013). One is related to language status in terms of appropriation (mother tongue or foreign language, whether they seem to be more proximate of acquisition or learning^{iv}); the other is related to the sociolinguistic status of languages in contact (HL or minority language, and national language or majority language).

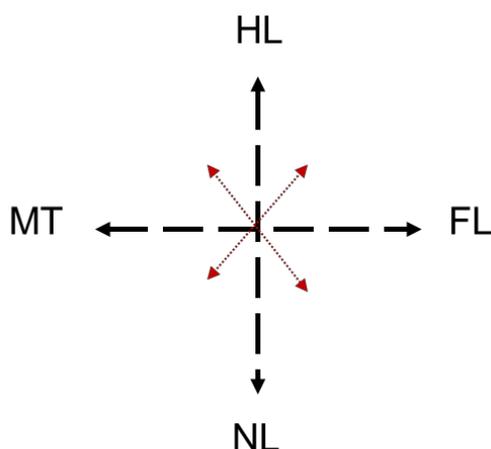


Figure 1. Theoretical exploratory analysis model that illustrates the intersection of the two *continua*, a model that could be said to be inspired from other *continuum* models (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Hornberger, 2003).

It should be highlighted that we consider each of these two theoretical perspectives in a *continuum*, for the changeability of the relationships the subjects establish with their languages, and their own linguistic biographies, may be at the origin of constant reconfigurations of the two poles of these axes. Thus, as has already been hinted at, the relationship with a language considered to be a mother tongue (MT) may become that of a foreign language (FL) or a language where speakers lose their initial proficiency and/or recover it afterwards as multiple studies on *language attrition* show (Cook, 2003). The current mobility opportunities and migration flows contribute to language status dynamics, making it increasingly likely that a national language (NL) can become a HL and vice-versa.

The present theoretical model, which assumes its own exploratory nature, foresees the permeability between different categories, due to the fact that the realities these concepts allude to are often difficult to distinguish as are the concepts themselves. On the one hand, the model recognizes a heterogeneity of repertoires and profiles of its audience mainly monolingual, either German or Portuguese speaking; bilingual, in different development stages; and plurilingual. On the other hand, it recognizes the prospect, if not inevitability, of evolution and enrichment of the linguistic repertoires of the analyzed audience.

This analysis will be particularly challenging since, as Polinsky & Kagan also noted, the audience's "speaking abilities fall within a *continuum*, from rather fluent speakers, who can sound almost like competent native speakers, to those who can barely speak the home language" (2007, p. 371). This gives further grounding to the assumption that linguistic proficiency criteria cannot be considered the only criteria used to understand the PHL learners' profiles. This is another reason we have decided to integrate different theoretical models, in order to attain a more complex understanding of the scenarios and audiences involved in our study.

Four Tendencies in Students' Representations of Their Own Repertoire in Portuguese (HL) and German (NL)

In this section we present four clear-cut tendencies resulting from our analysis intersecting the two *continua* as discussed above and illustrated in Figure 2. Each of the emerging profiles relates to a distinct learning profile and to the needs of the learner in terms of linguistic education. Although the majority of children represented themselves as bilingual or having some bilingual skills, some preferred to emphasize only Portuguese or German, either visually or verbally. Since we have already presented our analyses on the project and corpus (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015a, 2015b, 2017; Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2012, 2013), here we will focus on the extreme self-portraits, as they may help to understand the complexity of the bilingual self even when children portrait themselves in just one language or chose to portrait just one language.

Portuguese Heritage Language Represented with Mother Tongue Traits

Speakers establish different relationships with languages, commonly reflecting those languages' status or the roles that language plays in the speakers' lives. Considering that language status is fluid and changeable, specialists in language and teacher education developing epistemological approaches in empirical research are working on establishing clear distinctions between the concepts of MT, FL, second and third languages, and other neighboring terms (Bono, 2008).

