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The Promise and Peril of Multilingualism: Gitan Students' Language Socialization in Perpignan

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The Promise and Peril of Multilingualism: Gitan Students' Language Socialization in Perpignan

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation focuses on multiethnic, multilingual 'migrants' who are historically well rooted and yet long marginalized: ethnic minority Roma who self-identify as Gitans. Despite their presence in Perpignan, France for centuries, the Gitans continue to be marked as unintegrated 'sedentary travelers'—referred to as *les gens du voyage sédentaires*. The study explores how L1 Catalan-speaking Gitan students navigate language ideologies at a French monolingual elementary and middle school in Perpignan. Drawing on eleven months of ethnographic fieldwork, I examine the process whereby instructors attempt to socialize Gitan learners to normative linguistic and cultural practices as defined through classroom language lessons. Specifically, the study addresses the following research questions:

1. How do Gitan students and their instructors understand language and its relationship to identity?
2. How do instructors seek to instill linguistic and cultural norms during weekly Catalan language lessons, and how do Gitan students respond to classroom-sanctioned practices?
3. How can the practice of translation in language learning support the development of language awareness and offer Gitan students an opportunity to position themselves vis-à-vis classroom norms?

Gitan students and their French instructors are found to hold differing understandings of language and its relationship to identity. Whereas Gitan learners conflate language and identity, instructors maintain that identity is not defined by speech. As L1 speakers of Gitan, a variety of Catalan shaped by contact with French, and of a French variety influenced by Catalan, they can find themselves framed as impostors in both Catalan and French circles. Imposture at times results in marginalization, as when instructors delegitimize students' speech. At other times, Gitan students capitalize on their imposture as a resource: Through the decision to employ a specific language and to accentuate particular aspects of speech that index social allegiances, students demonstrate their ability to align with or distance themselves from speakers of other backgrounds.

In contrast to previous language socialization research, which has predominately focused on ideal outcomes, this study importantly illustrates socialization "gone wrong": instances in

which instructors frame Gitan students as deviant subjects due to their resistance to classroom language norms. Students and instructors are observed to differ in their conceptions of language and identity; while Gitan children understand languages as inherently heterogenous and intimately tied to identity, instructors tend to view languages as ideally "uncontaminated" by language contact and independent of identity. Instructors characterize Gitan learners as "bad subjects" when the students assert their linguistic authority and challenge sanctioned classroom language practices. The data bolster the notion that children are not helpless or blindly obedient subjects; rather, they exercise agency to challenge classroom language practices and the underlying ideologies that they reflect.

Another salient finding of this study is the potential of in-class translation as a pedagogical resource for minority students. The analysis centers on an activity that asked Gitan learners to translate a Catalan comic into French. The language of the text is at once startlingly recognizable yet foreign—as a standardized, written Catalan variety that presents unfamiliar vocabulary and cultural references. Whereas instructors approach the activity primarily as a means to develop learners' French orthography, students are preoccupied by reflections on language and identity. They consider their relationship to the Catalan language of the original, which they define as Gitan's 'linguistic cousin,' and they express a desire for a Gitan version of the text. The activity and the discussions that it gives rise to highlight the potential of in-class translation to increase students' and instructors' awareness of linguistic and cultural variation.

Overall, the classroom-based fieldwork reveals both the promise and peril of multilingualism for Gitan learners in France, and multilingual minority students more broadly. Although the Gitan students "operate between languages" (MLA, 2007, p. 237) in their daily lives, their multilingualism largely remains overlooked in the classroom. Moreover, the extensive use of other languages, particularly French, by Gitan children may be perceived as compromising their Gitan identity. To speak French is sometimes referred to as "parler payo" (i.e., speaking Payo, that is, Payo or French people's language) (Escudero, 2004, p. 57; my own observation) within this context and doing so too extensively can signal identification with Payos. The Gitan students also resist "standard" Catalan and defend the superiority of their L1 variety. Mutual comprehension between speakers of closely related languages and linguistic varieties, I contend, is dependent on more than objective linguistic similarities; more importantly, it involves perceived *linguistic relatability*, stemming from a desire to understand and be understood—or not—by a cultural Other.

For Amaia

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"…le mot 'gitan' concerne-t-il une population aux contours flous, majoritairement sédentaire, d'origine catalane et dans une moindre mesure andalouse, s'autodésignant comme une communauté énonçant ses caractéristiques culturelles spécifiques, mais qui est aussi désignée comme telle sur le territoire de l'académie. En effet, au-delà des définitions, c'est aussi le regard de l'autre qui désigne et définit le Gitan ou l'enfant gitan et qui, déformé par les stéréotypes, voit en lui la marginalité, le refus de la norme, parfois le danger et toujours la 'différence'."

[…the word 'Gitan' refers to a loosely defined population, which is primarily sedentary, of Catalan and to a lesser extent Andalusian origin, and considers itself as a community with specific cultural characteristics, but which is also designated as such in the school system. Actually, beyond definitions, it is also the outsider's gaze that designates and defines the Gitan or the Gitan child and which, deformed by stereotypes, sees in him marginality, the refusal of norms, sometimes danger and always 'difference'.]

– Inspection générale de l'Éducation Nationale (2009)

INTRODUCTION

Sitting across the table from Jean-Paul Escudero at the Brasserie de la Gare in Perpignan, I was nearing the end of my fieldwork. Before leaving Perpignan, I was eager to speak with Escudero, a musician who had been accepted into Gitan circles and a linguist who had become intimately familiar with the Gitan language. Pouring a Perrier, he asked what I wanted to know. Although he recounted a number of personal reflections in the wide ranging two-hour conversation that followed, the more important lesson was the reminder of what he could not tell me—what we could not know—as non-Gitans: "Il faut comprendre qu'on comprendra jamais rien aux Gitans" [We must understand that we will never understand anything about the Gitans]. As he prepared to leave to catch a bus back to his home in Cerbère near the border with Spain, he summarized his linguistic research into Gitan speech: "En une phrase: à la recherche de l'inaccessible" [In a phrase: in search of the inaccessible]:

> Les Gitans de Madrid ne parlent pas ne parlent pas le même standard. Les Gitans de Barcelone ne parlent pas le catalan de Barcelone habituel. Comme les Gitans de Perpignan ne parlent pas le catalan roussillonnais. Et et cetera et cetera et cetera. Le mélange gitan c'est quelque chose d'extraordinairement bien construit, et qui nous échappe. Parce que nous on est à l'extérieur et on ne peut pas comprendre. De l'extérieur on va dire 'Ah ! C'est n'importe quoi. Qu'est-ce que c'est que ce français ? Qu'est-ce que c'est que ce catalan ? Qu'est-ce que c'est que cet espagnol ?' Mais c'est leur langue. Leur gitan. Leur histoire. Leur géographie. Leur façon de construire. C'est tout. Pour le meilleur ou le pire. Enfin on va pas juger ça. Mais c'est assez déroutant. C'est assez déroutant …
>
> [Gitans from Madrid do not speak the same standards. Gitans from Barcelona do not speak the typical Catalan. Just like the Gitans of Perpignan do not speak Roussillon [the regional] Catalan. And so on and so on and so on. The Gitan mixture is something that's extraordinarily well constructed, and it escapes us. Because we are on the outside and we cannot understand it. From the outside, people will say 'Oh! It's just nonsense. What's with this French? How about this Catalan? And what kind of Spanish is this?' But it's their language. Their Gitan. Their history. Their geography. Their way of meaning-making. That's it. For better or worse. I mean we aren't going to evaluate it. But it's fairly troublesome. It's fairly troublesome…]
>
> (Interview, April 2018)

This humbling observation speaks to the reality of all ethnography: "the researcher is the instrument for data collection, and subjectivity and positionality cannot be overcome entirely" (Levin, Jaeger, and Haley, 2013, p. 240). As this dissertation project reinforced to me, both on the ground and in all the phases of its writing—from my desk in Perpignan, Boston, San Francisco, and Berkeley—, "you will not be the only person in the setting who is engaged in 'identity work' and in working out what you and others are about" (Mason, 2002, p. 94). Our identity—being Gitan or not, being French or not—inevitably shapes the questions that we ask and our ways of seeing. Rather than pretend this is not the case, we must "[try] continually to be aware of [our]

ethnographic self and to understand its relevance in the interactions, situations and settings [we] are studying, and for the knowledge and data [we] are generating" (p. 94).

With this in mind, I explore how Gitan learners in Perpignan, France navigate language ideologies. Although research on Gitan students in France has reported on their in-school experiences (Auger, forthcomingB), this represents the first longitudinal, ethnographic study of classroom interactions. The fieldwork for this project introduced me to a community that I had never encountered in my previous French studies. Moreover, I would likely never have learned of the situation of the Gitans of Perpignan if not for a chance meeting with Professor Nathalie Auger at the Berkeley Language Center in March 2015. Her presentation and our ensuing conversations led me to Perpignan the next summer. What follows is the result of eleven months of ethnographic fieldwork carried out in summer 2016 and over the 2017-2018 school year. Drawing on 307 hours of in-class observation across four grade levels (three at an elementary school and one at a middle school), I examine Gitan students' in-class socialization to and contestation of language practices and ideologies. In particular, my project investigates the following questions:

1. How do Gitan students and their instructors understand language and its relationship to identity?
2. How do instructors seek to instill linguistic and cultural norms during weekly Catalan language lessons, and how do Gitan students respond to classroom-sanctioned practices?
3. How can the practice of translation in language learning support the development of language awareness and offer Gitan students an opportunity to position themselves vis-à-vis classroom norms?

While I arrived with broad interests in language and identity, multilingualism, and language ideologies, the specific questions that shaped my project developed through sustained classroom observation and reflections informed by my previous coursework. As Professor Milton Azevedo reminded me in a timely email in fall 2017, "The hardest thing to see is what is in front of our eyes." By bringing my full attention to each day at the school sites and rereading my fieldnotes and transcribed interactions, I gradually identified patterns in what I was noticing. The first two questions were informed by repeated observations of student-instructor exchanges. In contrast, the third question developed from a recognition of the singularity of a classroom activity involving translation that differed significantly from all other observed coursework.

My dissertation is organized as follows: In Chapter 1, I present the theoretical framework for my study, with a focus on three areas of research with which my dissertation is in dialogue, namely, language socialization, language and identity, and multilingualism. After providing an overview of the language socialization paradigm and highlighting the need to attend to socialization "gone wrong," I summarize previous studies that illustrate how students and instructors contest language and identity in the classroom. This is followed by an examination of research on intercomprehension and classroom-based translation as tools for the development of multilingualism and language awareness.

Chapter 2 details the project design, presenting the focal schools where in-class observations were carried out and detailing the study methodology. Following a description of the structure of observations as well as interview and survey procedures, I offer an account of my experience of seeking to find my place as an ethnographer. Specifically, I reflect on my identity as

an American researcher in a French educational context, and I describe how I negotiated my relationship to students and instructors.

Chapter 3 explores contrasting language ideologies among Gitan students and their instructors. In particular, I discuss students' conviction that you are what you speak, and their instructors' rebuttal that speech does not define identity. In focusing on students' identity at a linguistic border, as speakers of a variety of Catalan shaped by French influence and of French characterized by L1 influences, I understand Gitans as occupying a position of imposture (Kramsch, 2012). I investigate how Gitan students capitalize on their imposture to strategically manipulate their French language use (and Frenchness). I then present two contrasting case studies: whereas one student, a middle schooler born to a non-Gitan mother and a Gitan father, experiences the challenges of being more than one language and identity, another serves as a reminder that linguistic and cultural affiliations are not fixed.

Chapters 4 and 5 center on two case studies of the incorporation of Catalan in classroom instruction. Chapter 4 focuses on Catalan lessons introduced in one grade level at the focal elementary school. Although the Catalan instructor systematically defined students' language as Catalan and attempted to align herself with them as fellow Catalans, tensions arose when their language practices diverged from her expectations. These lessons illustrated how good intentions to foster language diversity in the classroom could have unintended consequences, "unwittingly [identifying] minority children as culturally different and exotic" (García-Sánchez, 2016, p. 294). Yet, as language socialization researchers have reminded us, socialization is a bi-directional process, and learners who are framed as deviant can resist pressure to adopt "normative" linguistic practices. Importantly, these interactions reinforce that children are not helpless or blindly obedient subjects; rather, they exercise their agency to challenge their instructors' practices and underlying ideologies.

Chapter 5 analyzes a French-Catalan translation activity that was incorporated in a middle school French language course exclusively attended by Gitan students. Specifically, students were asked to translate a comic written in Roussillon Catalan, *El Viatge d'en Llobató*, into French as an exercise in French orthography. The activity confronted learners who had not formally studied written Catalan with the translation of a Catalan-language text. The translation of a text written in a linguistic variety that was both strikingly familiar yet foreign to students as speakers of "Gitan (Catalan)" prompted their engagement with linguistic variation and reflection on their own language use. Although the two co-instructors stressed the benefit of this activity for students' orthography, the exercise revealed the unacknowledged potential of translation to increase students' language awareness while informing instructors' understanding of their students' linguistic background.

Chapter 6 discusses the implications for educational policy and practice raised by my dissertation project. I first advance a reflection on the politics of language instruction for Gitan students in Perpignan. Next, drawing on my observation of in-class Catalan, French, and English instruction, I outline recommendations to better understand and capitalize on students' language practices and ideologies.

Following the conclusion, the epilogue reports on a return research stay in Perpignan in May 2019. This follow-up visit offered an opportunity to discuss my findings and recommendations, based on my fieldwork, and to exchange perspectives with instructors and administrators. It also enabled me to learn of developments at the schools since the previous May.

Before presenting my project design, the sections that follow offer a brief historical introduction to the Gitans, an overview of the linguistic situation of Gitans in Perpignan, and a summary of previous research carried out on Gitans in Catalonia.

THE ORIGINS OF THE GITANS AND THEIR PRESENCE IN EUROPE

Although the origins of the Proto-zingars, the ancestors of the Gitans, were long contested, we now know with certainty that they came from North-West India and began arriving in Persia around the year 1000, with migration continuing for centuries (Casanova, 2016, p. 30; Vaux de Foletier, 1961). It was in Persia that the Rom nation was born, different groups consolidated, and a common Romaní language developed (Casanova, 2016, p. 33). Two sub-groups, the *lom* and the *rom* separated, moving in different directions: one headed south-west through the Fertile Crescent; the other traveled through Asia Minor into Armenia and eventually to Europe, largely pushed onward for over two hundred years, faced with attacks from the Turks in the 12th century and the Mongols in the 13th century. Upon their arrival in Byzantine territory, these Rom received a derogatory name from the Greeks: *athingani* [pagans], a term assigned to those who had entered Greece via Asia Minor (p. 36). This appellation in turn gave way to similar terms: *cingane* (Turkish), *ciganin* (Serbo-Croatian), *acinganus* (Medieval Latin), *zingaro* (Italian; this word entered Catalan and Spanish via Italian), *tsigane* (French), and *cigano* (Portuguese). Symon Semeonis's *Itinearium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam*, published in Crete in 1322, represents the first text to clearly evoke their presence in Europe (p. 37). The athingani arrivals were negatively depicted in this text as individuals who remained in one place for no more than thirty days and who left their surroundings filled with parasites, making it impossible to maintain cleanliness around them (Vaux de Foletier, 1974, p. 41; also see Casanova, 2016, p. 37). Despite negative depictions, even those savants and chroniclers who were not at all sympathetic toward the Gitans acknowledged their aptitude for languages: "car ils parlent aisément l'allemand en Allemagne, l'italien en Italie, le français en France, et ils ont leur propre langage, un jargon que personne ne comprend" [because they speak German with ease in Germany, Italian in Italy, French in France, and they have their own language, a jargon that no one understands] (Vaux de Foletier, 1961, p. 41). By the 16th century, scholars came to realize that this 'jargon' constituted a language (p. 43).

A decisive change occurred in the history of the Rom when in the 13th and 14th centuries defeated Tartar occupants in Wallachia were forced into slavery or assimilation. The enslavement of the Rom ensued, and, although this did not trigger a mass exodus, small tribes began moving to neighboring regions (Casanova, 2016, pp. 37-38). During the mid-15th century, the Turks continued to expand their territory, capturing the final bastions of the Baltic west. At this time, a mass Rom migration to Italy was initiated, with many passing through Naples.[1] Many Rom then entered Iberic Catalan states, where they were known as the Grecians. In the earliest Catalonian legal disposition filed against them by the Courts of Montsó in 1512, they were termed "boemians grechs, e egiptians" (p. 40). The Bohemians entered other regions of Europe throughout the 15th century: they arrived in Spain by sea via southern Italy in 1480 (p. 40), and early documentation in France attests to their presence in Savoie by 1418 (p. 41). By the end of the century, all regions of France had come into contact with a group of Zingars. Within France they were referred to as *Égyptiens*, *Gyptiens*, *Bohémiens/Boimes/Bohêmes/Boumians* (since they had traveled through

[1] At present, the ancestors of most of the Rom currently living in southern Italy arrived there as a result of this migration, which explains the significant presence of Greek and Albanese words in their vocabulary.

Bohemia), *Sarrasins*[2] and more rarely *Éthiopiens* (because of their dark complexion and arrival from far Orient) (Vaux de Foletier, 1961, p. 18).

With regard to the Catalonian region, although the Bohemians were initially fairly well received, mistrust soon took root there as well. The state found itself faced with a predicament: that the *Gitanos* had come to be seen as naturalized complicated their expulsion. Consequently, the state endeavored to manage their existence by other means; they were ordered to abandon their language, dress, and way of life (Casanova, 2016, p. 56). While some strategically presented themselves as Zingar nobles (e.g., ducs, counts, marquis) to facilitate their entry into new regions and positive reception, this tactic became ineffective in the 16th century (p. 55; Gitan leaders attempted to use the title of 'captain' instead, and the designation is attested in France in 1540 and used habitually until the mid-18th century, p. 57), and leaders took a harsher stance against Gitans in the 16th and 17th centuries. The 17th century was marked by persecution and the Inquisition in Barcelona. In addition to physical violence, attempts were made to symbolically write the Gitans out of existence in Castella when use of the term *Gitano* was prohibited in 1633. As Casanova writes:

> Si deixava de tenir nom, representava que el grup deixava d'existir, i prohibia fins i tot que ells mateixos s'anomessin així, per això sovint per definir-los es van haver de fer servir a partir d'aquell moment circumloquis de l'estil 'los que llaman gitanos y gitanas', o los 'castellanos nuevos que antes llamaban gitanos' (p. 67).
>
> [If they ceased to have a name, this signaled that the group no longer existed, and it even prohibited them from referring to themselves in this way, which is why to define them it becomes necessary to use circumlocutions such as 'those who call themselves Gitanos and Gitanas,' or the 'new Castillians that used to call themselves Gitanos'] (my translation[3])

Such roundabout terms for Gitans entered into usage in Catalonia in the 18th century. *Gitano*, which had become the general Catalan term, spread into general French usage via Roussillon as Gitans arrived there. While Gitans in Roussillon were largely sedentary, they dispersed through the Midi region during the 19th century and the term's use simultaneously generalized throughout southern France (Vaux de Foletier, 1981).

The persistent threat of violence against Gitans and laws ordering their expulsion beginning in the 16th century culminated in the 18th century (Aguirre, 2006). Caught between extermination and acceptance ("l'extermini i acceptació," see chapter 3 of Casanova, 2016), Gitans undertook widespread sedentarization. Early in the century, 41 Spanish regions were designated as exclusive places of residence for Gitans, who were required to obtain written authorization in order to leave these zones. *La Gran Redada* (General prison of 30-31 July, 1749), which was signed by Ferran VI of Spain, ordered the detainment and imprisonment of Gitans in all parts of the kingdom. Efforts to separate partners and prevent future children were aimed at the eventual extinction of the Gitans. Ironically, the more integrated Gitans, who were sedentary at the time of roundup, constituted the majority of those captured. When Carlos III succeeded his brother as king, he attempted to reverse what he perceived as terrible injustice against the Gitans. He ordered that they be freed in 1763,

[2] Although the meaning of the Latin *Saraceni* is unknown, one possible origin is the Semitic *sāriq*, "thief, marauder, plunderer" (Shahîd, 1984, p. 125). The term *saracen* was employed beginning in the Middle Ages to refer to Arab Muslims.