As far as the concept mother tongue is concerned, two essential features seem to garner consensus: order of acquisition and context of use. A language is usually characterized as MT when it is the first language learnt by a subject and when it is used for daily communication (Cuq, 2003). The acquisition of a MT is considered a natural process, occurring unconsciously and in a mostly untaught manner (Stern, 1983). Other distinctive traits are spontaneity and ease of use, as well as an affective bond created between language and speaker. Crystal (2003) has noted that one's MT has political purposes, being used for education and government, for example.

Nonetheless, we believe these characterizations cannot encapsulate the complexity of the shifts in language statuses that can take place during the construction of an individual's linguistic biography (since a FL can become a MT and vice versa, to name but one example of a possible reconfiguration of status). In fact, the concept of MT is not always diametrically opposed to that of FL, normally associated with a formal learning context and lower socio-affective and identity-forming component.

In our first tendency, PHL appears to be considered as a language close to the MT. This quadrant is represented by drawings such as the one in Figure 2. This drawing represents the type of student who, despite recognizing their plurilingual repertoire, in this case Portuguese, German, and English, acknowledges the Portuguese language as their family language, the primary socialization context outside of the school context, which gives it a very strong affective value. This is demonstrated by the expressive smile of the self-

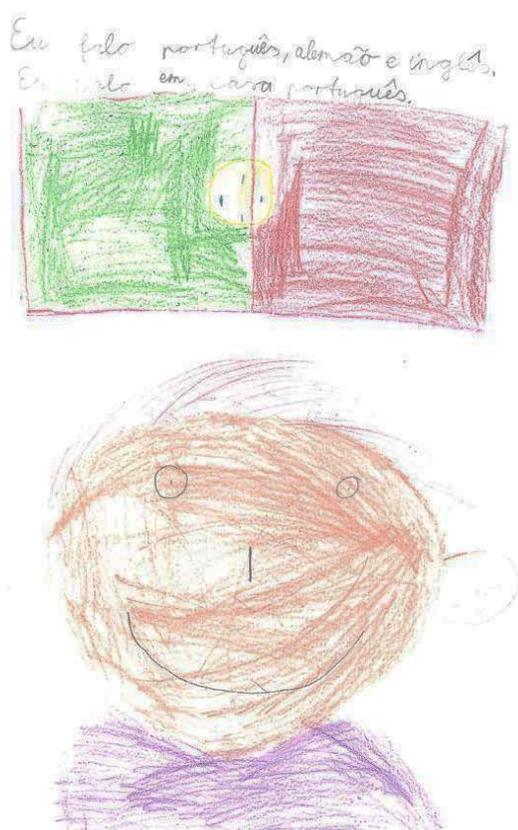


Figure 2. Portuguese as a vehicular language, by C. H., age 10, Einbeck. (I speak Portuguese, German, and English. I speak Portuguese at home).

German, and English, acknowledges the Portuguese language as their family language, the primary socialization context outside of the school context, which gives it a very strong affective value. This is demonstrated by the expressive smile of the self-

portrait. The fact that the text is produced in Portuguese reveals the child's linguistic competences and is another sign of affiliation and proficiency.

This tendency illustrates the profile of children who are fluent in the Portuguese language in terms of the oral skills of listening and speaking and are progressing in terms of their literacy competences of reading and writing, not only in Portuguese, but also in other languages. PHL is represented as language of socialization and of belonging to one or several groups such as the family or a wider community, symbolizing the affective and social milieu of language use and language transmission.

Figure 3 represents this communitarian dimension, where the living of beliefs and the transmission of religious rites is done through the Portuguese Language in Germany (see Ghaffar-Kucher & Mahajan, 2013 about the status and role of Punjabi in the USA).



Figure 3. Multilingual environment, by M., age 8, Bad Urach. (I frequent the Portuguese church in Reutlingen. I learn the doctrine in Portuguese and German).

Here, while recognising the particular role and status of Portuguese, the child also recognizes his multilingual environment, reflected in the drawing of several flags. The Portuguese and the German flags are bigger and higher up, perhaps indicating the status both languages have in the child's life.

The drawings in this category present almost exclusively linguistic production in Portuguese, which leads us to guess that these are children who still have not developed a repertoire in German or don't feel so comfortable in this other language.