[3] All translations hereafter are my own.

but this good intention resulted in a complex process whereby Gitans were required to demonstrate their innocence and reclaim their possessions (Leblon, 2017, p. 13). Although it remained discriminatory in content (and in name) Carlos III's decree of 1783, *Reglas para contener y castigar la vagancia y otros excesos de los llamados gitanos*, granted Gitans some agency, allowing them to choose their employment and place of residency and to move freely for the first time in centuries. However, the Gitans were pressured to assimilate, abandoning their language and customs, "Carlos III les pide, para entrar en la vida social común, que olviden su identidad" [Carlos III asks that, in order to enter common social life, they forget their identity] (San Román, 1986, p. 234). Forced sedentarization favored the gradual adoption of Catalan language and culture with the simultaneous decrease in the use of Romaní language.

Nomadism continued and increased as a function of government stance towards the Gitans (Aguirre, 2006, p. 374). The main economy in Roussillon was agriculture, with the existence of sheep herding and horse trading paving a path between France and Spain. It remains difficult to speak of Gitans "entering" France, and historian Aguirre (2006) notes that Rom on both sides of the frontier were all "gitanos del país" (p. 361). Gitans in Roussillon differed from those in more interior parts of France; the former were not as affected by harsh decrees governing their existence and could pass to the Spanish side of the Pyrenees (and later return to the French side) as they deemed necessary as a function of changes to legislation (p. 361). As Vaux de Foletier (1981) noted, "c'était un va-et-vient constant de Gitans sur les chemins reliant la France à l'Espagne. Ce qui, surtout à l'époque consulaire et impériale, inquiétait le gouvernement" [There was a constant back and forth of Gitans on the paths between France and Spain, which, particularly in the consular and imperial era, worried the government] (p. 63). By the mid-18th century, Gitans could follow migration routes between Roussillon and Iberian Catalonia. Those circulating by the time of the *Gran Redada* were essentially all Catalan speakers and known as "Gitanos" or "Gitans" (Aguirre, 2006).

Long after the actions of Carlos III ended legal persecution of Gitans in Spain, social discrimination continued to follow them (Aguirre, 2006, p. 21). As Leblon observes, "Si les persecucions són avui menys cruels, el racisme no ha diminuït pas" [If persecutions are today less cruel, racism has not diminished] (Casanova, 2016, p. 11). To complicate this situation, non-Gitans have constructed most discourses on Gitans, and Gitans have rarely attracted the attention of historians in French, garnering more interest from poets, novelists, and painters (Vaux de Foletier, 1961, p. 7): "Puisque les Tsiganes ne se livrent guère, qu'ils ne racontent, s'ils sont interrogés par un gendarme ou un commissaire de police, ou par un simple curieux, que ce qu'ils veulent bien dire, les témoignages ne viennent que du dehors" [Since the Gitans rarely open themselves up, and only share information if they are interrogated by a police officer or police chief, accounts about them only come from outside their community] (Vaux de Foletier, 1981, p. 10). While the boundary between fact and fiction in the history of the Gitans has not always been clear, for Gitans, according to Vaux de Foletier, this distinction appears to have been relatively unimportant, as suggested by a formulaic Gitan story opener: "Sas p eke kaj nas pe" [Il y avait ou il n'y avait pas; There once was/wasn't]. (p. 9). In other words, Gitans have historically represented border-crossers—of truth/fabulation, nations/regions, and languages.

Various terms have been used to refer to the Roma in Europe, making it important to understand their appropriate contexts of use. *Rom* designates the general European collective. However, within France, this denomination is also employed to refer to those native to Eastern Europe specifically. *Tsiganes* constitutes the learned term for *Rom* living in France, while

colloquial usage favors *Gitans*.[4] *Gitans* are those *Rom* with historical roots in the Iberian Peninsula (i.e., *Rom* living in France who are of Catalan, Spanish, Andalusian, or Portuguese origin). The term *Gitans* originates in the fact that from the 15th century until the end of the 18th century, when researchers began to attend to language, it was assumed that *Rom* arrivals to Europe originated from Egypt (Casanova, 2016, p. 29). Consequently, although they came to be known as *Bohémiens* due to their practice of presenting letters from Segimon I, the leader of Bohemia at the time, Gitans were designated as *Égyptiens* in French documentation aimed at accurate description from the 15th through the 18th centuries and in literature from the Romantic era (p. 43; Vaux de Foletier, 1981, p. 19). They are referred to as *egipcianos* in the first disposition against them from Castella in 1499, and they have been described as 'False Egyptians' or 'those who are like the Egyptians' at other times (Casanova, 2016, p. 56). Their origins were shrouded in mystery in the years following their arrival in Europe, and Gitans remain enigmatic and, to some extent, unintegrated in the French imagination, as signaled by their paradoxical appellation, *les gens du voyage sédentaires* [sedentary travelers]. Interrogating the designation of immigrant students in France as *enfants nouvellement arrivés* (ENS) [newly arrived children], Auger (2008) asks: *newly arrived, until when?* (p. 188). Similarly, we may wonder when the *Gitans*, who largely became sedentary during the 18th century, will cease to be referred to as travelers.

THE LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

Before language replacement, which culminated with the Gran Redada, Gitan families in Spain had spoken Kaló. The status of Kaló is often disputed, and specialists avoid characterizing it as a language (Escudero, 2004, p. 44). Formed through the lexification of Romaní words and Romance syntax (p. 44), Kaló varieties seem to represent what linguists would characterize as a creole (Bachmann, 2013). As previously mentioned, administrative pressure of majority society on Gitans favored their use of Catalan or Spanish as a home language, and language shift among families was complete by the second half of 19th century. Nevertheless, Kaló words are still occasionally employed by Gitans in France, sometimes referred to by Gitans in Perpignan as "gitano" or "*veritable gitano*" (Escudero, 2004, p. 45), and these terms may be strategically mobilized to limit listeners' comprehension (pp. 41, 43).

During the 19th century, non-Gitan French families in Perpignan gradually abandoned the use of the regional language, Catalan. Escudero (2004) speculates that their abandonment of Catalan further supported its adoption within the Gitan community (p. 47). The variety of Catalan spoken by the Gitans in Perpignan does not represent a northern Catalan dialect, but is the result of the symbiosis of northern and central Catalan features, coupled with French linguistic influences (Casanova, 2016, pp. 22-23). All Catalan-speaking Gitans in France speak an ethnolect derived from the Catalan variety practiced by Gitans in Perpignan, with varying degrees of French influence as a function of distance from the city and relative weakness or cohesion between groups (Casanova, 2016, pp. 22-23).[5]

[4] Similarly, colloquial usage in Catalan favors *gitans*. Joan Coromines coined a Catalan equivalent to *tsiganes*, 'tsigà,' and introduced it under the entry for 'diquelar' in the *Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana* (DECLC), but it never entered usage (Casanova, 2016, p. 24).

[5] Catalan-speaking Gitans can be found throughout France, not only in Northern Catalonia (Southern France). Territory inhabited by Catalan-speaking Gitans is delimited to the north by the cities of Grenoble, Lyon, Clermont-Ferrand, Limoges, Angoulême and extends west to Bordeaux, with two pockets of communities in Paris and the region of Nord-Pas-de-Calais (Casanova, 2016, p. 18). Since the French Constitution prohibits ethnic questions in census data, researchers are unable to ascertain population size with precision, however Gitans constitute significant

The terminology used by Gitan speakers to refer to their L1 serves to heighten its perceived foreignness and distance from standard Catalan. As Escudero (2004) notes, in the neighborhood of Saint Jacques in Perpignan, where the present dissertation study is set, Gitan speakers label their L1 differently depending on the identity of their interlocutor, and they frequently employ the term *gitan* when interacting with non-Gitan French-speakers.[6] Escudero (2004) summarizes the use of denominations employed by Gitan speakers as a function of their interlocutor's identity and the communicative situation (p. 38). Gitans speaking with other Gitans will generally refer to their L1 as *gitano* in daily life, with two primary exceptions: They will present themselves as speakers of català when making a comparison with (a) the residual, "more Gitan" language, kaló, or (b) the Spanish spoken by certain Gitan families. Communications with non-Gitans can imply a specific relationship (e.g., a request for information, service, exchange) and can signal a need to switch to another language or dialect. In these exchanges, Gitans will refer to their L1 as 'català' with Catalanophone non-Gitans and 'gitan' (or, less commonly, 'catalan') with Francophone non-Gitans.It is unclear precisely when French came into use among Gitans in Perpignan, but its adoption occurred over the 20th century. It largely exists in a situation of diglossia, positioned as an outside language that raises questions for Gitan identity: Escudero (2004) observes that Gitans who express themselves with too great of ease in French—or *Paio* (Cat.)/*Payo*(Fr.) language as it is frequently termed among Gitans and occasionally with non-Gitan Catalan speakers—can be considered French, *Payos/Paios* (p. 57).[7] French did acquire the status of an internal language for evangelical religious practices in the Gitan community, however, and Escudero notes that many pastors taught themselves to read using a French Bible (p. 58). Gitan pastors' use of religious texts written in French was significant, since all forms of written language had thereto been viewed as *paio* activities, "l'affaire des paios"—be it in French, Catalan, or *veritable gitano* (Escudero, 2004, p. 58). When, for instance, well intentioned schoolteachers had decided to write down a Gitan family song and distribute it to students, the language of the text could only be understood within the community as a representation of Catalan, not Gitan. Escudero observes that the Gitans of Perpignan do not write their language, and writing remains the business of Paios (p. 250). While this characterization still holds in popular representations, recent scholarship has documented the practice of writing among Gitans, and this topic merits more research. For example, Fonvielle (forthcoming) examines features of Gitan writing in French on the Internet. Chapter 5 of this dissertation also draws attention to students' practice of using their L1 in text messaging exchanges. Additionally, any visitor to Saint Jacques quickly notices the practice of writing proper names next to doorways. Future research on linguistic landscapes could document the very minimal top-down signage in the neighborhood and the proliferation of the handwriting on apartment façades.

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populations in the southern cities of Nice, Montpellier, Bordeaux, Périgueux, Toulouse, Narbone, Lésigny, Carcassonne, Béziers, Agde, Marseille, Lyon, Arles, Tarascon, Nîmes, Montalba, Avignon, Saint-Gaudens, and Villeneuve-sur-Lot (p. 18).

[6] In my observations, when speaking French, some Gitan students and their parents referred to their language as *gitan* or *gitano*, while others insisted that they spoke *catalan.*

[7] Escudero defines the term *paio* as follows: "Ce mot désigne à la fois les non gitans (au pluriel *paios*) -dont la plupart parlent ici français- et la langue française. En tant qu'adjectif, **paio** prend le sens de peu raffiné, fade, ignorant, ou grotesque, selon le contexte. "**És una musica paia**" (fade). À propos d'un non gitan qui ne connaît pas les coutumes de la communauté on dira: "**Pobret és ben paio**" (ignorant)." [This word designates both non-Gitans (paios in the plural) - most of whom speak French in this context- and the French language. As an adjective **paio** takes on the meaning of unrefined, dull, ignorant, or grotesque, according to the context. 'That's **paia** music' (dull). When speaking about a non-Gitan who is unfamiliar with the community one will say : 'Poor guy is really **paio**' (ignorant).] Escudero characterizes the term as more ethnic and less neutral than "*francès*" (p. 57).

There is a strong link between Gitan language and sense of identity: "Le domaine d'extension de cette langue peut se résumer à une phrase: être Gitan ici c'est parler Gitano" [The scope of this language can be summed up in one sentence: being Gitan here is speaking Gitano] (Escudero, 2004, p. 37). However, unlike the French language, whose history is marked by purist efforts that situate external influences as forms of linguistic and cultural contamination, for Gitans, as in music, so also in language, the crossing of boundaries is the norm (Escudero, 2004, p. 83). Given centuries of migration and contact with speakers of different languages and linguistic varieties, lexical influence is to be expected: "Les mouvements et les échanges entre langues ne sont pas le produit du hasard" [Movements and transfers between languages are not the result of chance] (p. 231).[8]

A Note on Terminology

In designing this project, the question of how to refer to my study participants presented itself early on, particularly within an American research context. While in France and Spain I could adopt the term *Gitans* (French)/*Gitanos* (Catalan, Spanish), however, the same terminology became opaque in English. Although the Romance terms were widely employed and comprehensible in academic circles, and also represented the denomination that speakers used to refer to themselves, the direct English translation of Gitans, *Gypsies*, did not represent a viable alternative; I found its use unsettling due to its cultural insensitivity, and I was aware of the ways in which it could evoke charged images from the American cultural imagination when taken out of its Romance linguistic and cultural context. I initially explained my project as an investigation into the schooling experiences of Roma children in France, but this also conjured up unintended images of migrant families from Eastern Europe and required additional explanation. I consequently deemed it most appropriate to adopt French terminology in my English-language research and to contextualize the term *Gitans* and its specific use.

RESEARCH ON THE GITANS

The present project brings the aforementioned framework of language socialization, language and identity, and multilingualism to the context of Gitan students in Perpignan, France. It builds on previous historical, linguistic, and classroom-based research from researchers in France and Spain. Following in the footsteps of his mentor, Vaux de Foletier (1961, 1974, 1981), the pioneer for historical studies on the Gitans, Bernard Leblon established the field of 'Gitanologia' with the publication of *Les Gitans d'Espagne* in 1983 (Casanova, 2016). Spanish anthropologist and 'Gitanologist' Teresa San Román was the first to undertake anthropological studies of the Gitans of Barcelona, and she produced a substantial body of research focused on the Gitans of Spain (see, among others, San Román, 1984, 1986, 1994). In *Els Gitanos catalans de França*, Casanova (2016) offers an extremely detailed account of the historical migration, cultural practices, and contemporary presence of Catalan-speaking Gitans, informed by extensive archival research and his own visits to 160 communities throughout France. *Les livre des Gitans de Perpignan / El llivre dels gitanos de Perpinyà* (2003), written through a collaboration with Gitans and Jean-Paul

[8] With this project's focus on linguistic ideologies, it is beyond the scope of the present discussion to offer a detailed account of the particular linguistic features of the Catalan spoken by Gitans in Perpignan, however, a linguistic summary attending to the phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels is provided by Escudero (2004; see pp. 87-233 and the conclusion).

Escudero, Bernard Leblon, Jean-Paul Salles, who do not sign as authors, also represents an informative reference on Gitan settlement in Perpignan and cultural practices.

With regard to linguistic research, Jean-Paul Escudero has studied the Catalan Gitans and their language for more than twenty years. His study of *Les Gitans catalans et leurs langue. Une étude réalisée à Perpignan* (2004) offers an important historical overview of Kaló, followed by a synthesis of the linguistic features of Catalan as spoken by Gitans in Perpignan. In *Cosa de paios i gitanos: el català de Millars*, Claudi Balaguer (2010) contributes a linguistic study of the dialect spoken by Gitans from Millars (the second largest community of speakers in Roussillon), which is more closely based on surrounding speech than is the case in Perpignan. This is due to the fact that waves of migrants originating in interior Catalonia traveled through the central Pyrenees to Millars without stopping in Perpignan.

Studies that have adopted an educational focus have been spearheaded by Nathalie Auger and her colleagues. Auger's research has explored language ideologies towards Gitan and French in schools attended by Gitan students in Southwestern France (Auger, 2014; Auger & Matheu, 2016). More recently, the edited volume *Enfants gitans à l'école et en famille: D'une analyse des dynamiques langagières en famille aux pratiques de classe* (Auger, forthcomingB), draws attention to the schooling experiences of young Gitan learners in Perpignan. Contributors investigate language practices of Gitan families, with a focus on young learners, and the social representations that surround them. They also consider pedagogical practices and their potential for improvement in a context where Gitan students learn French as an L2.

Although researchers have documented the historical presence of the Gitans of France, undertaken linguistic analyses in particular communities, and examined aspects of Gitan students' schooling experiences, a multitude of aspects of their experience remain unexplored. In the words of Casanova (2016), "Ara s'obre la possibilitat d'un treball, de molts treballs, més en detall, més concrets, basats en ciutats, o en nissagues, o en parles, o en rituals… Mil possibilitats s'obren en el punt en què aquest estudi es clou" (p. 21) [Now opens up the possibility for a study, for many studies, with greater detail, and rooted in particular contexts, focused on cities, or castes, or speech varieties, or rituals… Thousands of possibilities begin where this study ends]. My dissertation attempts to contribute to this opening through its focus on the everyday socializing experiences of Gitan students at schools in Perpignan.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION

The field of language socialization emerged from the recognition of the centrality of language in childhood development and responded to gaps in the existing fields of developmental psychology and anthropology (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 349). Within developmental psychology, language acquisition studies lacked diversity in subjects; there was an overwhelming focus on white, middle-class European and North American children whose language practices were positioned as universal. In other words, "culture remained invisible as a principle that organized speech practices and their acquisition" (p. 349). Meanwhile, in anthropological research, language was considered insignificant to childhood socialization and the transmission of culture was conceived as a unidirectional process in which children were passive recipients. In Mead's (1963) understanding of enculturation—"the process of learning a culture in all its uniqueness and particularity"—and socialization—"the set of species-wide requirements and exactions made on human beings by human societies" (p. 187), no agency was ascribed to the child, "who was simply an empty vessel into which culture was poured" (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 350).[9] With a focus on contextually-situated interactions that broke with previous approaches to childhood development, language socialization researchers attributed agency to learners as both the objects and agents of socialization, understood as a bi-directional process in which language figured centrally. They discerned that language acquisition is implicated in the process of becoming and being recognized as a culturally competent member of a particular group (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984, p. 277). In turn, the process of acquiring cultural competence is realized to a large extent through language as learners come to understand its functions, social distributions, and possible interpretations within and across social situations.

Language socialization research is based on the premise that "novices' participation in communicative practices is promoted but not determined by a legacy of socially and culturally informed persons, artifacts, and features of the built environment" (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p. 4). In other words, the field takes an interest in the how learners develop a *habitus* (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 349) by means of their explicit and implicit socialization to and internalization of norms for behavior. Bourdieu (1977) defined *habitus* as a set of dispositions that incline individuals to act in a particular way without determining their actions. These dispositions are "durable," incorporated in the body through inculcation, and "collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor" (p. 72). They are not only "structured," reflective of the particular social conditions of their production, but are also "generative" and "transposable"; the practices and perceptions that they promote are not limited to the contexts in which they were acquired. With regard to language, children and other novices develop a linguistic habitus through socialization that disposes them to employ particular language practices, to which they will, in turn, socialize others. These linguistic habitus are inscribed in the body as an aspect of how individuals position themselves via-à-vis others in space (i.e., including

[9] This recalls the "banking" model of education criticized by Freire (1970), whereby "students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor" (p. 72).

how they speak), what Bourdieu termed the *corporeal hexis*. Habitual linguistic practices carry important implications since access to linguistic resources that are valued in particular contexts are unequally distributed, with differential availability tied to other sources of capital (e.g., cultural or economic). Therefore, as Thompson (1991) notes, based on Bourdieu's theory:

> [D]ifferences in terms of accent, grammar and vocabulary – the very differences overlooked by formal linguistics – are indices of the social positions of speakers and reflections of the quantities of linguistic capital (and other capital) which they possess. The more linguistic capital that speakers possess, the more they are able to exploit the system of differences to their advantage and thereby secure a *profit of distinction.* (p. 18)

The advantage of distinction is exemplified in an anecdote offered by Bourdieu: the mayor of a city in the Béarn region of France addressed an audience in 'good quality Béarnais' dialect. The mayor's status, and the unspoken recognition of his competence in French, enabled him to speak in dialect while maintaining and reinforcing the local sociolinguistic hierarchy. As Thompson (1991) observes, "What is praised as 'good quality Béarnais' when issued from the mouth of the mayor would have been accorded a quite different (and no doubt much lower) value had it been uttered by a peasant who spoke mere fragments of French" (p. 19). Similarly, when this concept is applied to a classroom context, an instructor's non-standard language practices may go undetected or unremarked while students' deviations from sanctioned norms may be heavily policed in the same classroom.

Although socialization is not unidirectional, power inevitably shapes socializing interactions. Ochs and Schieffelin (2011) acknowledge that "an asymmetry of knowledge and power" characterizes all socializing encounters and that "[t]he exercise of power over novices' communicative practices is ubiquitous" (p. 6). This power need not be exerted through physical means but can and often does take invisible, symbolic form. Its effectiveness is dependent upon the extent to which those who undergo it accord legitimacy to its existence (Bourdieu, 1991). In *zones of contact* (Pratt 1991), marked by tense relations between speakers of different languages and/or linguistic varieties, asymmetrical power dynamics can have a significant impact on language change, maintenance, or shift. Pratt (1996) describes such zones as follows:

> Social and cultural formations [that] enter a long term, often permanent state of crisis that cannot be resolved by either the conqueror or the conquered. Rather the relationships of conquered/conqueror, invaded/invader, past/present, and before/after become the medium out of which culture, language, society and consciousness get structured. That constructing … involves continuous negotiation among radically heterogenous groups[10] whose separate trajectories have come to intersect; among radically heterogenous systems of meaning that have been brought into contact by the encounter; and within relations of radical inequality enforced by violence. (p. 6; cited in Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p. 15)

In zones of contact, which materialize in contexts characterized by immigration, colonization, or marginalization, those subjected to power represent "the ground zero for linguistic transformation"

[10] Just as the notion of Chomsky's "ideal speaker" has come to be regarded as a fallacy, on a community scale, the concept of a homogenous speech community, distinguished by unified linguistic practices, has been discredited, with contact and resulting heterogeneity now understood to be ubiquitous. The nature of the relationship between communities in contact does, however, vary significantly.

(Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p. 15). As means of an illustration, Pujolar's (2009) study of a Catalan language course in Northern Catalonia attended by immigrant women primarily from West Africa, highlights how asymmetrical power differentials manifest in zones of contact. Pujolar draws attention to "how particular constructions of space at different levels (or scales) can be mobilized as resources to exert control over immigrants, and how language choice is implicated in these processes" (p. 85). When immigrants enter into unfamiliar socially constructed spaces, those who are invested in these contexts may feel compelled to reassert the validity of the spaces and to reaffirm their position therein vis-à-vis arrivals. The choice of a particular language can function as a marker of territory and associated legitimate practices and ideologies (p. 85). In this case, Pujolar found that Catalan, the language associated with greater cultural capital for the middle class within Catalonia (as opposed to Spanish), was being offered (in theory) to foreigners, however "[i]mmigrants [were] not really supposed or expected to possess in full capacity the most valued linguistic resources" (p. 86). Consequently, implicit institutional agendas limited the development of the students' linguistic skills in Catalan. The extreme control exercised by instructors during class activities restricted the possibilities for student participation; instructors held the floor for such extended periods that students had scarce opportunities to speak, even in single words. Due to their limited yet exclusive exposure to Catalan, learners experienced increased difficulty when locals switched into Spanish, a language presumed to be more widely accessible to foreigners, with the intention to facilitate communication. Although the instructors recognized that it was more natural to use Spanish with foreigners, Catalan instruction was maintained in the classroom, albeit with minimal opportunities for student engagement. Instructors' power to determine appropriate practices for learners was not limited to language lessons; since they were also charged with socializing learners into local behavioral conventions, with course offerings on such topics as health practices and immigration, instructors were positioned to define "normal" practices, including but not limited to language, for newcomers. Although examples such as this highlight the asymmetry that is often salient in socializing encounters, it is important to recognize that the effectiveness of symbolic power is dependent upon the complicity of those subjected to it; individuals may challenge the legitimacy of the norms to which they are socialized rather than accept and reproduce them, an observation that will be pertinent to the findings of the present dissertation study.[11] Manifestations of resistance contribute to the construction of "bad subjects" who do not conform to ideal models for socialization and may consequently become the objects of marginalization and exclusion.

1.1.1 Language Socialization Gone Wrong: "Bad Subjects" and Exclusion

Language socialization researchers initially focused their attention on good (i.e., obedient) subjects and ideal outcomes. As García-Sánchez (2016) observes, early studies in the field

> elegantly struggled with the tension of continuity and change that permeate even the most normative of developmental trajectories, [and] the focus on competent membership did tend to foreground those normative developmental trajectories at the expense of other possible endpoints of socialization. (p. 160)

[11] This is particularly true for individuals with a split habitus (or "habitus clivé," Bourdieu, 2001), resulting from diverse socialization experiences and generating contradictions and tensions in an individual's dispositions.

In a critical reflection on the state of the field, Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) underscore the need to attend to these other endpoints—to "culturally problematic subjectivities" (p. 365) resulting from resistance to socializing forces—in order to prevent the field from devolving into "behaviorism in new clothes" (p. 355). In other words, these researchers encourage an interest in "bad" subjects, understood in Althusser's terms as individuals who "[do] not recognize or respond to socially powerful, coercive calls to inhabit certain subject positions" (p. 355).[12]

Since the early 2000s, language socialization researchers have attempted to widen the field's attention beyond "normative" subjects and outcomes of socialization, as well as the generalization of findings devolving from this focus (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Ochs, 2000). However, even as researchers are beginning to shift their attention to "heterogeneous, multilingual, and culturally syncretic settings" (García-Sánchez, 2016, p. 160), a focus on socialization trajectories that adhere to ideal models has persisted. García-Sánchez (2016) asserts that

> there is still much room for both theoretical and empirical development of language socialization in relation to marginalization, such as how marginalized subjectivities come into being, how semiotic mechanisms of membership shape the ways in which individuals or entire groups are routinely blocked from socially desirable positions and identities, or how the social (re)production of structures of discrimination underpins the organization of marginalizing interactional encounters and institutional engagements that can lead to socialization trajectories of disenfranchisement, as well as how these forms of social reproduction can be disrupted. (p. 171)

With the field's emphasis on socialization as a process of becoming part of a community, less attention has been given to cases in which membership is denied, restricted, or split as in the case of a *habitus clivé*: "Little is still known […] about the socially organized practices that are inconsistent with fully fledged membership in a community and that may render certain groups of novices as 'outsiders' and as a [sic] second-class members of the social group" (García-Sánchez, 2011, p. 391). In attending to a case of language socialization and exclusion, García-Sánchez (2014) analyzes how Moroccan immigrant children in southern Spain are socialized into marginalized identities and subject to exclusion as "others" through situated, daily interactions with their Spanish peers and instructors at school. Her research on "the politics of belonging" importantly recognizes how experiences of exclusion not only originate "at the sociohistorical level of the conditions and effects of contemporary migration and ideologies of otherness" but also "at the micro level of everyday interaction" (p. 394).

As language socialization researchers recognize the importance of examining multilingual settings and the production of marginalization therein, more research is needed to analyze the politics of language use (i.e., how the marginalization of languages and language varieties—and, by extension, their speakers—operates). Particularly in educational contexts, students may be presented with linguistic norms that do not coincide with their practices and may be regarded as "bad subjects" when they deviate from expectations. Further, even when learners reproduce "standard" practices, they may still be heard as deviant if their bodies are racialized by instructors

[12] To clarify, the notion of a "bad subject" represents an oxymoron in Althusser's ideology: "as long as one becomes a subject full stop, then being a 'good one' or a 'bad one' is ultimately beside the point" (McMahon, 2013, p. 604). Althusser employs the term "bad subject" once to characterize moments in which individuals fail to internalize restraint, which must consequently become imposed from outside (Althusser, 2001, p. 121).

and their language is conflated with inappropriateness (Flores & Rosa, 2015). Language ideologies, which "are rarely, if ever, exclusively about language" (Leeman, 2012, p. 43), can offer important insights into the ways in which students' linguistic practices—and associated identities—may come to be defined as non-normative through socialization. The following sections will explore language and identity, multilingualism, language ideologies, and translation.

1.2 LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

> "As individuals we are not the mere objects of language but the sites of discursive struggle"
> Weedon (1987, p. 106).

The nature of speakers' identity as either fixed or emergent reflects dichotomy-based thinking that is not unique to research on language and identity: Literacy researcher Alderson (1984) wondered, *Does reading in a foreign language represent a reading problem or a language problem?* Similarly, language contact researchers have asked, *Is linguistic change influenced by internal or external factors?* In their reflection on debates concerning the nature of language contact, Farrar and Jones (2002) critique the "either-or" (i.e., contact as either an internally- *or* externally-motivated phenomenon) and "if-in-doubt-do-without" (i.e., if external influences are not indisputable, disregard them) mentalities that have persisted in some research circles. They argue that, in a somewhat vicious cycle, a focus on one dimension (e.g., in this case, identity as brought about in constructionist circles or brought along as perpetuated by essentialist approaches) has led us to know less about alternative aspects of the object under study and to consequently ignore them more.

Just as Bernhardt and Kamil (1995) reframe the original either/or question concerning reading in a foreign language and demonstrate the importance of consolidating both hypotheses, in his work on identity, Baynham (2015) interrogates understandings of identity as either pre-established (i.e., brought along) or interactionally emergent (i.e., brought about). He advances a mutually inclusive perspective that accounts for historicity while acknowledging interactional dimensions of identity construction: "[E]ven from the perspective of a performative account of identity, of the speaking self, there is an enormous structuring weight of discursive formations, which are 'brought along' in the moment of discourse, part of the presupposed baggage of the locutionary agent, to be contingently rearticulated" (p. 354). Interaction is central to the reception, construction, and performance of identity. The mention of the "structuring weight of discursive formations" recalls Bourdieu's habitus, which inclines the subject to act and react in predictable ways without determining behavior. In other words, individuals carry their sedimented past exchanges, which shape subsequent identities. However, individuals are not prisoners to fixed identities; they articulate and negotiate new identities through interaction. As Leeman observes (2012), "[O]ur identities emerge from some combination of the identities that we claim for ourselves and the identities that are ascribed to us by others. Language is an important means whereby individuals both perform and ascribe identities to others, and these identities, as well as the qualities they index, are tied up with ideologies" (p. 47). With the recognition of the relationship between language, identity, and ideology comes a crucial question for the classroom as a site of socialization: How are students' languages and identities constructed in the classroom, and what ideologies inform this process?

1.2.1 Constructing Identity through Language in the Classroom

Language instruction can be conceived as much more than the transmission of linguistic knowledge but as a "political act" with implications for students' identity (Canagarajah, 1993). García-Sánchez's (2016) research in a multilingual classroom in Spain powerfully illustrates the potential of the instructor to position student identities by means of language. Her data highlight *tokenization* (Wortham, 2000), a process whereby a student is positioned as representing an entire national, cultural, or ethnic group and membership in accordance with an ethno-prototype. García-Sánchez documents how the good intentions of the focal school in her study (i.e., to foster tolerance for heterogeneity) had unintended consequences, frequently constructing immigrant and minority children as ethnic Others. For instance, school holidays and festivities "routinely incorporated diversity as the essentialization of folkloric manifestations of ethnic traditions ... [and] reified static notions of 'culture' as the property of only those students different from the majority group" (p. 294). In her research in France, Auger similarly noted a tendency to reduce intercultural encounters to contact with stereotyped identities in what she termed a "pédagogie couscous" [couscous pedagogy] (Auger, 2008a, p. 191; 2010, p. 25).[13]

The construction of stereotyped difference through classroom discourse is illustrated by the following account from García-Sánchez's (2016) research, in which the focal instructor compares stories on wedding narratives elicited from a non-Roma Spanish student, a Moroccan student, and a Roma student. As the researcher observes, the very ordering of the storytellers functions as a means of tokenization, whereby narratives are organized to highlight a transition from more familiar to more "foreign" experience and identities. The focal instructor arrives with clear assumptions: "Aquí yo sé que vosotros vais a contar tres tipos de boda diferente" [Here I know that you are going to describe three different types of weddings] (p. 295). Intent upon recounting difference, she quickly silences student comments that do not support this instructional focus. The Spanish narrative told by Juan is naturalized through a process of authentication (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004): it is positioned as representative of a genuine wedding and becomes a powerful form of authorization due to the teacher's institutional role. The instructor then signals a transition to a narrative characterized by difference (or distinction in Bucholtz & Hall's (2004) terminology):

01 Teacher: Este tipo de boda las conocemos todos, verdad?
[We all know this type of wedding, right?]
02 Teacher: Ahora nos va- nos va a contar Mimon una boda
[Now Mimon is- is going to tell us (about) a wedding]
(…)
03 Teacher: A ver explicanos
[Let's see explain to us]

(p. 300, ll. 1-3)

By positioning the wedding described by the Spanish student, Juan, as part of collective experience ("we all know"), and inviting the Moroccan student to explain to "us," the teacher constructs an *us versus them* dichotomy (what Said, 1978 called us/them of Orientalist discourse) whereby

[13] Auger (2010) writes that when asked about intercultural training, instructors often replied, "Vous voulez parler de la pédagogie couscous?" [You want to talk about the couscous pedagogy?] (p. 25)—a reference to one day dedicated to the recognition of children's cultural traditions.

contrastive identities are constituted through language and students who are not Spanish are positioned as outsiders with non-normative experience. When the Moroccan student attempts to describe a fairly unmarked white bridal gown and veil, the instructor misrecognizes the description as that of an exotic Arab bride and expresses awe (e.g., Ah sí::?; = a ver es interesante [Ah yes::? Let's see, that's interesting]). The instructor's framing of this student's experience as foreign resurfaces throughout the telling, as seen in the following comments: "Explicanos porque esa boda no la conocemos" [Explain to us because we don't know that wedding] (p. 300, l. 7); "Tú lo que tienes que hacer es explicar porque-=" [What you have to do is explain it to us because-"] (p. 301, l. 15). Similarly, when another student, Daniela, describes a Roma wedding, the instructor exoticizes the event through emphatic repetition of particular elements (e.g., "Her hair hanging down? (.) down, down, down?") and language that continues to reinforce an in-group/out-group distinction (e.g., "cómo se casan?" [How do they get married?] (p. 304, l. 9), which contrasts with the students' use of first-person plural verb forms (e.g., "Los montamos" [We carry them] (p. 304, l. 10)). In these ways, the instructor demonstrates her power to become the authority on immigrant/minority children's identity—to tell the narrators and their classmates who they are.

Students may reproduce the dominant discourses to which they are socialized. To return to García-Sánchez's research context, having observed two narrative tellings, the last student to provide a wedding narrative offers more dramatic details, which are taken up as authentic by the instructor. The researcher notes that this could be seen as emerging from double consciousness (Du Bois, 1903): "the sense of looking at one's self through the eyes of others; of measuring one soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt" (cited on pp. 305-306)—in a sense, of speaking with the voice of 'we' about one's own experience as other. This study provides further insight into "homogeneism" (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998), the idea that diversity is suspect or problematic and homogenous society is unmarked. This example illustrates how efforts to help students cultivate a sense of belonging and acceptance may result in alienation and exclusion if homogenizing ideologies are not disrupted. Undoing homogeneism requires perceiving learners' challenges to classroom discourses not as disruptions but as insights into linguistic and cultural difference. As Menard-Warwick (2007) contends, "educators can best facilitate learners' constructions of L2 identities and voices when they listen for and support their diverse reflexive positionings" (p. 286).

1.2.2 Contestation of Imposed Identities and Languages in the Classroom

Importantly, learners are not always helpless agents; they may reject the norms to which they are socialized. For example, Sterponi's (2007) examination of "the underlife of the classroom"[14] reveals that, whereas schools may support silent, individual engagement with texts, the children in her study display an affinity for collaborative interactional reading. Students' subversive literacy practices, which often take place surreptitiously, evidence peer socialization and resistance to dominant language socialization. García-Sánchez (2016) also illustrates how learners may reject the discourses that essentialize them. For example, in the same context, Daniela seizes an open-ended IRE sequence as an opportunity to reject the formulation of her cultural identity being constructed by the instructor:

[14] Canagarajah's (1993) study of ESL instruction in Sri Lanka also attended to the "very active underlife" (p. 613) of the language classroom. He found that students who appeared passive during instruction were engaged in other discourses that preoccupied them, as attested by the glosses that they produced in their textbooks.

21 Teacher: Y la mujer lleva así una tiara grande y eso?
[And the woman wears a big tiara like this and all that?]
22 Daniela: No=
23 Teacher: = No (.) y un- un velo?
[= No (.) and a- a veil?]
24 Daniela: No

(p. 305, ll. 21-24)

In these examples, learners challenge the definition of their identity—as a reader or a Gitan—that is intended for them within the classroom space.

In addition to contesting the identities that instructors construct for them, learners may oppose the introduction and characterizations of their languages within the classroom. We may first question whether learners always desire for instructors to bring their languages into instruction. According to Ibrahim (1999), *only* an ESL pedagogy that draws on students' linguistic identity is likely to succeed. However, while he sees the potential benefit of recognition and incorporation of youth language, one could argue that such efforts by those with institutional power are equally, if not more, likely to fail. For example, Doran (2007) observes how *le français des jeunes de banlieue* is mobilized to index (or, indeed, construct) identities "in ways that challenge traditional republican conceptions of what it means to speak, and to be, French" (p. 498). She notes how language offers a "third space" (Bhabha, 1994; Kramsch, 1993), enabling youth to define themselves in their own terms—quite literally. In most cases, it is questionable that French youth from the banlieue would view their instructor as a legitimate speaker or learner of their own variety of French, as an individual with the authority to bring *le français de banlieue* in any of its manifestations into the classroom or use it within an institutional space. Such a move would entail institutionalizing their language and identity, which is constructed in opposition to the standard of the classroom, predicated upon distance, and enacted at the margins.

The linguistic medium of instruction is intimately tied to questions of identity and belonging: As Heller (1996) observes, "[I]t is […] a question of *what* French, or perhaps more accurately *whose* French" (p. 145). In turn, language becomes the site of negotiation of identity: "The forms of language that are considered legitimate in the classroom context must thus be seen as something to be constructed, worked at, even struggled for or against" (p. 145). Gadet (2007) observes that groups tend to overemphasize their linguistic specificities and underestimate what they share with other speakers. If learners' L1 is formally introduced into the classroom, they may therefore insist on difference, regarding the institutionalized variety of instruction as foreign. We are reminded of the political enterprise of bilingual education involving students' L1, which entails "more than simply maintaining and learning a language," but also "[constructs] the value of the different languages in a community repertoire and […] [defines] who has the right to use them under what circumstances" (p. 156). Given the intimate relationship between language and identity, it is important to closely observe students' linguistic behavior, "to listen to how they make use of their available linguistic resources and to consider the effects of their language use – even where we believe these 'languages' to be inventions" (Martin-Jones & Creese, 2012). As the present dissertation study will illustrate, instructors may argue that the language that students claim as central to their identity, "Gitan," is an invention and merely constitutes deficient Catalan. Students' contestation of such claims, which may be perceived by instructors as an incomprehensible resistance to normative language practices, can alternatively be understood as an effort to defend their identity through differentiation from "standard" Catalan.

Learners are inculcated with expected norms for language and identity as newcomers to the educational contexts that they navigate. Instructors may compare and contrast, authenticate or denaturalize, and authorize or delegitimize students' linguistic practices and identities through classroom discourse. An insistence on a standard ideology and construction of speakers as deviant can serve to enact learners' marginalization. Even so, through a process of negotiation, as learners develop a heightened awareness of language ideologies, they can capitalize on their multilingualism and contest the identities that are constructed for them (e.g., as bad subjects) by those in positions of power.

1.3 MULTILINGUALISM

Increasingly the subject of both public and academic discourse (within linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, cognitive linguistics, applied linguistics, and education—and beyond), multilingualism has been examined as both an individual and a societal phenomenon. A number of definitions have been proposed for multilingualism on an *individual* level, or plurilingualism as it is referred to within European circles (Escudé & Jain, 2010a, p. 10). Ideal multilinguals were long understood as the aggregate of monolinguals of different languages (the "monolingual or fractal view," see Grosjean, 1989), a perspective that continues to predominate in some contexts (see, for example, Auger, 2017). However, understandings of languages as discrete and hermetically sealed from external linguistic influence are increasingly giving way to discussions of linguistic repertoires in applied linguistic and sociolinguistic research. Some researchers have argued for the need to disinvent and reconstitute our conceptions of languages, which have hereto served political interests of particular groups at the expense of others (Harris, 1987, 1989, 2006, 2009; Makoni & Pennycook, 2012; Makoni, 2013).[15] In questioning the very existence of discrete, countable languages, their work in turn interrogates the traditional understanding of multilingualism as a collection of individual languages. Informed by post-colonialism studies (Makoni & Makoni, 2010; Pennycook, 2010), these researchers advocate for contextualized, situated understandings of language, or what they term a "human-centered multilingualism" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012, p. 441): "From the perspective of linguistic anthropology, with a particular interest in the notion of language ideologies, or regimes of language (Kroskrity 2000), the question becomes one of asking how it is that languages are understood locally" (p. 441). While the concepts of "language" and "multilingualism" continue to be employed, they are being resignified as the product of predominately socio-political, as opposed to linguistic, forces (Weber & Horner, 2012, p. 6). A focus on speakers rather than systems has inspired an emphasis on multilingualism as a linguistic *repertoire*, a perspective captured in the following definition proposed by Blommaert (2010):

> Multilingualism . . . should not be seen as a collection of 'languages' that a speaker controls, but rather as a complex of *specific* semiotic resources, some of which belong to a conventionally defined 'language', while others belong to another 'language'. The resources are concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities such as writing – ways of using language in particular communicative settings and spheres of life,

[15] For example, Makoni (2013) draws on the "language myth" central to Harris's (1987) study of integrationism to argue that "the dominant modes of framing languages as structures and indigenous African languages as natural are products of Western philosophy" (p. 87).