We hypothesize that children in this quadrant are part of first or second generation Portuguese immigrants in Germany. As many reference authors have mentioned, *language shift*, *language loss*, or *language attrition* phenomena are more

often seen in later generations (Cook, 2003; Montrul, 2005; Tse, 2001), where HL use decreases from being the communication language used by all the family, to become a language used only among some members, eventually replaced by another entirely. We believe this profile will tend to increase due to the migrant wave of Portuguese families to Germany.

Portuguese Heritage Language Represented with Foreign Language Traits

As we have stated before, the definitions writers and researchers have provided for the concept of foreign language (FL) do not always allow a clear understanding of the differences between this specific role and other statuses languages can assume. According to Richards and Schmidt (1987), any language learned after one's native language can be understood as a foreign or second language. The term *second language*, however, usually refers to a language that plays a major role in a certain country or community, often having co-official status.

However, most of the features that distinguish a FL from other related concepts refer to the language learning environment and process on one hand, and its purpose of usage, on the other. As far as the language learning context is concerned, a FL is normally learnt in a formal, controlled environment, characterized by the learner's adaptation to specific procedures, classroom dynamics and group-processes; unnatural communicative situations, language, and grammatical items are pre-selected by the teacher, there is therefore less spontaneity in language usage and, finally, there is often recourse to the national language (often MT) to solve communication problems in class. Briefly, in contrast to the MT, which is said to be *acquired*, it is common to speak of *learning* a FL, even if this dichotomy is currently undergoing a reconceptualization.

Regarding FL usage purpose, writers have been laboring under a rather instrumental and less integrative view on language learning and practice: "Foreign languages are typically taught as school subjects for the purpose of communicating with foreigners or for reading printed materials in the language." (Richards & Schmidt, 2002, p. 206). In this pragmatic point of view towards language use, a foreign language is also needed for travelling abroad and professional purposes. Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that these features and, again, the role languages play, can depend on the linguistic landscape of the community that speakers live in, as well as on their personal history and the socio-economic and/or political characteristics of a specific place and time.

In this tendency – PHL represented as FL – Portuguese is represented as a school subject (Figure 4), in an insightful association with the school environment where these drawings were produced. The scenario includes teacher, furniture, class, teaching-learning instruments, and even the cognitive strategies used.



Figure 4. This picture by M. L., age 6, Gross-Umstadt, illustrates a PHL class where children are learning basic vocabulary. It also represents initiation to writing, as we can perceive by the age of the child who drew it.

These drawings show PHL as a cognitive reality anchored in a schooling scenario, bringing it close to a FL. In these drawings, the written production is almost exclusively limited to German, indicating a feeling of distance towards the use of the Portuguese language in social and family environments.

The affective relationship with the language is not significantly visible, and proficiency or fluency seems not to be considerable. These two traces are evident in Figure 5, where the child not only produces in German but also reveals a lack of motivation to attend PHL classes. Notice an absence of colours, indicating lack of enthusiasm.



Figure 5. A lack of motivation to attend PHL classes is illustrated by D., age 9, Bad Karlshafen. (Go to the Portuguese classes! Oh hey, OK!).

This kind of drawing reveals a learner profile not fluent in the HL and that needs to acquire both receptive and productive skills, oral and written. Likewise, it seems necessary to develop an integrative and affective component associated to the use of the language by introducing a strong cultural and identitarian component in the curriculum. Unlike the previous profile, we believe that this one relates to children that no longer belong to first generations of immigrants. A thicker study of the linguistic biographies of the participants would yield significant results and ascertain the value of our hypothesis.

German National Language (NL) Represented as Mother Tongue

Drawings in this category usually show children in their communicative milieu, where the diversity and variety of repertoires mentioned by them are exclusively expressed in German. This leads us to suppose that German is the vehicular language used to communicate in daily situations (Figure 6).



Figure 6. German as a vehicular language is illustrated by A. M., age 9, Ittlingen. (Hello. My name is Andrea and I speak German, Portuguese, and English).