> including the ideas people have about such ways of using [these resources], their language ideologies. (p. 10)

Nevertheless, the notion of language often remains latent in discussions of repertoires. For example, within language contact research, Matras (2009) encourages a shift in focus from linguistic systems to speakers in contact. Although he advocates for a focus on speakers' *repertoires*, linguistic elements contained therein seem to cluster around "languages" and "systems" in his discussions of contact. Similarly, references to multilinguals' "truncated repertoires" (see Blommaert, 2010, p. 103) appear to use *whole* repertoires (presumably languages as systems) as a point of comparison. Moreover, the very notion of a being *bi*-(or *multi*-)lingual implies the existence of two linguistic systems, someone *bi*-(or *multi*-)*linguis*—of two (or more) tongues.

On a societal level, *multilingualism* is defined as "the presence in a geographical area, large or small, of more than one 'variety of language'. . .; in such an area individuals may be monolingual, speaking only their own variety" (Council of Europe, n.d.). Researchers have studied language ideologies and power in multilingual contexts (e.g., Hill, 1993; Lippi-Green, 2012; May, 2012), multilingualism and globalization (e.g., Lin & Martin, 2005), superdiversity (e.g., Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), language endangerment and revitalization (e.g., Cameron, 2008; Duchêne & Heller, 2008), and multilingualism in the linguistic landscape (e.g., Malinowski, 2009; Pennycook, 2009; Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, & Barni, 2010).[16] Researchers have also advanced educational perspectives on multilingualism, theorizing the multilingual classroom or carrying out ethnographic research in educational contexts (e.g., García, Skutnabb Kangas, & Torres-Guzmán, 2006; Martin-Jones, 2007). More recently, social-justice oriented research on multilingualism has emerged that takes an interest in the intersections of language, race, and social class (e.g., Flores & Rosa, 2019; Ortega, 2019). Societal multilingualism has often been situated as a threat to national unity, which is presumably sustained by monolingualism in a national standard. Gadet (2007, p. 208) notes the pervasive "ideology of the standard" (Milroy & Milroy, 1985), whereby the state emphasizes linguistic uniformity as an ideal and situates deviant speech as a threat to national unity in France.[17] Although monolingual language standards "may symbolize a nation," Kroskrity (2004) asserts that "they disproportionately represent the interests of specific groups within those nations" (p. 509; i.e., an elite that benefits from the prestige denied to "non-standard" linguistic variants and their speakers).

Particularly within certain contexts, schools may struggle to reconcile the multilingualism within their classrooms with their institutional function to cultivate linguistic, and by extension national, unity. Schools promote national interests by socializing students to a monolingual standard. It follows then, as Hélot (2012) suggests, that

> it could […] be considered paradoxical to ask schools to help sustain linguistic diversity when their main objective for over a century was to educate linguistically homogenous citizens through the eradication of differences. Indeed, over several centuries languages

[16] In contrast to socially-oriented research, cognitive approaches to multilingualism (e.g., Altarriba & Heredia, 2008; Chin & Wigglesworth, 2007) have attended to such phenomena as processing (e.g., Bialystok & Craik, 2010), attentional control (e.g., Bialystok, 2003, 2015), memory (e.g., Altarriba & Isurin, 2013), and aging (e.g., Kavé, Eyal, Shorek, & Cohen-Mansfield, 2008).

[17] This notion is encapsulated in the expression "casser la France" [breaking France], which signifies "parler mal" [speaking poorly] (Gadet, 2007, p. 208).

> have been 'constructed' by states wanting to consolidate political power (Makoni and Pennycook 2007), and this has led to the division of language into different and discrete languages, to a belief that there is a privileged link between people and a territory and to languages functioning as autonomous entities in exclusionary relationships with each other. (p. 215)

Given their historical role, it can be difficult to reconceive schools as sites that foster the development of students' multilingual habitus (p. 214). In general, Hélot observes that European schools with a growing interest in the education of plurilingual students tend to take paradoxical action: The linguistic resources of those who begin schooling as bi-/multilinguals frequently goes unrecognized while the multilingual aspirations of the monolingual elite are supported by bilingual institutions:

> I have previously pointed to the waste at work in our schools, which ignore the bilingualism of some students who end up becoming monolingual again in an education system where the aim is to educate future plurilingual citizens (Hélot 2006). The issue here concerns the linguistic support that should be given to bi- and multilingual learners irrespective of the status of the languages concerned. Bilingual education in Europe and elsewhere tends to be the preserve of elites who want to ensure a better future for their children; it is far less often offered as a model of language education to support immigrant minority language speakers. (p. 216)

Hélot acknowledges how the social status of languages informs an institutional stance towards students' linguistic identities. This situation is not unique to European schools. There is growing concern within the United States that the prioritization of "elite bilingualism" of middle- and upper-middle class students has coincided with a disregard for the existing bilingualism of Latinx and other minority students (Mitchell, 2019). In their call to more fully address questions of race and identity in SLA research, Flores and Rosa (2019) similarly assert disparities in the recognition of what counts as multilingualism, citing the media's portrayal of Princess Charlotte of Wales as a case in point:

> A headline from *Independent* noted, 'Princess Charlotte is already bilingual at age two, with the author insisting that this was 'a skill most people cannot claim' and that she 'can't help but feel inferior' (Ritschel, 2018). In a similar vein, a headline from *Harper's Bazaar* reported 'Princess Charlotte may have just started nursery but can already speak two languages' (Fowler, 2018). As scholars who study the intersections of language, race, and social class we cannot help but be struck by the vast differences in the ways that the bilingualism of Princess Charlotte has been discussed versus the ways that it is typically discussed when associated with low-income students from racialized backgrounds. In our experience as U.S. educators, we have typically heard low-income bilingual students from racialized backgrounds framed as 'English learners' (ELs) who pose a challenge for public schools. (p. 145)

The review of the literature that follows centers only on those sub-topics of research that are of greatest relevance for the present dissertation study: language ideologies, with particular

attention to their role in educational contexts, and translation and intercomprehension as pedagogical resources for the development of critical language awareness.

1.3.1 Language Ideologies

Language ideologies constitute "beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds" (Kroskrity 2004, p. 498), including "their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989, p. 255). Research dedicated to the study of ideologies about language departed from the traditional emphasis within linguistics on the logic of systems, as opposed to the perspectives articulated by speakers. Chomsky (1985), considered a founder of modern linguistics, asserted that linguistic theory should concern itself "with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by … grammatically irrelevant conditions … in applying his knowledge of language in actual performance" (p. 80). According to Chomsky, linguists should work to reveal that which a speaker implicitly knows *without knowing it*, "mental processes that are far beyond the level of actual or even potential consciousness" (p. 85). In other words, as Kroskrity (2004) writes, "speakers—in Chomskyan models—were merely hosts for language" (p. 499). It was not linguists' role to ask speakers about their language; instead they were to access information that speakers themselves could not articulate. Within linguistic anthropology, researchers had deferred to the expertise of the linguist while discounting "the misleading and disturbing factors of secondary explanations" offered by speakers themselves (Boas, 1911, p. 69).

An important shift occurred in the late 70s when Silverstein questioned approaches within linguistics and anthropology that overlooked speakers' perspectives on language. Silverstein (1979) contended that "[w]e need have no conceit one way or the other […] that automatically privileges so-called 'scientific' description, or automatically condemns native ideological rationalization" (p. 193). In this way, he positioned language ideologies as "a phenomenon of no little significance for the practice of linguistics" (p. 193). Speakers became seen as non-negligible sources of linguistic knowledge and agents possessing the capacity to shape language practices and ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004; also see Gadet, 2007, p. 206). Silverstein (1985) broke with Saussure in his recognition of human agency, regarding signs as inherently unstable and shaped by speakers' intentions within their contexts of use, asserting, "The total linguistic fact, the datum for a science of language, is irreducibly dialectic in nature. It is an unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms, contextualized to situations of interested human use and mediated by the fact of cultural ideology" (p. 220; cited in Kroskrity, 2004, p. 498).

With the recognition of the role of agency in language practices and representations, researchers documented the discursive means whereby speakers enact ideologies (see Irvine & Gal, 2000). For example, in a process referred to as *iconization*, individuals may evaluate linguistic features through their own representations of speakers: Some Western European linguists misinterpreted South African Khoisan clicks as "degraded animal sounds rather than phonological units"; in turn, some linguists perceived "the linguistic and ethnic diversity of the Balkans as a pathological sociolinguistic chaos that could only be opposed to Western Europe's transparent alignment of ethnic nation, standardized national language, and state" (Kroskrity, 2004, pp. 507-508). Through *fractal recursivity*, "differences which are made to be iconic are used in the creation of an 'other'" (Andronis, 2004, p. 264). As illustrated by these examples, language ideologies are not really about language at all (Flores & Rosa, 2019) but instead signal whom we are trying to

control (Kelly-Holmes, 2019), or, at the very least, characterize; comments about language serve as a proxy for underlying representations of perceived cultural differences, race, and social class.

Particular linguistic features, varieties, or languages are not inherently superior or inferior to one another; rather, speakers' assessments are informed by, and reproduce, power differentials. Linguistic exchanges highlight salient variation between speakers (e.g., in terms of accent, intonation, tone, vocabulary, syntax, etc.), and these differences in turn index disparities in power (Bourdieu, 1991). Speakers "use languages—and their ideas about languages—to create and negotiate […] sociocultural worlds" (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 512). As Bourdieu (1991) observed, dominant language ideologies dictate who has the power to acquire and reproduce particular linguistic forms, as well as the value that should be accorded to them vis-à-vis linguistic alternatives (also see Riley, 2011, p. 493). Power dynamics promote a belief in the existence of standard language at the expense of perceived less-than-standard or non-standard varieties—and, by extension, deviant speakers. The notion of a linguistic "standard" is commonly referred to among laymen and, at times, linguists. However, "researchers working within the framework of language ideologies argue that given the inherent variability of language, such varieties do not actually exist" (Leeman, 2012, p. 49; also see Flores & Rosa, 2015; Milroy & Milroy, 1999; Milroy, 2007). Lippi-Green (2012) defines the standard language ideology as "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions" (p. 68). Using the English language as an example, Kroskrity (2004) argues that "the proclaimed superiority of Standard English rests not on its structural properties or its communicative efficiency but rather on its association with the political-economic influence of affluent social classes who benefit from a social stratification which consolidates and continues their privileged position" (pp. 502-503).

Although standard varieties represent abstract constructs, formal instruction can promote the belief that a standard variety exists and is to be coveted by students. The effects of insistence upon a standard are particularly palpable for marginalized learners. As Leeman (2012) observes,

> [W]ith their emphasis on inflexible grammar 'rules' and 'correct' usage, schools explicitly inculcate the notion that there is a single acceptable way to speak, and they mete out punishment to those who do not conform to the idealized norm. Students are routinely taught that nonstandard language is indicative of illogical or unintelligent thinking. (p. 49)

In accepting the standard language ideology, speakers of stigmatized languages or varieties can "become complicit in its propagation against themselves, their own interests and identities" (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 68). In other words, the promotion of "standard" language is an exercise in symbolic power, and language ideologies can lead marginalized individuals to adopt feelings of inferiority not only about their language practices but also about themselves. Schieffelin (2000) documented this outcome resulting from missionaries' efforts to socialize the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea to Western literacy practices. She highlighted how the literacy primers authored by missionaries with Kaluli input led locals to accommodate to hereto foreign language and literacy practices while also simultaneously espousing views of themselves as culturally Other or backwards (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 511).

Researchers interested in language socialization have examined how power differentials "inform, organize, and in some ways constrain people's everyday communicative practices" (Garrett, 2011, p. 519). The question of how language ideologies intersect with race and power has been taken up by scholars in the emerging field of raciolinguistics (Alim, Rickford, & Ball,

2016). The study of raciolinguistics understands "racialization as a form of socialization in and through language" (p. 2) and explores the ways in which ideologies of language raise larger questions of belonging (Rosa, 2016). As Rosa (2016) recognizes, discourses on perceived "nonstandardized practices can in fact racialize populations by framing them as incapable of producing any legitimate language" (p. 163), ultimately advancing ideologies of *languagelessness*. Drawing on ethnographic observations from a U.S. high school with a predominant Latinx population, Flores and Rosa (2015) illustrate how ideologies that "conflate certain racialized bodies with linguistic deficiency unrelated to any objective linguistic practices" enact stigmatization and exclusion (p. 150). This finding reinforces understandings of bilingualism as a function of speaker identity: "while bilingualism is understood as a valuable asset or goal for middle-class and upper-class students, for working class and poor students it is framed as a disability that must be overcome" (Rosa, 2016, p. 171). Marginalized bilingual students who find their linguistic practices devalued can be perceived as bad subjects who do not occupy the subject position expected of them within the local and broader national context. As Rosa notes, "seemingly innocuous classifications of students' language abilities can function in covertly racializing ways by positioning particular populations as unfit for nation-state inclusion on linguistic grounds" (p. 171).

Representations of speakers and their languages both inform and are constructed through processes of socialization. In other words, ideologies of language "influence the sociocultural contexts that shape language socialization, and language ideologies are also among the many cultural values socialized through language use" (Riley, 2011, p. 493). As Rosa and Flores (2015) argue, if we seek to unsettle raciolinguistic ideologies, it is insufficient to defend the legitimacy of the language practices of marginalized speakers; we must instead probe "the societal reproduction of listening subject positions that continually perceive deficiency" (p. 79). This move reflects a post-structuralist approach to language as adopted by Kramsch (see, in particular, 2012b) that does not ask how to comfort or empower marginalized speakers (e.g., Norton, 2013) but instead interrogates the ideologies—as well as the social, historical, and political contexts of their production—that cause speakers to be framed as such in the first place. Schools represent important contexts in which to examine how standard language ideologies are promoted through socialization. In the classroom, ideologies inform instructors' perception of desirable language practices, which they explicitly and implicitly communicate.

1.3.1.1 Socialization to Standard Language Ideologies at School

From early on, language socialization research was carried out in contexts of formal schooling. This focus first began to take shape when Bernstein (1974) examined schools as sites of reproduction of social inequalities. His research served as the impetus for studies aimed at exploring the often-discontinuous relationship between linguistic and cultural practices at home and school. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) observed that schools constitute sites not only where different linguistic codes may be used but where norms are reproduced that reinforce the legitimacy of institutions:

> Every institutionalized education system owes the specific characteristics of its structure and functioning to the fact that, by the means proper to the institution, it has to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self-reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and

> to the fulfillment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary which it does not produce (cultural reproduction), the reproduction of which contributes to the reproduction of the relations between groups or classes (social reproduction). (p. 54; cited in Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2008, p. 164)

Heath's (1983) cultural mixmatch theory of schooling reinforced the existence of discontinuities in linguistic practices across contexts. According to this theory, relative school success could be explained by the extent to which socialization in the home coincided with socialization at school.[18] More recent studies that build on this early research have developed three central lines of inquiry (Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2008 p. 166): (dis)continuity across domains of language use (as explored by Bernstein, 1974 and, later, Heath, 1983), socialization to institutional structures, and ideological considerations. Language socialization researchers interested in ideologies have often focused on how the status of two or more languages or language varieties present in the classroom is contested through interaction (p. 169). Fader (2000, 2001) found schools' ideological influence in adjudicating on the legitimacy of linguistic varieties and practices to extend to the community at large. As Weber and Horner (2012) observe, "the contradictory nature of mother tongue education consists in the fact that the true mother tongues of many children are ignored or rejected, while they continue to be taught in indigenous mother tongues that are actually foreign to them" (p. 128). In daily classroom interactions, instructors, accorded legitimacy through their institutions, socialize students to perspectives on language, with implications for their identity that extend beyond the classroom.

Rosa and Flores (2015) suggest that the notion of prestigious or more appropriate language "reflects a form of linguistic normativity anchored in raciolinguistic ideologies which serves as a coded way of describing racialized populations that are unrelated to empirical linguistic practices" (p. 160). As previously mentioned, they assert that marginalized learners, irrespective of their oral production, may be heard "as illegitimate" by their teachers (p. 161).[19] Rather than place the onus for change on students, Flores and Rosa assert the need for a change in perspective on the part of listening subjects (i.e., instructors, in the classroom context). They write: "Altering one's speech might do very little to change the ideological perspectives of listening subjects […] [A]dvocates of appropriateness-based models of language education overlook the ways that particular people's linguistic practices can be stigmatized regardless of the extent to which they approximate or correspond to standard forms" (p. 152).[20] Along the same lines, French sociologist Lahire (2008) argues that instructors must consider the existence of alternative norms (p. 96; also see Auger, 2013): "…au lieu de s'en tenir à une définition 'négative' (ils ont une 'pauvreté de vocabulaire', une 'syntaxe pauvre', des phrases 'grammaticalement incorrectes', 'incomplètes', une expression

[18] This theory has since been criticized by those who view it as overly simplistic (e.g., Vasquez, Pease-Alvarez, & Shannon, 1994) and maintain that most individuals are socialized in a multitude of spaces.

[19] The "white listening subject" that Flores and Rosa evoke in their examination of raciolinguistic ideologies does not constitute a specific individual but instead represents "an ideological position and mode of perception that shapes our racialized society" (p. 151). This argument is developed in Rosa's (2019) monograph, *Looking Like a Language, Sounding Like a Race: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and the Learning of Latinidad.*

[20] However, such endeavors should instead be critically regarded as perpetuating the notion that a more desirable elite standard exists, and that students' repertoires are inferior without this addition (Leeman, 2012 p. 53; Flores & Rosa, 2015). A focus on 'appropriateness' masks underlying "negative ideologies surrounding nonstandard varieties and the people who speak them, who are often represented as unintelligent or 'backward'" (Leeman, 2018, p. 351). It is important to question who is defining and evaluating appropriateness and who benefits from—and who is disadvantaged by—the promotion of a standard language ideology.

implicite, 'confuse', etc), il nous faut comprendre la logique qui rend possible de telles modalités d'utilisation du langage" [… instead of holding ourselves to a 'negative' definition (they have a 'poor vocabulary', 'poor syntax', 'grammatically incorrect', incorrect phrases, implicit, 'confused' expression, etc.), we must understand the logic that renders such language practices efficacious] (Lahire, 2008, p. 102). In additional to advocating for a shift in the perspective among listening subjects, Flores and Rosa encourage students to critically interrogate the discourses that frame them as defective speakers in the first place.

Flores and Rosa recognize the importance of students' home language as a resource for standard language development—often characterized as an *additive* approach to bilingual education. Nevertheless, they contend that additive approaches continue to advance ideologies of linguistic "appropriateness" rather than denaturalize the notion of a standard altogether. Consequently, "appropriateness" reinforces "a culture of monoglot standardization" (Silverstein, 1998),[21] whereby "powerful allegiances to imagined linguistic norms persist regardless of whether anyone actually adheres to those norms in practice. That is, people embrace notions such as 'Standard English' even if they cannot locate them empirically" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 151).

1.3.2 Challenging Language Ideologies

In order to better understand how instructors' language ideologies manifest and relate to those of their students, Leeman (2012) encourages research grounded in documented classroom interactions:

> Future research should look at what instructors actually do in the classroom, including how they use such artifacts, how they structure classes, how they discuss and respond to linguistic variation, and how they treat students. Such research should not focus exclusively on institutions and instructors; the scope must be expanded and shifted to include more consideration of learners themselves. Such studies should explore both the ideologies that students bring to class and how they engage with the ideologies they encounter—such as accepting and appropriating them, or alternatively, resisting and subverting them. (p. 56)

Classroom-based ethnographic research can reveal whose language and culture are legitimized through instruction and how marginalized learners respond to discourses on their languages and identity. Instructors can better account for ideologies present in the classroom by broadening their understanding of policy to encompass "the underlying assumptions held by various actors who influence the opportunities made available to children to use and maintain their […] languages and the attitudes that children develop in relation to the status of the language" (Cummins, 2005, p. 590). Critical reflexivity can afford researchers and instructors insights into how daily socialization shapes students' evaluation of their linguistic and cultural identity. Research on the incorporation of translation and intercomprehension in instruction has sought to recognize students' multilingualism as an asset and promote their critical language awareness. Such awareness can

[21] Along these lines, writing about the perceived threat to European languages posed by English in Europe, Pennycook (2008) posits: "[W]hile an argument for diversity through greater emphasis on European languages other than English may on one level take us beyond the threat of English monolingualism, it may also reinforce the same language ideologies if it does no more than pluralize the object from within the same epistemology" (p. 38), namely, a focus on monolingual norms rather than variation.

enable learners to critically interrogate and challenge the ideologies that frame them as deficient within the classroom.

1.3.2.1 Translation as a Tool for Developing Critical Language Awareness

A pedagogy that invites such symbolic action and promotes multilingual diversity reorients the perspective of listening subjects by contributing to the undoing of appropriateness models in language education (as advocated for by Flores and Rosa, 2015) and reframing *languagelessness* as the *translingual competence* of multilinguals.[22] Pedagogies involving translation have the potential to recognize minority students' multilingualism while simultaneously building their critical language awareness. While translation was for centuries the chief way that languages were taught and learned (and remains a predominate pedagogical tool in language classrooms in France), it fell into disfavor. Widely regarded as a 'pariah' in the twentieth-century language classroom (Pennycook, 2008, p. 35), translation is currently accorded a limited place in higher education. The obsolescence of translation can be understood as a casualty of the shift to a communicative approach to language teaching, "a reaction against the pedagogic tradition that favored the memorization of grammatical paradigms and the word-for-word translation of decontextualized sentences" (Kramsch, 2006, p. 249). The implementation of communicative-based pedagogies has been accompanied by the perpetuation of monolingual and standard language ideologies: "It is one of the great crimes of the global hegemony of communicative language teaching over the last few decades that […] it [promoted] a monolingual, native-speaker-norm-based, and educationally shallow version of English (or other languages)" (Pennycook, 2008, p. 43). Pennycook observes that the label "grammar-translation" came to "describe and denigrate all forms of teaching and learning that taught grammar or brought other languages into the classroom" (p. 35).

Some researchers have begun to argue for the reintegration of translation in language pedagogy. They are not advocating for the realization of translation's reputation as "a punitive exercise, a means to fill an hour of classroom time, a means of showing superior teacher knowledge, or a chance to reduce languages to mere equivalents of each other" (Pennycook, 2008, p. 36). Instead, these researchers acknowledge that translation constitutes a valuable, overlooked resource for language development that should be strategically combined with other approaches rather than discarded altogether (Katz Bourns, Mills, & Krueger, 2020; McLaughlin, 2012). McLaughlin encourages researchers and instructors to "[question] total immersion in total immersion" and to resignify translation as a tool rather than a threat to language development. For those who understand all forms of language use as involving translation (i.e., meaning making), translation constitutes a logical focus of activities in the communicative language classroom (Pennycook, 2008; Spivak, 1993, p. 179). Such a perspective resituates "translation as not the peripheral area it has been to much of applied linguistics, but rather the key to understanding communication" (Pennycook, 2008, p. 40). Although students are confronted with the need to "operate between languages" (MLA, 2007, p. 237), in a disservice to learners, this necessity has been more rapidly recognized among researchers than language instructors: "The exclusive use of monolingual/national points of reference deprives the learners of the transnational, translingual

[22] As researchers, we should remain cognizant of how the academic dialogues in which we participate (e.g., via publications, presentations, instruction) are themselves sites of socialization to discourses about language-related issues (Lahire, 1999, p. 36). In shifting the focus away from speakers and readers/writers to those who hear them and evaluate their language, Rosa, Flores, Kramsch, and Lahire question normative academic discourses.

and transcultural competencies they will need to use in today's multilingual environments" (Kramsch & Huffmaster, 2015, p. 114). Kramsch (2006) asserts that language instruction should involve translation-related activities and that competence should constitute "the ability to translate, transpose and critically reflect on social, cultural and historical meanings conveyed by the grammar and lexicon" (p. 103).

Pratt (2002) contends that multilinguals do not *need* translation since they *live* in multiple languages. However, rather than approach the topic as a question of necessity, we can consider what a translation-inclusive pedagogy can offer those who identify as multilinguals, heritage language speakers, and L2 learners, as well as their instructors. Classroom activities involving translation can offer insights into linguistic and cultural perspectives held by students and their instructors. McLaughlin (2012) situates translation as a window, enabling instructors to ascertain aspects of learners' linguistic and cultural experience that may otherwise be difficult to perceive. She observes that, in particular, the process and product of translation can inform our understanding of languages, culture, peoples, texts, as well as the ways in which people conceptualize relations to language, meaning, and authorship. For instance, seemingly untranslatable concepts or passages reinforce the ways in which particular languages enact specific world views (Meschonnic, 2008). Learners can be sensitized to communicative possibilities and multilingual perspectives made available by other languages, along with the effects of particular linguistic choices (McLaughlin, 2012; also see Kramsch & Huffmaster, 2008). Pennycook (2008) regards instructional approaches (e.g., translation) that aim to "[increase] the possible meanings available to those we teach" as translingual activism (p. 44). He clarifies that "this is not a question of […] more efficient language use in the classroom, of revelling in difference and the fascinations of cultural incommensurability; rather, this is a question of unsettling common relations, not only of entering the traffic but of disrupting the traffic" of meaning (p. 44).

Like Pennycook (2008), Kramsch and Huffmaster (2008) do not encourage a return to the tired grammar and translation method, swept under the rug with the shift to communicative pedagogical approaches. Instead, they draw attention to diversity and questions of power, reframing translation as "the very essence of meaning making and a privileged clue to the relation between language and power" (p. 295). Translation represents a tool for symbolic competence, first conceptualized by Kramsch (2006) as the production of complexity, tolerance of ambiguity, and appreciation of form as meaning. Kramsch and Huffmaster (2015) propose a variety of translation-based activities that can sensitize students to linguistic diversity and assist them in developing "transnational, translingual and transcultural competencies they will need to use in today's multilingual environments" (p. 114). In summarizing the collective value of translation-inspired practices in the language classroom, Kramsch and Huffmaster assert: "By diversifying codes, modes, modalities and styles and systematically exploring their boundaries and their contact zones, we can raise students' awareness of the meaning-making processes at work in the construction of social and cultural experience – including the surreptitious use of stereotypes" (p. 134). That is, translation, as a form of engagement with text, can support the development of *symbolic competence* by sensitizing students to the production of complexity (i.e., "the sense that human communication is more complex than just saying the right word to the right person in the right manner"), a tolerance of ambiguity (i.e., how language can highlight or support contradiction or differences in versions of a text) and an understanding of form as meaning ("in all its manifestations (e.g., linguistic, textual, visual, acoustic, poetic)") (Kramsch, 2006, p. 251).

Future research can consider how translation-based activities can contribute to "the political promise of diversity," which Kramsch and Huffmaster (2008) identified for L2 learners,

in the case of marginalized learners. Through the production and examination of translations, language learners can be guided to reflect on the different affordances of their language varieties. Further, they can become sensitized to symbolic distinctions between texts produced in their L1 variety and "standard" practices promoted through classroom instruction, as well as the effects offered by different linguistic choices (particularly with regard to lexical and syntactic decisions). Learners can be encouraged to produce variations on "standard" texts, rendering them authentic in their L1 variety, and to share these translations, commenting on the modifications that they made and justifying their rationale in doing so.

1.3.2.2 The Potential (and Limits) of Intercomprehension to Support Multilingualism

Intercomprehension has also been understood as a resource to recognize and build on students' multilingualism while supporting their development of critical language awareness. Jules Ronjat employed the term *intercomprehension* in the early 20th century to refer to individuals' capacity to understand dialects from the same family (Donato & Escudé, 2018; Escudé & Janin, 2010a, p. 35). Although the phenomenon of intercomprehension (i.e., speaking one's language while understanding another's) has long existed, its status as a didactic resource for language learning is relatively recent (Escudé & Janin, 2010a, p. 9). In Europe, Escudé and Janin identify the need for a shift from a pedagogical approach that seeks to keep languages hermetically sealed to one that capitalizes on their interrelatedness (p. 15). This method teaches learners about the nature of borders, namely that they fluctuate as we attend to particular linguistic features of related languages:

> Plus on travaillera sur des langues de même famille, plus il y aura de passerelles de langue à langue : la frontalité qui fait par exemple de l'espagnol et du français des langues *étrangères* s'affaisse. Les *frontières* entre langues ne sont plus jamais définitives et se déplacent : parfois le français sera proche d'un groupe portugais, castillan, catalan, occitan et parfois éloigné, plus proche d'un groupe italien-roumain. Ces traits communs sur une ligne de continuum élastique permettent l'assimilabilité des langues voisines. La régularité de fréquence rend les vocabulaires et les structures de pensée de moins en moins arbitraires, de plus en plus transparentes. (p. 54)
>
> [The more we work on languages from the same family, the more bridges we will find from one language to another: the direct approach that considers Spanish and French *foreign* languages subsides. The *borders* between languages are no longer ever definitive and shift: sometimes French will be close to a Portuguese, Castilian, Catalan, Occitan group and sometimes distanced, closer to an Italo-Romanian group. These common traits on an elastic continuum allow for the assimilation of neighboring languages. The regularity of frequency renders vocabularies and structures of thought less and less arbitrary, more and more transparent.]

The development of courses such as "Italian for Spanish speakers" or "Catalan for Romance speakers" as well as the informal incorporation of multiple languages in the L2 classroom evidence an increasing pedagogical interest in intercomprehension. Intercomprehension-based courses and intercomprehension-inspired pedagogies have the potential to promote a radical change within the language classroom whereby language contact, often eschewed as a sign of linguistic deficiency,

finds itself resignified as a pedagogical resource (p. 18). Within the intercomprehension paradigm, the instructor need not be a 'master polyglot' but should instead orchestrate a collaborative linguistic exploration. In addition to minimizing the linguistic boundaries by working across related varieties, Escudé and Janin argue that intercomprehension has the potential to break down hierarchies between students and instructors through a collaborative engagement with variation.

Escudé and Janin (2010b) acknowledge obstacles that complicate the implementation of an intercomprehension approach in the classroom, notably: (a) educational systems that view course subjects (i.e., different languages, in this case) as independent objects of study, and (b) the ideology that a single language has the potential to offer solutions to communicational problems in a globalized world (p. 115). Another significant complication, which does not appear to have been addressed in the literature of intercomprehension, lies at the core of the concept itself: although intercomprehension has the potential to facilitate linguistic development by sensitizing learners to similarities and differences across related languages, it risks simultaneously advancing a conduit metaphor that understands languages as existing in one-to-one correspondences. This notion is reinforced in presentations that display lexical or morphological similarities between languages, such as the following table, reproduced from Escudé and Janin (2010a, p. 75)[23]:

portugais	**galicien**	**castillan**	**aragonais**	**gascon**	**catalan**	**languedocien**
As	As	Las	As	Eras	Les	Las
jibóas	serpes	serpientes	serpes	sèrps	*boes*	sèrps
engolem	tragan	tragan/ engullen	tragan	engolissen	s'empassen	engolisson
sua	súa	sus	súa	sua	la	lor
presa	presa	presas	presa	presa	presa	presa

Figure 1. Lexical parallels across Romance reproduced from Escudé and Janin (2010a)

As illustrated here, inter-*comprehension* as it has been discussed to date emphasizes transparent communication and downplays communicational complexity. This complexity is evidenced, for example, in educational contexts in which L1 students of a given language receive instruction in the standard variety of the classroom. In such instances, learners and instructors may speak the same language without always comprehending the linguistic, emotional, and sociocultural specificities of their common language. Consequently, as attested to by this dissertation project, intercomprehension may serve to facilitate comprehension, but it may also work to heighten frustration when classroom participants employ essentially the same language yet struggle at times to understand one another. In contexts of L2 acquisition, linguistic comprehension will be aided by L1 linguistic similarity, but intercomprension as traditionally conceived will still entail the study of linguistic signs isolated from affective resonances. Arguably, in all language-learning contexts, additional steps must be taken to aid students' development of more than purely grammatical competence. Intercomprehension will allow Italian speakers to more easily recognize and retain the French cognate for *pane*, *pain*, but it will not elucidate the different cultural connotations of "bread" in across languages and contexts.

There is a potential to revise our understanding of intercomprehension to better account for more than lexical formal and semantic subtleties between related varieties by building on the

[23] Cognizant that the range of languages involved in an intercomprehension approach would be unlikely to emerge in an authentic social situation, the pioneers of intercomprehension, Claire Blanche Benveniste and the research Groupe Aixois, based their methodology on exposure through the written medium (Escudé & Janin, 2010a, p. 47).

approach's horizontal conception of student-instructor relationships. For instance, marginalized students receiving classroom instruction in their L1 could be invited to serve as instructors of their L1 variety and to discuss how it relates both linguistically and extralinguistically to the instructional standard. Through dialogue within the classroom community, we can work to ensure that intercomprehension extends beyond surface-level similarities and differences to promote attention to semiotic and socioaffective distinctions across varieties. This continued engagement with variation can simultaneously contribute to transforming the perspective of instructors as listening subjects by compelling them to move beyond a framework of correctness or appropriateness to one that recognizes the particularities of students' linguistic identities.

CHAPTER 2

PROJECT DESIGN

When designing my project, I knew that I wanted to carry out longitudinal ethnographic research in an effort to gain greater insight into the daily socializing experiences of Gitan students in Perpignan. Although it is important to read broadly in preparing for fieldwork, nothing could prepare me for the experience of growing into a researcher on the ground. As I observed language socialization on a daily basis, I found myself simultaneously socialized in new ways—as a non-Gitan and non-French in Saint Jacques, a visitor to French schools, a classroom assistant, a classroom observer, an impromptu English teacher—in an unfamiliar context. I struggled at times to navigate the various roles expected of me as well as those that I had intended for myself, which did not always coincide, in the focal school sites; to relate to students and their families, instructors, and administrators, and to understand their respective concerns and challenges; and to attempt to protect the face of all parties even when they seemed at odds with each other.

My fieldwork also reminded me of a lesson that had surfaced at previous stages of my graduate training: that data may not turn out to be useful for your original research questions and that progress can be made by returning to the previous literature and preventing the original questions from becoming blinders to other observable activity. When I began the fieldwork for my dissertation, I intended to focus on the consequences of literacy development in French for Gitan students' identity, however my in-class observations on literacy activities proved less thought-provoking for my research interests in language and identity than anticipated. Literacy instruction consisted of very structured and highly predictable exercises: at the lower grade levels, an elementary school instructor would typically read an excerpt of a story with students, sounding out each word one syllable at a time, before sending them to their desks to complete a level-appropriate worksheet based on the text (e.g., requiring them to cut out a string of scrambled words to reconstruct a sentence from the text; prompting them to draw an image to illustrate their comprehension of a portion of the text, etc.). Although I occasionally overheard students using their Gitan identity to justify their difficulty reading (e.g., "Je suis gitane. Je comprends pas lire" [I am Gitane. I don't understand reading]), I found more pertinent, fieldwork-driven questions to explore. I realized that my own understanding of literacy as a researcher and language instructor trained in the U.S. had led me to envision a focus for my dissertation that proved less productive on the ground.

The difference in approaches to literacy that I encountered in France can be explained, in part, through an examination of the concept as discussed in Francophone academic circles.[24] While *alphabétisation* has long been an established translation for literacy, it took over twenty years for the concept of *littératie* (sometimes written as *littéracie*) to gain acceptance in French, as it was long perceived as a redundant Anglicism for the same underlying concept (Pierre, 2003, p. 121). This misunderstanding rested on the erroneous assumption that only terminology was at stake, when, in fact, each of these terms was accompanied by semantic associations and reflective of divergent approaches to engagement with text (i.e., as a linguistic code or a social activity, respectively). Translators engendered further confusion through their avoidance of the term

[24] For a discussion of how concepts are necessarily transformed through their adoption and further development in new linguistic and cultural contexts, see Zarate and Liddicoat (2009) and Kramsch (2009).

littératie in French texts, which was achieved by deference to new terms (e.g., *instruction fonctionnelle* for *functional literacy*) and a restriction in the frequency of mentions of literacy, even when this meant distorting the thesis of the original work in the process (pp. 122-123). Pierre notes that the editor of the Quebec journal in which her first co-authored article on literacy appeared forced her to remove a reference to *littératie* on the grounds that it constituted an Anglicism (p. 123; see Pierre et al., 1983, 1984). Giasson et al. (1985) were the first to employ the concept and associated term in a French publication:

> [I]l a été convenu que le concept de 'litéracie', qui fait référence non à des habiletés de lecture particulières mais plutôt à un ensemble d'attitudes et de connaissances qu'un individu ou un groupe manifestent à l'égard de l'écrit (Harkness, 1981), serait utilisé. (p. 458)
>
> [It was agreed that the term 'literacy', which refers not to particular reading abilities but instead to a collection of attitudes and understandings that an individual or group demonstrate towards writing (Harkness, 1981), would be used]

It would take five more years until a journal article appeared on the topic of *littératie* (Pierre, 1991), and an additional year until a special issue on *littératie* was published (Pierre, 1992). While the first international research on *littératie* as defined by Pierre was published through a collaboration between UNESCO, Statistiques Canada, and the Canadian Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques (OCDE) in 1995 (*Littératie, économie et société*), Canadian organizations dedicated to the study of *alphabétisation* contested the new term in French, and Statistiques Canada consequently abandoned it in favor of *alphabétisation* in its 1996 report (Pierre, 2003, p. 123).

At present, the term is defined in *Le Grand Robert* as a calque in use in Canadian French since 1995. In educational standards issued by the French Ministry of Education since 2016, references to reading and writing development in elementary school emphasize the realm of *alphabétisation*, namely, the comprehension and mastery of grammatical mechanics: "Les connaissances acquises permettent de traiter des problèmes de compréhension et des problèmes orthographiques. Les textes à lire et les projets d'écriture peuvent servir de supports à des rappels d'acquis ou à l'observation de faits de langue (orthographiques, lexicaux, morphosyntaxiques, syntaxiques) non encore travaillés."[25] [The knowledge gained enables the treatment of comprehension and spelling problems. The texts to be read and the writing projects can serve to reinforce acquired knowledge or to facilitate awareness of linguistic features (orthographic, lexical, morphosyntactic, syntactic) not yet studied.]. This emphasis on comprehension, orthographic form, and grammatical mechanics was reflected in the classroom practices that I observed in my fieldwork. During my interactions with French researchers, my use of the term *littératie* was often corrected in favor of *alphabétisation*, and I was once informed that the former word did not exist in French. Nevertheless, *littératie* does appear to be entering into use in French research circles, as attested to by scholarly activity within the past ten years (see, for example, Barré-De Miniac, 2003; Delarue-Breton & Bautier, 2015; Prodeau & L'Hermitte Matrand, 2010). Whether or not understandings of literacy as contextually appropriate language practices, developed within but also beyond the classroom, will become reflected in instruction within France

[25] Source: http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid38/programmes-et-horaires-a-l-ecole elementaire.html&xtmc=programme&xtnp=1&xtcr=1#Les_programmes_de_l_ecole

remains to be seen. Barré-De Miniac, the organizer of a conference in Grenoble on "La littéracie: le role de l'école" [Literacy: The role of schools] contends, "[L'école] a la responsabilité de ne pas se faire le propriétaire unique de la question de l'entrée des enfants et des jeunes dans l'écrit" [Schools have a responsibility to not present themselves as solely responsable for children and young people's introduction to writing] (p. 8).