In this context, German is represented by lusodescendant children as a language of socialization (Figure 7), with socio-affective traits (it is often the language of communication with friends and pets).



Figure 7. German as a socialization language is illustrated by S. K., age 8, Ulm. (You have a beautiful dress! Thank you!).

In this learning profile, we find children that seem to identify with the German language to a greater extent than with Portuguese, and children who almost exclusively use German even though they recognize the plurality of their linguistic resources.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, these are probably children who went through primary socialization where German was frequently used, in a context where the Portuguese language seems to have a small range of action and circulation. Such a reduced context allows us to consider that these children may feel insecure when using Portuguese for communicative purposes, in general, and for schooling purposes, in particular.

Based on these drawings and profile, recognizing the contributions of Cook (2003) and Brinton, Kagan and Baukus (2007), we can hypothesize that these children do not descend from first generation immigrants. According to the profile developed by Valdés (1997), they will probably need to develop literacy skills in both languages and, specifically, fluency in Portuguese. (We refer to fluency only because this study has not aimed at identifying or analyzing aspects related to spelling or other aspects of written production).

German Represented as Foreign Language

Based on the drawings collected in this study, this profile – illustrating German as a mere schooling object – was the least frequent one. In these cases, the classroom is represented as a situation characterized by the learning of a school subject in general or a specific situation of FL learning (Figure 8).

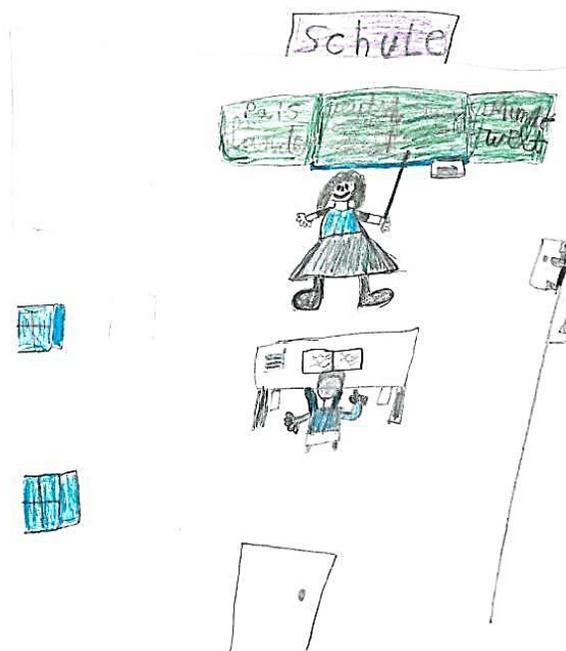


Figure 8. German as a schooling object as drawn by Dylan Cardoso, age 11, Siegburg School.

Briefly, the German language is represented as a school subject in a German-speaking milieu where other languages receive little attention (the monolingual *habitus* of multilingual schools Gogolin refers to, 1994). It seems that the school language is not the language used at home (see Little, 2010) or the most common in socialization contexts. Hence, the emphasis in the drawings is placed on the need to develop fluency and literacy in the school language, downplaying affective and cognitive roles of the HL, but also of the school language.

We believe that the new waves of migrant Portuguese-speaking children to Germany, due to the latest economic crisis in Portugal, may increase the number of children in this situation and create real challenges to their integration. As a consequence, there will be an upsurge in the tendency to highlight the affective and identity relationship to the Portuguese language, since it will become the language of a new and growing generation of immigrants. Regarding students' profile in the PHL class, such situation will concomitantly lead to a higher number of students with MT skills, predictably requiring reinforcement of language acquisition programs and methodologies.

Summary and Educational Perspectives

In their drawings children make constant reference to linguistic and intercultural diversity, even when presenting themselves in just one language: there are flags, words and symbols allusive to languages, and countries such as Japan, Albania, Italy, Holland, Spain, China, Greece, and others (also Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2012). These references closely match those found with other foreign communities living in Germany, revealing children's awareness of the

linguistic and cultural diversity that surrounds them, and that they integrate the elements they are exposed to, in different contexts, in their repertoires. Far from preventing them from expressing themselves in only one language in certain situations, according to context, this awareness reveals the complex affective and identity values at play implied in such a selection in children's self-image.