After a couple months of observation, I determined a more fruitful aspect of socialization to explore for my dissertation project: socialization to language ideologies during language instruction. This new focus was not selected a priori but emerged organically from my observations in the classrooms that I frequented. The reflections in my fieldnotes repeatedly centered on questions of language and identity—as understood by students and instructors. While my focus on identity and language ideologies in this context was informed by habitual classroom stances, my interest in a translation activity was motivated by its singularity against the backdrop of typical assignments. Specifically, I developed the following research questions:

1. How do Gitan students and their instructors understand language and its relationship to identity? (Chapter 3)
2. How do instructors seek to instill linguistic and cultural norms during weekly Catalan language lessons, and how do Gitan students respond to classroom-sanctioned practices? (Chapter 4)
3. How can the practice of translation in language learning support the development of language awareness and offer Gitan students an opportunity to position themselves vis-à-vis classroom norms? (Chapter 5)

My evolving response to these questions was informed by ethnographic observations at two school sites: an elementary school exclusively attended by Gitan students in Saint Jacques, École de la Miranda, and the middle school in closest proximity to the elementary site, Collège Jean Moulin.[26,27] Cognizant of the fact that, as Lahire (2008) reminds us, "tous les acteurs ne se fondent pas dans [une] moule" [not all actors fit into a common mold] (p. 27), I fully acknowledge that my analyses and the observations on which they are based do not and cannot offer generalizations about Gitan students' language practices nor their schooling experiences. The insights that I gained through this eleven-month exploration are intended to highlight salient aspects of students' exposure to and engagement with discourses of language and identity in the classrooms that I frequented and the surrounding community over the course of summer 2016 and the 2017-2018 school year. Based on my fieldwork, I offer recommendations specific to language instruction in Perpignan and also for the schooling of minority students more generally in situations of language contact.

2.1 EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS: *ENTER THE ÉCOLE AND COLLÈGE*

During my pre-dissertation research in summer 2016 I visited the schools that would become my focal sites, however, I could not carry out in-class observations at that time; when I arrived at the elementary school (*école*) in June 2016, the principal informed me that no students were in class and that most had stopped attending, even though the school year would officially end in July. At

[26] *Collège* in French should not be confused with college in English; the French term represents the equivalent of middle school in English.
[27] All of the instructors that I consulted advised that I not anonymize their school sites.

the middle school (termed *collège* in French) site, I met with the principal, but the school required formal authorization to observe classes. Again, I was informed that few Gitan students were in attendance at the time of my June visit. The majority of my observations in summer 2016 were consequently carried out at a play-center located inside the École, which children from the neighborhood frequent throughout the summer.

When I returned to Perpignan in August 2017, I realized how invaluable my initial contact with educators and administrators had proven. I met with an inspector of National Education at the Académie de Montpellier, and he wrote a letter to the dean on my behalf to inform him of my return to Perpignan and my planned dissertation project. This inspector also provided me with full authorization to observe in classrooms, pending approval from the site administrators and instructors. With assistance from a contact at Mairie de Perpignan [Town Hall], I wrote a letter to the mayor to inform him of my project, and I obtained his approval to serve as a yearlong volunteer at the schools. This status would require me to spend at least one full school day in one of the classrooms per week, a commitment already built into my fieldwork, and it would provide the institutions and me with legal protection.

At the start of September, I attended the back-to-school staff meeting at the École. Although the principal had previously made instructors aware of my presence and purpose at the school, this was an opportunity for me to explain my project in person and answer questions. During this meeting, I was invited to assist with school registration, which took place over the course of the following days. My participation allowed me to interact with families and instructors inside the school for the first time.

2.1.1 Selection of Focal Classes and Structure of Class Visits

I carried out ethnographic observations of language socialization in four classrooms: At the École, I observed in a *cours préparatoire* (CP) class,[28] a mixed *cours élémentaire* level 1/level 2 (CE1/CE2) class, and a mixed *cours moyen* level 1/level 2 (CM1/CM2)[29] class. At the Collège, I focused my observations on courses attended by the students enrolled in the *groupe d'enseignement spécifique* (GES) program. My decision to observe students at multiple grade levels was motivated by an effort to avoid biasing my conclusions through a narrow focus on a specific group of students.

In determining which section of each grade level to select as my focal class, I considered a number of factors: Instructor consent was my first concern, but all instructors appeared well disposed to my visits as an observer. There was only one CP section at the École, however there were multiple sections of the other grade levels: three sections of CE1/2 students and two sections of CM1/2. In selecting a CE1/2 and CM1/2 class, I was next motivated by the presence of particularly memorable students whom I had met in summer 2016 at the play center. These students were approachable and had significantly shaped the development of my tentative research questions to be explored in my dissertation. For this reason, I was keen on observing their language practices over the course of a year. My selection of a CM1/2 class was solidified when I understood that the section in question would be holding class at the Collège on Tuesday mornings. Due to my interest in students' transition to middle school and consequent contact with students from

[28] By observing students' first year of required schooling (*cours préparatoire*, CP), I was able to document their introduction to French literacy practices at school and associated literacy artifacts (e.g., pencils, lined paper, etc.).

[29] This is the equivalent to first (~age 6 years), second/third (~age 7-8 years), and fourth/fifth grade (~age 9-10 years) in the US school system.

outside of their community, I selected this particular CM1/2 section. I later learned that both CM1/2 sections would visit the middle school weekly.

Students in the GES program at the Collège were not divided into standard grade levels; instead, they were placed in one of four GES classes (Class 1, Class 2, Class 3, and Class 4[30]) according to their competence in class-specific objectives.[31] Students in Class 4 were occasionally presented with the possibility of integrating into mainstream classes pending their consent and that of their parents. Although I observed students in all four classes, I focused my longitudinal observations on the Class 4 due to my interest in students' attitudes towards the prospect of "intégration" (i.e., their progressive removal from the GES courses in favor of inclusion in mainstream courses). I was keen on understanding the implications of integration for students' negotiation of language and identity with their Gitan peers.

In practice, documentation of integration proved challenging for three primary reasons: (1) on all but one occasion, each time that I modified my schedule in the hopes of observing a handful of students as they attended a mainstream French class, the students were absent; (2) students expressed reluctance to leave their GES cohort, even to attend an individual course session, one hour per week, as they appeared sensitive to peer pressure to remain in the GES classes (referred to among students as "les classes gitanes" [Gitan classes]); (3) instructors went to great lengths to conceal their attempts to integrate students. Aware of the sensitivity surrounding possible integration, I made a concerted effort not to allow my interest in observing students' participation in non-GES French classes to inadvertently reveal their plans. I was alerted to this necessity when an instructor copied me on an email discussing a student's intended integration beginning in late September:

> "Je viens de rencontrer la mère de [l'élève] avec Monsieur XX. [L'élève] préfère intégrer la 602 plutôt que la 604 parce qu'il a des amis dans cette classe.
> Nous avons convenu d'une intégration en douceur sur les créneaux suivants:
>
> 1. Lundi 9-10h / français avec Mme XX
> 2. Mardi 9-10h / Maths avec M. XX
> 3. Mercredi 10h-11h / français avec Mme XX
> 4. Jeudi 9-10h / avec M. XX
> 5. éventuellement EPS vendredi de 8h à 10h
>
> La maman nous demande d'être très discrets au sujet de cette intégration car [l'élève] craint le regard de la communauté gitane."

[30] In September 2017, the administration changed numbers assigned to the classes in what the current head of the GES program at the school explained as an effort aimed at political correctness: These classes became Class 608, 509, 408, and 309 respectively. The specific numbering system employed at the middle school functions as follows: the hundreds place represents the grade level (e.g., 6ème, 5ème, 4ème, 3ème) and the remaining digits indicate a specific track within that grade level (e.g., students in the 603 cohort are in the bilingual French-Catalan program, and students in the 604, 605, and 606 cohorts complete a special program in music education, etc.). In contrast with the U.S. academic system, as students advance in their studies, the numerical value assigned to their grade level decreases. The students in the GES program's 608, 509, 408, and 309 cohorts are not completing coursework at a 6ème, 5ème, 4ème, or 3ème grade-level respectively. However, the application of the middle school's numbering system to both GES and non-GES cohorts reflects an effort to minimize differences in administrative labels. In order to avoid confusion in the present study, I will refer to classes by their former name.

[31] The existence of this program at the school is surprising as it appears to defy the recommandations of French national education to promote equality.

[Mr. XX and I just met with the mother of [the student]. [The student] prefers to integrate with the 602 class instead of the 604 class because he has some friends in that class. We came up with a soft integration with the following time slots:

1. Monday 9-10 a.m. / French with Mrs. XX
2. Tuesday 9-10 a.m. / Math with Mr. XX
3. Wednesday 10-11 a.m. / French with Mrs. XX
4. Thursday 9-10 a.m. / with Mr. XX
5. Possibly Physical Education Friday from 8 to 10 a.m.

The mother asks us to be very discrete about this integration because [the student] fears the gaze of the Gitan community.]

The GES schedule (see Figure 1 for an example) differed considerably from the standard middle school schedule (see Figure 2 for an example) in terms of organization and content. For example, all students in the GES program only attended school for two hours in the morning on Fridays; classes 1, 2, and 3 did not begin school until 10 a.m. each day; and students were dismissed earlier than other students at the Collège (i.e., Classes 1 and 2 were dismissed at 3:40 p.m. on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday, and Class 4 was dismissed at 3:40 p.m. on Tuesdays, while traditional classes did not end until 4:55 p.m. each day). Aside from differences in scheduling, students in the mainstream program were enrolled in a wider range of subjects, including up to two other languages, with middle school offerings including Catalan, Chinese, English, and Latin.

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8h00					
8h55 9h50	French	French			
10h10	French	French		French	Math
11h05	Math	French		Physical Education	French
12h00	Lunch	Lunch		Lunch	Lunch
13h50	French	Life and Planetary Science		Math	
14h45 15h40	Art	Life and Planetary Science		French	
16h00 16h55	French			French	

Figure 1. Class 4 Schedule (2017-2018)

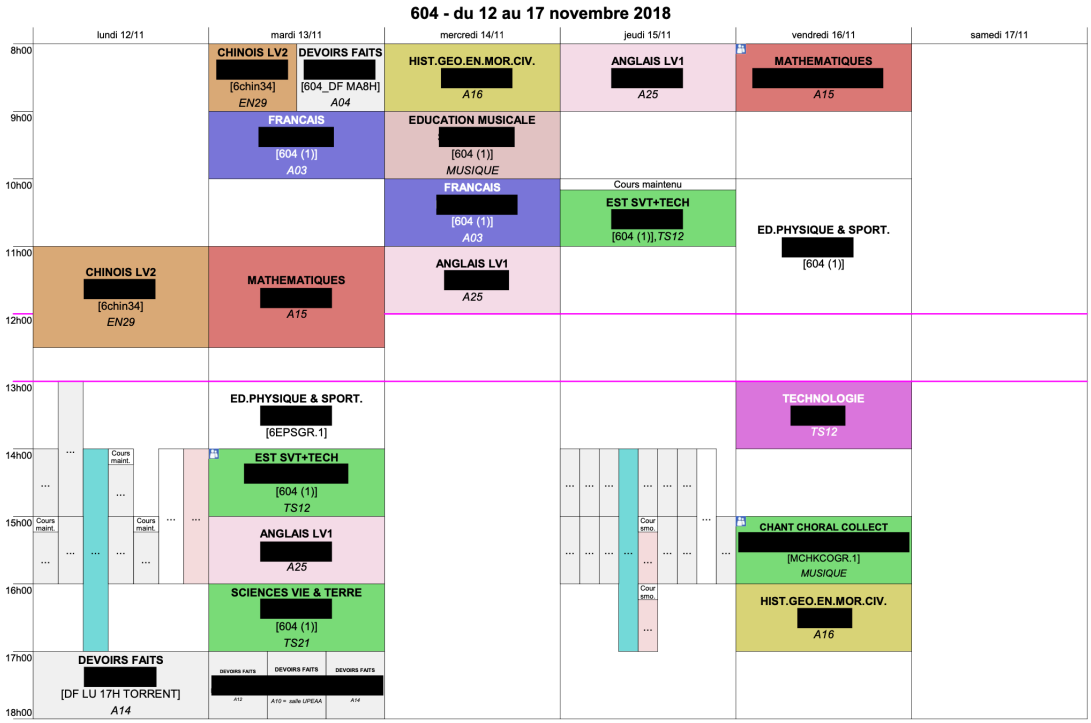

Figure 2. Sample Non-GES Class Schedule

For the first four months of fieldwork, I organized my observations on a rotating schedule to avoid consistently attending the same level on a given day of the week. A fixed schedule could otherwise bias my observations by exposing me to a small subset of activities that were carried out on a particular day of the week.[32] During the initial months of observation, it was important to observe entire days of school, since some students only attended in the afternoons and others were never or only very sporadically present for the morning sessions. Inconsistent attendance made it difficult to become acquainted with particular students, reinforcing the importance of observing each class during both morning and afternoon sessions. My observation schedule for the month of November 2017 is included as an example (Figure 3):

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
			1 SCHOOL HOLIDAY – NO CLASSES	2	3	4
5	6 GES	7 CP	8	9 CE1/2	10 CM1/2	11
12	13 CP	14 CE1/2	15	16 Researcher at conference	17 Researcher at conference	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25

[32] This approach is also found in media studies that employ "constructed week" sampling whereby "sample dates are stratified by day of the week to account for systematic variation due to day of week" (Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, 1993, p. 133).

	CE1/2	GES		CM1/2	CP	
26	27 CM1/2	28 GES	29	30 CP	1 CE1/2	

Figure 3. Sample Observation Calendar (November 2017)

During the second semester, having familiarized myself with typical weekly schedules in each grade level, I could often anticipate in advance what kinds of activities would take place in the morning or afternoon session of a given weekday. I no longer gave equal weight to each class but focused my observations on class activities where I had observed the most thought-provoking exchanges on language and identity. Although my observations had revealed that such discussions could surface at unexpected moments (e.g., during art class), the implementation of more strategic visits provided me with more time to carry out observations and interviews outside of the focal schools.

2.1.2 Participant Observation

During my observations, following Bernstein (2014), I took on a reactive rather than an active role in the classroom.[33] This meant that I responded when students and instructors engaged with me, but I otherwise worked to decrease the saliency of my presence. At times, I was explicitly invited to act as a participant (e.g., when I led the class in an English lesson, or when an instructor asked me to circulate and assist students as they completed an assignment). I moved as organically as possible between the sidelines and more central spaces of the classroom, sensitive to the instructors' and students' reactions to my presence.

After obtaining consent, I audio recorded the entirety of my school observations, as it was impossible to predict when an interesting activity or discussion on language practices and identity could arise. When I came across a particularly thought-provoking exchange, I noted the recording time in my fieldnotes. I saved all recordings from the day on my computer and labeled them by date, time of day, and recording number (e.g., 2017.09.29.am1 being the first recording from the morning session on September 29, 2017). When writing up my fieldnotes, I referenced particular exchanges, documenting the recording in which they had occurred, and I contextualized interactions by embedding them within written descriptions of my observations and impressions at the time of observation. Occasionally, I included photographs of classroom actors or student-produced work drawn from these exchanges in my field notes as well. I then transcribed all of the interactional segments that I had noted, making a concerted effort to do so on the same day or the next day at the latest to ensure that the interactions remained as vivid as possible in my mind at the time of transcription. When transcribing, I adopted the transcription conventions used by García-Sánchez (2014, p. 307; Table 1) in an effort to capture the sequential and structural aspects of participants' speech. In all transcriptions of classroom interactions or interviews, Catalan speech is represented in italics in both the original and translation. Interview excerpts are numbered within each chapter.

[33] Blanchet (2011) highlights a contrast in French research between *observation participante* (with the researcher's minimal participation) et *participation observante* (with significant participation) (p. 73). My approach emphasized the former, although I was called upon at times to become a more active classroom participant.

Table 1
Transcription Conventions, reproduced from García-Sánchez (2014)

:	Lengthening
º	Low volume
.	Falling contour
?	Rising contour
[	Overlap in speech
=	Latching (no interval between turns)
<	Rapid speech
-	Sudden cut-off
(.)	Brief pause
(x.0)	x-second pause
( )	Material transcriber was unsure about
(( ))	Comment by the transcriber
Bold underlined	Speaker's emphasis or increased volume

As Ochs (1979) noted and García-Sánchez (2014) reminds us, the act of transcribing is not neutral but constitutes an act of analysis on the part of the researcher, who is driven by research aims. The decision to isolate a particular stretch of discourse and attempt to reproduce it in a new medium shapes the narrative that the researcher constructs for the reader. I therefore endeavor to situate the interactional segments presented in my analysis as I perceived them within the context of my longitudinal fieldwork.

Although I had considered the incorporation of video recording in planning my fieldwork, I decided against this medium for a number of reasons, and I used video and photography only to a very limited extent, typically with a concerted effort to avoid capturing students' faces. Since the time of my pre-dissertation fieldwork, I had become aware of negative portrayals of the Gitan community in the media—in the written press (as exemplified by *Le Petit Journal Catalan*'s cover story: "A quoi servent les gitans de Perpignan?"[34]) and online video reports documenting the most insalubrious and neglected corners of the neighborhood and placing its inhabitants on display. Gitan families were not indifferent to their portrayals in the media, and I witnessed their sensitivity to the documentation of their community first-hand: When I assisted with school registration in September 2017, I was asked to present parents with all necessary documentation requiring their approval. This included a media release from a local filmmaker who had directed a documentary centered on Gitan children's school attendance. When I handed this form to one of the mothers, she asked me if it was a "gentil" [kind] documentary. As I had yet to view the documentary myself, I informed her that I was incapable of providing her with an honest answer and suggested that she

[34] "What are Perpignan's Gitans good for?"

inquire about the nature of the documentary with school staff or other parents. On the few occasions when I introduced a camera into the classroom, some students expressed a desire to have their photograph taken while others asked me not to photograph them, nor to post any photographs of them online. Although the extensive use of photography and video analysis could have contributed a visual dimension to the conversations on language that I observed, as expressed extralinguistically, I deemed it unethical to employ this medium due to the sensitivity surrounding visual media in this context.

In total, I audio recorded 307 hours of class time, 279 of which were spent in the focal classes. The breakdown according to grade level is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2
Classroom Observations (Hours) in Focal Classrooms

Focal Classes	**Total Observation Time (Hours)**
CP	64.5
CE1/2	76
CM1/2	68
Class 4 (GES)	70.5
Total hours in focal classrooms	**279**

In addition to my observations in focal classes, I also carried out more limited observations in the other section of CM1/2 and the GES Class 1 at the middle school. An additional 15 hours were recorded in the other CM1/2 section when I led students in English language workshops. At the same time, I decided to restrict my Class 4 (GES) observations to only French language courses and to follow the Class 1 (GES) at other times of the day. This allowed me to observe the first and most advanced level of the GES program (Table 3).

Table 3
Additional Classroom Observations (Hours) in Non-Focal Classrooms

Non-Focal Classes	**Total Observation Time (Hours)**
CM1/2 (non-focal section)	15
Class 1 (GES)	13
Total hours in non-focal classrooms	**28**

2.1.3 Surveys

Ethnographic in-class observations were complemented by surveys of instructors. With these surveys I sought to gain insight into instructors' perspectives on Gitan students' L1 (i.e., the connotations of "Gitan language" for instructors personally and in France more generally, their perception of the relationship between "Gitan" and "Catalan") and the place of students' L1 in the classroom, their assessment of students' oral and written competence in French, as well as the importance that instructors accorded to multilingualism and the development of oral and written competence in French at school. In November 2017, I piloted a survey intended for instructors at the École by inviting two instructors at the Collège to complete it and share their feedback with me. I developed a revised survey on Qualtrics, which I distributed via email to the eight instructors at the École in early December 2017 and received three responses. Although the survey was designed to be completely anonymous, I suspected that the respondents consisted of all three of

the elementary focal instructors since they informed me that they had completed the survey. I did not receive any further replies, and I realized in hindsight that instructors might have been hesitant to complete the survey due to the small staff size and consequent limited anonymity.

I subsequently created a survey for instructors at the Collège, which I piloted with two assistants at the play center, located inside the École. Once these assistants had completed the survey, I met with them to discuss their thought process in responding to survey questions, to request their feedback on question wording, and to invite their input on survey structure. This survey asked participants whether they currently and/or previously worked with Gitan students. The questions that followed asked them about the students' use of language other than French in their classroom, as well as their reaction to the presence of additional languages in class; the connotations of "Gitan language" for them personally and nationally; their perception of the linguistic status of "Gitan" (i.e., is it a language?); the relationship between "Gitan" and "Catalan"; the relationship (if one exists) between languages and both personal and national identity; and the importance of students' first language for their development of spoken and written French at school. I created the revised survey on Qualtrics (see Appendix) and distributed it via email to all 56 instructors at the middle school, regardless of whether they currently taught or had previously worked with Gitan students, and obtained 39 responses. In an effort to assess the extent to which instructors' perspectives varied at schools outside of Perpignan in which Gitan students comprise a significant portion of the student body, I distributed this survey to instructors at three other sites: one elementary school in Grenoble (with 2 responses) and two elementary schools in Montpellier (with 3 responses and 0 responses). It is unsurprising that I received a significantly higher number of completed surveys at a site where I maintained a stable and visible presence throughout the academic year.

2.1.4 Interviews

I had initially intended to interview focal instructors at the beginning and end of the school year. When I arrived, however, I sensed that some instructors, particularly at the elementary site, were already sensitive to the presence of an observer, and I was concerned that a premature interview could cause them to be increasingly self-reflexive during my visits. I was also aware that any questions that I asked early on could influence their instruction in my presence. For this reason, I deemed it advisable to distribute a survey a few months after my arrival and to only carry out interviews during the final two months of my fieldwork. In the meantime, I endeavored to understand the instructors as people, not exclusively in their role as instructors, and to help them to know me as more than a researcher. To this end, I occasionally ate lunch with them both on- and off-site, and I spent recess with them.

In an effort to inform my understanding of students' language practices and attitudes, I sought not only to interview instructors but also to speak with Gitan families. I quickly became well known in the Saint Jacques neighborhood, where I was most often described as a "paia de l'escola" [*non-Gitan from the school*], the English teacher, or the "americana." Mothers sometimes asked their children about my character in my presence, unaware that I had understood their questions in Catalan. The common response communicated children's acceptance of me: "És brava" [*She's a good one*]. Although I sensed a good deal of trust from the Gitan community in Perpignan, conducting interviews with families proved challenging. I successfully carried out interviews in the homes of Gitan families on only two occasions, and these interviewees who opened their doors to me cannot be seen as representative of most women in the community. They

had faced ostracism due to their decision to separate from their husband and raise their children independently. One of these women explained that my difficulty arranging home interviews was not surprising. As an outsider, and particularly as a woman, a family's decision to invite me into their home could cause them to be viewed with suspicion within the neighborhood.

On a couple of occasions, I became particularly hopeful that I might be able to interview families in their home. One day, I was walking through downtown Perpignan when a female student whom I knew from the school recognized me and excitedly informed her grandmother, "És la paia de l'escola" [*It's the paya from the school*]. The grandmother told me that she had heard about the English lessons that I had organized at the school and that her granddaughter was enjoying them immensely. She informed me that I would be most welcome in her home, providing me with her address and phone number. While I was encouraged by this possibility, my attempts to arrange a meeting proved unsuccessful, as the grandmother proposed alternative meeting times when I phoned her. On another occasion, I was again encouraged by the prospect of speaking with the mother of a student in her home. I had come to know Maria more than many of the other students at the focal elementary school, having first met her at the Ludothèque in summer 2016 and having since observed her interactions in a focal class and at the Ludothèque on weekends and Wednesdays. I had previously asked Maria's mother if she would be willing to speak with me, and we had arranged to meet at the Ludothèque twice. On both occasions, the mother did not come to the interview. Following an afternoon of participant observation at the Ludothèque in spring 2018 on a day in which I had hoped to speak with the mother, one of the activity leaders asked me to walk Maria home. Maria skipped energetically just a few steps ahead of me, gesturing for me to follow and telling me about all of the toys that she would show me in her bedroom. As we reached the main door to the apartment building where she lived, Maria screamed to signal her arrival: "Maaaaaa!" There was a buzz and the door clicked unlocked. As Maria held the door open, I could see the entryway and spiral staircase behind her. With apparent excitement, she encouraged me to follow: "Viens! Viens!" [Come! Come!] I explained that I did not feel comfortable coming inside without her mother's invitation. As we stood at the threshold, I felt closer than ever to the possibility of entering the home of a child whom I had come to know over an extended period of time. As Maria continued to urge me to step inside the building, her mother's voice resonated down the stairwell: "Maria! Calla i monta!" [*Maria! Shut up and come upstairs*]. Maria released her grip on the door as I encouraged her to make her way upstairs. I suspected that her mother had heard me, or at least the voice of a French-speaking adult, at the main door. Although I was unable to conduct home interviews with families of students from the focal school, I achieved more success speaking with mothers as they dropped off their children at the afterschool play center or picked them up there in the late afternoon. Our conversations centered on their language practices and their perspectives on French and Catalan instruction.

In designing my project, my understanding of literacy as a set of social practices mediated by written texts, as activities that speakers *do* rather than skills that they possess (Barton & Hamilton, 1998), had motivated my efforts to conduct interviews in students' homes. Home interviews offered two primary advantages: (1) the physical dimension of the home space would reveal the presence and place accorded to artifacts, including but not limited to those used for literacy practices (e.g., the presence of bookshelves, newspapers, etc.), and (2) I would be able to inquire about the language and literacy activities that were mapped onto different parts of the home (e.g., the kitchen table as a site for homework completion, family meals, conversations with neighbors or friends, etc.). Rather than abstractly inquiring about language and literacy practices in ways that could be misinterpreted as condescending (e.g., How often do you read? How

important is reading to you?), I would be able to more easily elicit participant narratives about artifacts in the home environment in order to inquire about literacy practices, for example: "I notice you have a Bible on the table here. How do you use it in your religious practices? Are most religious practices orally transmitted or written down?" This method of inquiry aligned with my understanding of literacy as a collection of socially, historically, and culturally situated practices. In addition to informing my understanding of the role of L1 home literacy events (Heath, 1983) and the presence of L2 literacy development in the home (e.g., through homework completion), this interview format had the potential to contribute to my broader understanding of local Gitan culture. In practice, however, these methods proved unfeasible. At the same time, this method became less pertinent as the focus of my project shifted from literacy practices to the relationship between language and identity, particularly within the context of classroom language instruction.

I contacted a local pastor in early March who offered to help me initiate interviews with families. Based on our discussion, I had understood that he would accompany me to homes of families who were willing to speak with me, and I had consequently prepared a series of topics that I hoped to evoke through the method of inquiry described above. When we met one Saturday morning at the outdoor market on the edge of the neighborhood, I was surprised to learn that interviews would take place there; the pastor would introduce me to mothers doing their weekend shopping and Gitan vendors as we encountered them. As we looped our way around the market stands, all those whom we approached were willing to speak with me, but the bustling market setting was not conducive to interviews. Although the audio recorded data of the brief exchanges was of limited value due to the bustle and noise of the market, this experience increased my comfort in inviting locals to speak with me. When the pastor suddenly had to leave, I spent the next couple of hours walking through Saint Jacques on my own to carry out informal interviews. I engaged mothers on their way to the market in brief conversation, and I had extended conversations with men seated outside of their house, and later with other men at the central neighborhood square.

Although I had intended my conversations with families to take the shape of extended, semi-structured interviews, I became aware that they would more realistically be achieved in a shorter survey-like format. I learned that even those who had maintained a long presence within the community had become aware of the need to adapt their methodology. As Escudero (2004) observed, "Si les cassettes constituent une source de premier ordre pour l'analyse, la présence du magnétophone et l'incompréhension du but de l'enregistrement ont parfois suscité la méfiance et le rejet" [If tape cassettes constitute a primary source for analysis, the presence of a recorder and a lack of understanding about the purpose of recording sometimes elicited mistrust and rejection] (p. 17). The presence of a notebook alone, and especially a recorder, sometimes caused those in the neighborhood to inquire about my intentions, an understandable reaction given the portrayals of the community in the media. Like Escudero, I found that informal situations offered more insights and opportunities to engage in detailed discussions. I consequently designed a series of questions focused on language practices, language attitudes, and schooling experiences. I piloted these questions in mid-March when I conducted an evening walk through Saint Jacques and approached parents or grandparents that I encountered at neighborhood squares or standing outside with friends and family. I presented myself—or, more often, was presented by students that I knew from the school—and engaged willing and available parents and grandparents of students in conversations that covered the questions that I had prepared. I audio-recorded these conversations with participant permission and took minimal notes during the exchanges.

2.2 FINDING MY PLACE

2.2.1 Negotiating my Role as a Researcher

In this study, I was aware that my identity as a White graduate student from a U.S. university would influence my interactions with Gitan families and with French instructors and administrators. My legitimate subject position while abroad was that of a fellow second-language learner of French (vis-à-vis Gitan children) and a student of language and literacy education in the U.S. interested in comparing language education in the two countries (vis-à-vis instructors and parents).[35] As a second-language learner of French who has long aspired to speak, read, and write in French well enough to "pass" as French, I was first attracted to this project, in part, because of Gitans students' apparent desire to avoid this possibility and to maintain their "Gitanness." I presented myself to students, parents, and instructors as a student interested in second language learning.[36] Although this gives the impression of a simple, straightforward self-presentation, my presence and identity were negotiated in complex ways through daily interactions. During all of my interactions in Saint Jacques and their subsequent documentation, my positionality weighed heavily on my mind and shifted with the changing context in which I found myself. The *I* who wrote parts of this dissertation in France is not the same *I* writing from Boston, San Francisco, or Berkeley following my return to the United States. I was often reminded of Ivanič's (1998) candid reflection on her place in the field during data collection and later as a researcher sitting behind a computer screen: "Who am I as I write this book? I am not a neutral, objective scribe conveying the objective results of my research impersonally in my writing" (p. 1).

It is imperative to recognize that I would not have written the same dissertation as a French doctoral student, a fact regularly reinforced through my interactions with students, their families, instructors, and administrators. My dynamic with students changed entirely when I informed them that I was not French but American; what I had perceived as distrust, disregard, and, at times, contempt towards me melted into wide-eyed curiosity, with students bombarding me with questions about the United States, excitedly informing their peers that I was an *americana*, and trying out their English and knowledge of U.S. popular culture on me. I felt that I had become something of an exotic presence to many of them. In my initial interactions with instructors and administrators, on the other hand, my status as an American often positioned me a naïve outsider who needed to be informed. Instructors detailed the complexity of educating Gitan children, shared their evolving understanding of this student population, and sometimes expressed frustration that their perspectives were not accounted for by those in positions to effect educational change. The views held by various instructors and administrators concerning the schooling of Gitan students and potential improvements to their experience were sometimes at odds with each other, and I learned how to listen to all sides while remaining visibly impartial and curious.

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[35] In explaining my project to Gitan parents, I informed them of my identity as a student of French as an L2 and expressed my interest in observing their children's experiences learning language in the classroom.

[36] Blanchet (2011) observes how researchers must offer a credible and honest explanation of their presence without revealing their precise focus in observations: "[L]orsque l'on passe, ensuite, […] à une phase de recherche explicite par entretiens, questionnaires, etc., on doit alors préciser ce qui a retenu l'attention au premier chef. L'explicitation de la démarche est donc progressive mais réelle et l'anonymat garanti aux témoins renforce le respect qui leur est dû" (p. 73). [With the transition […] to a more explicit phase of research through interviews, questionnaires, it becomes necessary to specify what is of central interest. The explanation of the approach is therefore gradual but real and the anonymization provided to participants reinforces the respect that they deserve.]

I was also aware of the ways in which the geopolitical context in which I found myself in Perpignan was shaping my research. The end of 2017 and the start of 2018 witnessed a "migrant crisis," with a heightened sense of nationalism palpable both at home and in Europe (Pazzanese, 2017), and the question of what it meant to be French or American was vehemently contested. At such a time, I was eager to observe how Gitan students in Perpignan were positioned and positioned themselves vis-à-vis questions of Frenchness. Although the political climate weighed heavily on my mind, it imbued my dissertation project with added purpose and motivated me to amplify the voices of students from a marginalized community, those who are French but continue to be situated as sedentary travelers ["les gens du voyage sédentaires"]. I sought to harness my privilege as a researcher to document the daily experiences of those that would otherwise likely go unheard and to seek to understand their place in and beyond the limits of the classroom.

2.2.2 Negotiating with Students

During the first few weeks of fieldwork, I became familiar with all corners of the Saint Jacques neighborhood. In addition to formally introducing myself at local institutions and social services, I took long walks through the neighborhood, initiating contact with the inhabitants (following García-Sánchez, 2014, p. 62). On my first long walk through Saint Jacques in August 2017, unencumbered by a notebook or audiorecorder, I had a wide-ranging conversation with a Gitan grandmother on the central square. When I assisted with school registration two weeks later, a father approached me and asked me if I was the American whose husband was in medical school in Chicago. I replied that he was almost correct, noting that my family was based in San Francisco. When sharing this encounter with a staff member at the school, he observed that my story had made its way through the Gitan grapevine. Indeed, even when I had formally met only a handful of families, my presence and identity became widely known early into my research stay. Just as I endeavored to find my place in Saint Jacques, the Gitans who lived there struggled to fit me into their cultural schemas. I was Other but not of the more familiar kind (i.e., French). I was an *americana*, but what did that mean?

How did I fit into Gitan students' imaginary? Our daily interactions offered subtle glimpses into their cultural representations and suggested a fragmented answer. Upon informing his brother that I was from "l'Amérique," one student asked if that meant that I was Arab, a comment that provoked laughter from their mother. When I first introduced myself in the CP and CE classes as Emily, students spontaneously erupted into chant: "Rocky aime EM-I-LY! Rocky aime EM-I-LY!" [Rocky loves Emily!]. A Google search revealed that this line came from a 1992 film, *3 Ninjas*, which, it turned out, several students in the classes had seen. Over the course of the school year, this phrase resurfaced: it was chanted in long repetitions when students invited me to take part in their recess games, and I was affectionally referred to by students as "Rocky" or "Rocky aime Emily." Students frequently asked if I had ever met the singer Marc Anthony before, a favorite Puerto Rican American singer in this context, or if I personally knew other celebrities. During a morning warm-up session, a CM student invited me to sit next to him and proceeded to sketch "Dino Trump," a dinosaur with a pair of dentures (Figure 4). Below this image, the student added a thumb accompanied by a number of "likes," a Facebook reference, and a sad face with a comment next to it. Asked about the comment, he characterized it as "un commentaire où on pleure" [a comment in which someone cries]. Other students asked me what I thought about "le fou" [crazy man] from Korea and whether or not I suspected that he would "blow up" the United States. Middle school students were curious to know if I had ever been to the department store

Target, and if I had ever tried a Walmart cake. If so, did they taste as good as they appeared in the advertisements?

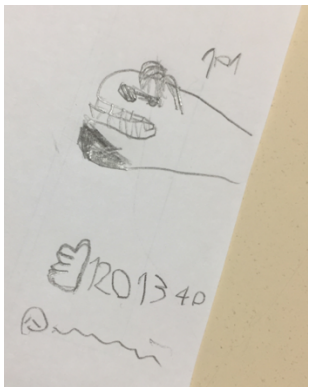

Figure 4. CM student's sketch of Dino Trump

With regard to my identity, questions were often asked *about* me, in Catalan or in French, when I first began entering classrooms: "Qui és?" [*Who is that?*]/"C'est qui?" [Who is that?]. Instructors and classroom aides frequently prompted students to pose this question to me directly. Since my first visits to Saint Jacques, I found myself niched by students in new ways. When interacting with students at the Ludothèque, they initially asked me if I was Chinese or Japanese. After encountering this question more than once, I asked the boy playing Legos next to me why he suspected this: "Parce que tu as les yeux qui ferment quand tu souris" [Because your eyes close when you smile], he replied. On another occasion, a CM2 student informed me that she had learned some Chinese, and I suspected that I was again being labeled as Chinese. Students occasionally assumed that I was French, and I sensed that this belief carried tensions. When I entered the CM class for the first time, a female student at the back of the room repeated every comment that I made in a mocking tone. Keen on testing the waters, I eventually asked her what she thought I was: –"Française." When I informed her that I was, in fact, an American from San Francisco, her face froze, and her eyes widened with apparent amazement: "Estats Units d'Amèrica!"

With time, students asked me questions openly, however they continued to hesitate on certain occasions. For instance, in early October, a student from the non-focal CM class asked, "Emily… Tu es de la Californie ou l'Amérique?" [Are you from California or America?], before quickly adding, with a mildly anxious appearance, "Je ne suis pas raciste, hein? Je veux juste savoir" [I'm not racist, ya know? I just want to know]. Upon learning that I was from the U.S., away from my family, many students asked if I was not ashamed to be in Perpignan: "T'as pas honte?" [You're not ashamed?] Each time a student posed this question, with wide eyes and a certain severity in expression, I was perplexed by the gravity implied. When I eventually inquired about why I would feel ashamed, a student hesitatingly asked whether my family had abandoned or banished me, whether I had committed an unspeakable offense. As I stepped into an unfamiliar space, into a corner of France that I had never encountered in my French textbooks, with their glossy tourist gaze, or in my study abroad programs, I simultaneously introduced my own unfamiliar language and identity into the sociocultural and linguistic landscape of Saint Jacques. Through our exchanges, students and I came to collectively re-interrogate our assumptions about ourselves, our languages, and our cultures.

Since my early interactions with students, I observed how they often equated language with identity. On my first full-day visit to the CM class, a student asked, "Quelle langue(s) vous êtes?"

[What language(s) are you?]. When students heard me speaking Catalan, this generated added confusion and prompted them to inquire as to whether I was Gitan. During my second full-day visit to the CE class, I gave students instructions in Catalan when they asked for help (2017.09.18.am1). As I later passed by one student's desk, she suddenly began asking me if I was Gitan and ended up concluding that I was both French and Gitan (Excerpt 1).

Excerpt 1. "T'es français et t'es gitan" [You're French and you're Gitan]

Ivana:	((à EL[37])) T'es gitane? T'es gitane? T'es gitan? Toi- tu sais parler gitan (.) Qu'est-ce que tu fais?	((to EL)) You're Gitan? You're Gitan? You're Gitan? You- You know how to speak Gitan (.) What are you doing?
EL:	((sourit et fait non de la tête))	((smiles and shakes head no))
Classroom Aide:	Allez Ivana.	Come on Ivana. ((prompting her to return to her work))
Ivana:	( ) Mais toi t'es ( ) t'es français bilibilibili ((petits rires)) t'es français et t'es gitan.[38]	( ) But you you're ( ) you're French bilibilibili ((giggles)) You're French and you're Gitan.
Classroom Aide:	((en poussant un soupir)) Allez:::	((sighing)) Come on:::

Although my knowledge of Catalan enabled my understanding of students' conversations and weekly Catalan lessons implemented in the CE classes, it proved more difficult to engage with students and their families in the language. When I attempted to speak with mothers in Catalan, they initially expressed surprise to discover my knowledge of the language and commented to one another that my accent was different, with some mentioning to those present that I sounded like someone from Barcelona. The difficulty that I experienced conversing with families can likely be explained by the following factors: firstly, Escudero (2004) emphasized the status of French as a language used by Gitan families in interactions with non-Gitans. As one family that he interviewed explained, "Amb els paios parlem paio, amb els gitanos, parlem gitano" [*With Payos we speak Payo, with Gitans, we speak Gitan*] (p. 37). Secondly, students and families associated my presence in their community with the school, where the predominant language is French and where interactions between staff and families are mainly carried out in French. Thirdly, having studied Catalan as a foreign language, I had no claim to the language in terms of identity. Whereas other researchers have been able to connect with families in Catalan as a heritage language (e.g., Escudero) or first language (e.g., Casanova), it was easier for me to relate with students as learners of French as a second/foreign language. Casanova explained that in conducting his research, he intentionally modified his Catalan to more closely resemble the variety spoken by Gitans in southern France (personal communication). As a musical collaborator and linguist who has maintained close ties with the Gitan community of Saint Jacques, Escudero related the confusion that he had experienced with regard to his sense of identity, confessing at one time to his Ph.D. advisor Bernard Leblon that he felt as though he were becoming Gitan (personal communication).

My identity as a native English speaker provoked added confusion. After conversing with a group of CM students in French, one of them asked, "Donc tu ne parles pas français, enfin un

[37] Emily Linares

[38] The use of the masculine adjectival forms suggests a possible reference to languages rather than national or ethnic identity and reinforces students' association between speaking and being a language.

petit peu?" [So you don't speak French, well just a little bit?] (2017.09.05). On a different occasion, another student from the same class seemed to have a revelation as he exclaimed, "Ah! À l'Amérique tu apprends le français" [Ah! In America you learn French] (2019.09.19).[39] When the CE instructor led students in their first English language lesson, she commented that my first language was English. In turn, a student asked if I was on vacation, as seen in Excerpt 2 (2017.09.12.am2).

Excerpt 2. "Elle est en vacances?" [She is on vacation?]