As we have seen, a child attending a PHL class in Germany may represent themselves either as monolingual (Portuguese or German), bilingual (Portuguese and German) or even as plurilingual. As discussed in previous studies (also analyzing the collection of self-portraits, Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2013), children show a bilingual and/or plurilingual competence still under construction, influenced by dynamics that make it fluid (García, 2012) and difficult to apprehend. In this plurilingual construction, other FL in school are likely to be perceived as resources, as are the HL of other immigrant communities.

Increasingly, it becomes clear that the concept of HL in general, and the images that children have of it and of themselves as speakers and learners, should be apprehended with the richness of contacts they establish with other languages and other communities.

Considering the representations analyzed and the four quadrants described in earlier in this article, Four Tendencies in Students' Representations of their own Repertoire in Portuguese (HL) and German (NL), we believe that Portuguese HL curricula should be aware of (a) the different Portuguese linguistic and cultural legacies children bring with them; and (b) the linguistic and cultural diversity of their students and their multicultural and multilingual environment. This attention to and respect of the heterogeneity of children's profile would:

- value the students' composite and plural identities, acknowledging them in their heterogeneity and promoting their self-knowledge as subjects who grow up and live immersed in several languages;
- value the heterogeneous linguistic and cultural capital these students deal with and construct daily (family, friends, institutions), in order to open the classroom up to students' whole knowledge, without discrimination (schools do not yet seem to recognize their own role in linguistic stigmatization);
- strengthen transfers between different knowledge, skills, know-how, and learning competences, increasing students' autonomy during language learning processes, both from the HL and the majority language (and further FL);
- promote situations of diversity in class, where children with different profiles can add value to the designed tasks and syllabus and support different dimensions of HL development (affective, cognitive, communicative, autonomy, multilingual awareness, etc.);
- favour an integrated Language Education (Hélot, Frijns, Van Gorp, & Sierens, 2018), approximating different linguistic curricula so as to

develop, in an interdependent way, the linguistic and communicative repertoire of students (we believe a HL curriculum should aspire to contribute to this development, and not only the maintenance and revitalization of repertoires in that language);

- develop awareness of individual and social roles of both majority and minority languages as well of hierarchical relationships between languages and their speakers.

Our study has demonstrated the heterogeneous competences and skills of HL students within the classroom and the very diverse and polyvalent nature of their linguistic and communicative abilities. Dealing with these students in HL classrooms implies recognizing their differentiated competences and different stages within each competence; at the same time, it suggests the need to create adapted knowledge-development paths, as well as avoiding stereotyped curricular progressions: the *one size fits all* curricula does not fit the heterogeneity of students' profiles, in terms of linguistic, identitarian, and integration needs and wants. In its place, a co-constructed HL curriculum which integrates teachers, students, and community members within a particular political, social, economic, and linguistic landscape is much more likely to produce better outcomes (García, Zakharia, & Otcu, 2013).

From a European perspective, the introduction of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR; Trim et al., 2001) was considered a powerful instrument of language policy and a pedagogical and methodological guideline promoting foreign language learning and the development of plurilingual competences at school. That document, as stated on the website of the Council of Europe, the entity responsible for its production and dissemination, was designed to provide a transparent, coherent and comprehensive basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses and curriculum guidelines, the design of teaching and learning materials, and the assessment of *foreign language proficiency* (Council of Europe, 2018, para. 1).

However, according to six scales of proficiency ranging from initiation to advanced use of the language, and to relatively fixed descriptors of proficiency in several competences and separated languages, its massive use as an assessment tool for all language education contexts (from FL to HL) blurs the multiplicity of paths and models of curricular development for HL. Therefore, the document serves little to the enormous heterogeneity of students' profiles and the huge range of purposes normally associated to HL education. Instead, the growing concern with assessment issues hinders the necessary creativity to actively manage a curriculum and disincentives teachers' will to engage in supplementary activities, usually with a multilingual, cultural, or intercultural focus. Furthermore, and from a theoretical view of language education, this means that language policies, including HL education, seem to be developed in top-down approaches (central guidelines ruling all systems independently of contextual specificities) instead of bottom-up practices (the contexts inspiring the designed policies). In the scope of PHL language policies, we believe this approach has produced several misconceptions and clashes between members of Portuguese

communities abroad, the teachers of PHL and the political institutions promoting PHL education. Indeed, the introduction of certification processes in PHL resorting to the CEFR scales and descriptors, has put PHL side by side with Portuguese as a foreign language and even with Portuguese as a second language, potentially erasing the specificities attached to migration contexts and their specific aims and goals. So, students with very disparate competences, related to their language biographies, are being assessed following the same scales and procedures that are current in foreign language education. Taking a closer look at the specificities of contexts and communities would help to avoid those clashes and promote closer co-operation between all parties.

When it comes to the exploratory model of analysis here presented and applied, and in light of the results obtained, it is important to analyze, in future work (a) the inter-influence and the dynamics of the two *continua* (MT/FL and NL/HL) in order to re- or de-construct this dichotomy; (b) the differences and confluences of the four most represented linguistic and learning profiles and their eventual destabilization due to the evolution of formal and non-formal linguistic contacts and the opportunities speakers have to use their languages; and, (c) the interpenetration of other languages from the multilingual milieu in those dynamics. Such theoretical and methodological development could thus allow us to access children's bilingual and plurilingual repertoires, their representations and their *translanguaging* practices (García, 2012), broadening the considerations and the conclusions of this study, which is focused on the representations and uses of the German and Portuguese languages. Hence, theoretical, pedagogical, and ideological debates find in this theme a strong area of intervention.

Limitations of the Study and Further Research Perspectives

In this paper, we analyzed only the *extreme tendencies*, and far from the most frequent, discovered in our corpora. Indeed, the task was interpreted from many different perspectives and our *corpora* include many other depicted elements, such as visual representations of several languages and cultures without the presence of the child. As referred by Pavlenko, the reliance on repeated instances “may lead analysts to overlook important events or themes that do not occur repeatedly or do not fit into pre-established schemes” (2007, p. 166). We have tried to address this question by looking closely at different schemes of self-presentation and trying to comprehend the nature of the heterogeneous linguistic profiles of HL learners, from the very beginning.

Another possible limitation of this study is the fact that we collected only one drawing per child. One way of avoiding this would be by collecting other narratives (written, oral, or multimedia) and other material in order to gather a more complete range of data. Such collection could be implemented throughout the school year. Because this alternative would be practically impossible to carry out with almost one thousand children, in order to maintain the quantitative expression of the study, we suggest that such a longitudinal study would be reduced to only a few PHL classes.

Furthermore, since the data was collected in HL classes, the context of data collection may have had an impact on the content of these visual narratives. In order

to evaluate this influence and understand its full extent, it would be valuable to develop the same study in another context.

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End Notes

ⁱ We follow the distinction, common in Europe, between plurilingualism and multilingualism, the first related to individual repertoires and the second to the compresence of several languages in a given social and national landscape.

ⁱⁱ European document of linguistic policies that defines "plurilingual and intercultural competence" and stresses the need to develop multilingual practices in language education. The document also defines six levels of proficiency, ranging from A1 (lower proficiency level) to C2 (higher proficiency level).

ⁱⁱⁱ Images of Portuguese (Teaching) Abroad is a project coordinated by Sílvia Melo-Pfeifer and Alexandra Schmidt, members of the Coordination Board of Portuguese Teaching in Germany, in the German Embassy in Berlin, supported by the Camões Institute of Cooperation and Language

(<http://cepealemanha.wordpress.com/imagens-do-ensino-portugues-no-estrangeiro/>).

^{iv}We are aware of the questions inherent in the use of this dichotomy, which we have already mentioned in Melo-Pfeifer & Schmidt, 2013. We use it here by needs of operability and to best situate the reader in a conceptual horizon.