Instructor:	Emily (.) Elle parle anglais. Parce que elle vit dans un pays (.) où on parle **anglais**. OK? So=	Emily (.) She speaks English. Because she lives in a country (.) where people speak **English**. OK? So=
Student:	=Elle est en vacances ?	=She is on vacation?
Instructor:	**Listen**-Non. Pas en vacances tout le temps. Elle est américaine Emily.	((in English)) **Listen**-((in French)) No. Not on vacation all the time. Emily she's American.
Student:	Mais il y a des fois on va en vacances il y a des gens qui [parlent comme elle.	But sometimes we go on vacation there are people who [speak like her.
Instructor:	[Oui. Oui. C'est vrai. Au camping il y a des gens qui parlent anglais.	[Yes. Yes. It's true. At campsites there are people who speak English.
Mia:	**Hola. ¿Cómo estás?**	((in Spanish)) **Hi. How are you?**
Instructor:	Non non. Ça c'est espagnol.	No no. That's Spanish.

Since I had begun interacting with students, I had always assumed that they saw me as a *Paya*, a term used to refer to non-Gitans. In early October, students from the CM class were discussing online video games and the fact that they no longer engaged with French players. Curious as to how they identified me, I asked them if I was *Paya*. They responded that I was not, explaining that I was an *Americana.* As one student explained, "C'est pas la même langue" [It's not the same language]. I was keen on exploring whether or not other students shared this view. When asked, another student suggested that I was American but that I could decide if I wanted to be partially *Paya*. He is Gitan but also a little French ["un peu français"], he explained, so I could similarly decide to be a little *Paya* if I so chose. Later in the class period, a student confirmed that I was an *Americana* (2017.10.10.pm2):

Excerpt 3. "Toi tu es américaine. *Una americana*." [You you are American. *An Americana.*]

EL:	Si on est américaine (.) est-ce qu'on est paya ou pas?	If someone's American (.) does that make them a Paya or not?
Student:	Quoi?	What?

[39] At the back-to-school staff meeting, I had been introduced to staff as an American Ph.D. student interested in how Gitan students at the focal school learn French as a second language. I subsequently took up this identity in the classrooms, presenting myself to the children as a fellow student of French (as a second, in their case, and foreign, in my case, language).

EL:	Est-ce qu'on est paya ou pas si on est américaine?	Is someone a Paya or not if they're American?
Student:	Non.	No.
EL:	Paya ça veut dire française? Ça veut pas dire américaine?	Paya means French? It doesn't mean American?
Student:	Non.	No.
EL:	Donc j'suis pas paya.	So I'm not paya.
Student:	Paya ça veut dire française. Comme elle ((designe l'assistante française)).	Paya means French. Like her ((gestures toward the French classroom assistant)).
EL:	D'accord et moi non.	OK and not me.
Student:	Toi tu es américaine. Una americana. En- en gitan una americana.	You you are American. An *Americana*. In- in Gitan an *Americana*.

On my visit accompanying the CM class to the Collège, I became aware of the fear surrounding the site, which seemed to stem from sharing a school with "French" (i.e., non-Gitan) students for the first time. During this visit, students from the École were dismissed for recess with all of the middle schoolers. At the end of recess, one of the female CM students from the class approached me, visibly shaken, and informed me, "Un grand m'a regardée d'en haut et oh! J'avais trop peur. J'ai serré mes copines!" [An older (student) looked at me from above ((indicating the upper story of the school)) and oh! I was so scared. I squeezed my girlfriends!]. As her friends approached, one of them asked her what she had told me. This time, she recounted the story in Catalan and with slight, yet significant, modification to its content: A *Payo* [male French] had looked at her with *grands yeux bleus* [big blue eyes]! The fact that this information has been shared with me, a non-Gitan with green eyes, albeit with a change in the French version, was striking and reinforced my impression that I was not seen as a *Paya* by students familiar with my background.

2.2.3 Negotiating with Instructors

Towards the beginning of my fieldwork, I became aware of the ways in which my presence in the classroom inevitably altered students' behavior: during class time, students would call on me for help, invite me to sit with them, ask me to teach them English phrases and vocabulary, inquire about my family and life in the United States. These attempts at peripheral engagement in the classroom prompted me to carefully negotiate my relationship to students and, in turn, instructors. I made a concerted effort to remain sensitive to instructors' reactions and to modify my verbal and spatial responses to students accordingly (e.g., moving to another part of the classroom if a student seemed distracted or too eager to converse with me on topics unrelated to the lesson at hand). I was keen on discussing at length the questions that students raised, which were often related to issues of language and identity, but I endeavored to find ways to pursue these conversations without disrupting typical classroom activities—for example, resuming a discussion at recess or during quiet time activities reserved for coloring, drawing, or board games.

I was immensely grateful to the focal instructors for, in essence, exposing themselves to me. They seemed aware of the vulnerability that inevitably accompanies observation, particularly over an extended period of time. After a particularly lively afternoon session, filled with multiple

provocations by the students and increasingly evident frustration on the part of the instructor, often expressed through resounding screams, I was sharply aware of my power as I left the school. The instructor knew, even if he had likely forgotten at the time, that my recorder had captured every confrontation. As I bid him goodbye for the day, he apologized, adding with a shrug, "Maintenant tu as tout vu" [Now you've seen everything]. During the first few months of my observations, and sessions marked by disruptive student behavior thereafter, it was not infrequent for instructors to apologize when I left their classroom or the school for the day. I always replied that there was no reason to apologize and reminded them that my purpose at the school was not to document student behavior or classroom management. I commiserated with them as a fellow instructor who was sensitive to all of their daily responsibilities and the unpredictability of day-to-day instruction.

None of the instructors at the École had taught there for more than three years, and this was the first teaching experience for most of them. I suspected that their lack of experience heightened their sensitivity to observation, for some much more than for others. One instructor, in her first year of teaching, appeared particularly ill at ease during my initial visits. During a rather tumultuous afternoon session and having just yelled at a student, she happened upon my audio recorder: "Eh, oui! Tu m'enregistres en plus!" [Oh, yes! To top things off, you're recording me!]. The reminder of the recording device added to her apparent frustration. I stayed to speak with her after class, and, recalling her phrasing (i.e., I was recording *her*), I emphasized that I was not there to record *her*; my primary interest was to capture classroom interaction around language and literacy, not to evaluate her instruction or classroom management. No other focal instructors voiced discomfort about being recorded, and I sensed that this particular instructor was especially, and understandably, sensitive to my recording device during her first weeks as a new teacher, in an unfamiliar classroom setting. While it could be advisable to avoid observing new teachers for this reason, in this schooling context, this was unavoidable due to the existence of only one section of the grade level that she taught and the high turnover at the school.

During class observations, I sometimes struggled to find my place as a participant-observer. From the beginning of my observations, the students in the CP and CE class referred to me as "maîtresse" [teacher] and often called on me for assistance: "Maîtresse Emily! Maîtresse Emily!" [Teacher Emily! Teacher Emily!]. In such cases, I made a point to acknowledge the instructor's legitimacy, explaining that I was not a classroom instructor. My ambiguous role from the students' perspective as an observer and possible teacher was understandable; an instructor would occasionally ask me to assist with an exercise or help students with an activity, but I learned that this was not a permanent invitation. During one of my visits, an instructor told the students that they could no longer ask me questions, as she suspected that they were becoming too dependent on outside help in completing their work. When I moved to the side of the room, the pleas for my assistance continued. Some of the students told me that I was mean ("T'es méchante, Emily" [You're mean, Emily]), reacting to the fact that I had helped their classmates earlier in the class session (before the instructor forbid the students' from calling on me) but would not come to their desk. When out of sight of the instructor, I would sometimes approach a student's desk to mouth or whisper that the instructor wanted them to work independently now and did not wish for me to assist; I had not elected to ignore their requests for help.

I occasionally found myself pulled between my research interests, which motivated me to work closely with students to gain insight into their language practices and my simultaneous awareness of instructors' efforts to support students' quiet autonomy. For instance, during one of my initial observations in the CE class, a student invited me to sit with her as she worked. She quickly completed assignments, moving at a far greater speed than the rest of the class. As she

progressed through the packet of mathematics worksheets, from time to time we quietly discussed her experience at school and her home reading practices. Eventually, the instructor passed by and commented: “Je ne suis pas sûre que Maria à côté d’Emily ce soit une bonne idée” [I’m not sure that having Maria next to Emily is a good idea]. She then turned to me as I was getting up and apologized for this comment. I understood that the instructor was aware of my temptation to engage in discussions with students that could inform my project.

One interaction with an instructor is particularly memorable as an isolated yet tense encounter that reinforced my foreignness at the schools. During recess one day, a kindergartener that I had come to know particularly well was playing on the playground when a boy came over and banged her head against a classroom window. As she ran for help, a large welt quickly forming on her head, I followed her inside the staff kitchen, where an instructor whom I had yet to interact with took an ice pack from the fridge. I picked up the child and set her on my knees, and she immediately stopped crying. No sooner had I done so when the instructor began screaming at me: questioning why I had picked the child up, lecturing me on the fact that, to his mind, the child was already too babied—like all children in the neighborhood, and informing me that I would be better help supervising other children outside. I was taken aback by his apparent rage and found myself concerned by his aggressive stance due to my desire to maintain a positive rapport with staff at the school. When I later encountered this instructor on the playground, I approached him and apologized for my behavior. He was no more pacified, adding only that I did not have “le bon sens d’un adulte dans une école” [the good sense of an adult in a school]. In later reflecting on this exchange, I did not find my response particularly unusual, and I recalled my own kindergarten teacher’s warm, gentle, and comforting presence. The good sense of an adult “dans une école *française*” did not coincide with the *bon sens* I had witnessed as a student in my early years of schooling. At that moment, I was made keenly aware of intercultural difference and my own socialization to the norms expected of me at an École as well as the need to be aware of my own *unawareness* in a foreign context. Following my return to class with the child who had been injured, she suggested that I sit next to her for the rest of the school day. I smiled but made a point to circulate throughout the room. This is the tight rope that I walked on a daily basis: I sought to understand the children and their multilingual world while attempting to conform to unfamiliar French school norms as I simultaneously discovered them.

I not only observed socialization and was myself socialized in the classrooms; my identity as a foreigner and, specifically, an American was paradoxically mobilized as a means of socializing the students to appropriate classroom norms. In one instance, a classroom aide was attempting to prompt students to write about their experience visiting a local vineyard as a class. She became increasingly frustrated as students continued to produce drawings instead of a written account of their visit, and she suggested that their behavior would not be tolerated, let alone observed, in the U.S. (2017.10.08.pm1).

Excerpt 4. “Parce qu’aux États-Unis ça ne se passe pas comme ça, je peux te le dire, hein?” [Because in the United States let me tell you that things don’t work that way, I can tell you that, eh?]

Aide:	Qu’est-ce que tu fais? (.) ºC’est pas possible ça. Tu te crois en maternelle. ((à EL)) Tu as vu ça- on voit jamais ça aux Etats-Unis, hein?	What are you doing? (.) ºYou really can’t be doing that. You think you’re in preschool. ((to EL)) Did you see that- you never see that in the U.S., eh?
Student 1:	De quoi?	See what?

Student 2:	On n'est pas aux États-Unis.	We're not in the United States.
Aide:	Eh ben non. Parce qu'aux États-Unis ça ne se passe pas comme ça, je peux te le dire, hein? Ça fait un moment qu'on vous aurait giflés peut-être. (.) Alors. Cette photo on va la coller là. ((parlant à lui-même)) J'ai pris la colle, j'ai oublié les ciseaux.	That's for sure. Because in the United States let me tell you that things don't work that way, I can tell you that, eh? You might have been slapped by now. (.) So. This photo we will glue it here. ((talking to herself)) I grabbed the glue I forgot the scissors.
Student 2:	Ça c'est pas des États-Unis.	That that's not the United States.
Student 1:	On nous frappe. ((tape du poing sur la table))	They hit us. ((bangs fist on table))
Aide:	Regarde.	Look.
Student 2:	J'en ai des ciseaux.	Scissors I have some of those.
Student 3:	On nous frappe pas?	They don't hit us?
Aide:	Dans ta trousse. Super. Regarde. Tu coupes les trucs blancs et tu colles la photo ici.	In your pencil case. Super. Look. You cut the white things and you glue the picture here.
Student 2:	Ils nous frappent aux États-Unis? (.) hein ?	They hit us in the United States? (.) yeah?
Aide:	((à EL)) ºDis-leur oui, ça va leur faire du bien.	((to EL)) ºTell them yes, that will do them some good.

Although this aide had never lived studied or worked in an American classroom, she suggested that you would never find students in the United States behaving like those at her workshop. Student2 responded that they were not in the United States. The aide replied that this was evident, since she was certain that students' behavior would not be tolerated in the United States. She even went a step further to suggest that instructors would have resorted to physical violence to prevent students from drawing instead of writing. As the students continued to work on their journal entry, they remained preoccupied by the aide's remark, as evidenced by their subsequent comments and questions. The aide's encouragement for me to validate the prospect of physical punishment for off-task behavior made me uneasy. With all students and the aide looking to me for a response, I chuckled and brushed off the comment. As the aide turned to other tasks, I then shook my head to signal a negative response to her proposal and winked at the children discreetly.

As the year progressed, I became aware of the ways in which instructors valued my presence in their classrooms, a fact that they explicitly vocalized in the final weeks of my fieldwork in Perpignan. Instructors expressed gratitude for my efforts to spend a sustained period of time in their classroom and to attempt to understand their daily reality in its complexities. They noted that most visitors only enter their classroom for a brief period with the aim to evaluate and offer recommendations without having spent sufficient time to begin to understand the challenges that they face, nor their needs and those of their students. Every instructor understands that no school day, or hour of instruction, is similar to another and that limited observations are not representative of any academic year taken as a whole. Although I could not be present in all focal classrooms at all times, my repeated visits at different times of day and days of the week over the course of a year provided me with a more holistic understanding of the daily activities; the relationships of students to their learning, their peers, and their various instructors; and the challenges (behavioral or instructional) that instructors navigate in the classroom. Their openness to a sustained outsider perspective and invitation for engagement made me feel comfortable asking them questions about their approach to instruction or the classroom dynamics among students as well as between instructors and students. Instructors commented that they were often surprised by the questions that I asked of them and that these questions prompted them to reflect on their classroom and

students differently. Their responses, in turn, strengthened my own reflexivity, moving me to consider why these questions had seemed natural to me in light of my own training as a researcher and socialization within the U.S. academic system.

Intent on pursuing the insights that can be offered by such cross-cultural exchanges, I initiated contact with researchers in Spain who have investigated the schooling of Gitan students, some Catalan-speaking, on the other side of the border. In April 2018, I was invited by Professor David Poveda to present my dissertation research at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid as part of a guest lecture series that he organizes: Seminario sobre Desarrollo Humano y Educación (SDHyE). The following month, I traveled to the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, where I participated in a research meeting led by Professors José Luis Lalueza Sazatornil and Sonia Sánchez Busques. Their research aims to investigate ways to improve schooling for minority students in Spain and to support the incorporation of multilingualism and multiculturalism in classroom instruction. My exchanges with researchers in Spain prompted me to examine the schooling contexts that had become familiar to me in France from a new outsider perspective. The questions that Spanish researchers posed concerning the schooling of Gitan students in Perpignan and the comparisons that they offered in Spain occasionally surprised me in turn. During my fieldwork, I perceived a palpable sentiment among instructors, particularly those who had been teaching at the focal school sites for a number of years, that there is no magic formula to be discovered, that all means of improving Gitan students' schooling experience had been tested, abandoned, and replaced by the latest attempt: a reduced class schedule with modified hours, trade-oriented or home economics courses for middle school students, Catalan courses. The PowerPoint summary of projects implemented by the instructional team at the Collège presents a dizzying succession of efforts to improve students' education and retention at the site. As Marquilló Larruy (forthcoming) remarks, "Mais hélas, rien ne semble pouvoir être définitivement gagné, la complexité de la situation semble la vouer à un éternel recommencement" [But helas, nothing seems to be settled for good, the complexity of the situation seems doomed to an eternal renewal of efforts]. My fieldwork suggests that it is perhaps in looking abroad, in adopting and exchanging outsider perspectives on Gitan schooling, and minority student education more broadly, that we are positioned to gain new insights into students' language and identity and previously unconsidered approaches to language instruction (Linares, forthcoming).

CHAPTER 3

THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY FOR GITAN STUDENTS IN SAINT JACQUES

"[J]e voudrais un peu être de langue différente."
[I'd kind of like to be from a different language.]
-CM-level student

"Quelle(s) langue(s) vous êtes?" [What language(s) are you?] I asked a group of CP-level students sitting on the floor before me. "Quelle(s) langue(s) est-ce que vous *parlez*?" [What language(s) do you speak?] their instructor interjected in an instantaneous correction of my speech, remarking that, in French, we do not ask what language you *are* but what language you *speak*. In formulating my question, I had been aware of the fact that it would likely be perceived by the instructor as non-normative. However, in phrasing it as I did, I consciously sought to reproduce a question and an underlying ideology that I had repeatedly encountered among Gitan students in Saint Jacques. The instructor's inability to understand my intentions was likely influenced by my identity as a foreigner with a perceived need for socialization and as an adult (often referred to as "maîtresse Emily" [Teacher Emily] by CP- and CE-level learners, particularly early-on in the year) with the potential to influence students' linguistic practices in the classroom. More importantly, however, this correction was symptomatic of conflicting views on language and identity among students and their instructors; my fieldwork revealed that Gitan students appeared to equate language with identity while instructors, for their part, largely defined students' identity in terms of geographic and national ties, the result of their place of birth and current residence. This chapter documents the manifestation of contrasting understandings of language and identity—or language *as* identity—held by Gitan students and their instructors within this context. Additionally, it explores implications of students' perspective on identity for their sociolinguistic development: Specifically, if you are what you speak, what consequences devolve from an affinity for the French language in a context characterized by a salient distinction between Gitans and Payos [non-Gitan French]? And how do students manage their identity as French Gitans, manipulating different languages and affiliations at different times?

3.1 BEING A LANGUAGE

Children who are in contact with speakers of diverse languages come to identify particular languages with particular individuals. With time, a 'one person, one language bond' develops, whereby "bilingual children are seen to be trying to organise people into linguistic groups […], and they relentlessly and insistently associate one language with one person" (Brettenny & de Klerk, 1995, p. 44; also see Grosjean, 1982, p. 173). That Gitan students were observed to associate speaker language and identity was therefore not particularly noteworthy. However, this strong association became significant in light of the sociolinguistic implications of speaking—and being—more than one language in Saint Jacques. Specifically, students' extensive practice of and identification with French seemed to index claims to a French identity and pose a threat to Gitan identity.

In my observations, I noticed that Gitan students at the focal schools regularly ascertained the identity of newcomers in terms of language. During my initial weeks of fieldwork, Gitan students did not ask the question that I, as an American, had anticipated (i.e., Where are you from?) but instead desired to know what *language* I *was*: "Quelle langue vous êtes?" [What language are you?]. While this question could be seen as an unremarkable feature of a child's perspective (i.e., the association between languages and identities), it was striking due to its habitual use to initiate contact with newcomers. It suggested that Gitan learners classified those whom they encountered first and foremost on the basis of language, as opposed to place of origin. The following exchange illustrates how language was foregrounded in Gitan students' inquiries about identity (2017.09.15am1). Having invited me to sit next to him during a morning free play session in his CM-level class, André asked me about my linguistic background.

Excerpt 1. "Quelle(s) langue(s) euh vous êtes?" [What language(s) uh are you?]

André:	Emily ? Quelle(s) langue(s) euh vous êtes ?	Emily? What language(s) uh are you?
EL:	Comment ?	Come again?
André:	Quelle(s) langue(s) vous êtes ?	What language(s) are you?
EL:	Ma première langue ?	My first language?
Pierre:	Anglais.	English.
EL:	Ouais.	Yeah.
André:	Vous avez l'accent.	You have the accent.
EL:	Et::: français.	A:::nd French.
André:	Français.	French.
EL:	Et::: espagnol (.) et::: portugais.	A:::nd Spanish (.) a:::nd Portuguese.
André:	((apparemment surpris)) **Quoi ?** ((rires)) T'es portugaise?	((seemingly surprised)) **What?** ((laughter)) You're Portuguese?
EL:	Ma famille oui (.) Et vous ? Vous êtes quelle(s) langue(s) ?	Yes my family is (.) And you? What language(s) are you?
André:	Euh (.) gitan. Et français. Ça se voit avec l'accent que vous étiez anglais hein ?	Uh (.) Gitan. And French. You can tell with your accent that you were English you know?

This interaction exemplifies the way in which students frequently situated language as a form of identity—something that you *are*. In French, there is overlap in the masculine adjective for nationality and the language term (e.g., français (masculine adjective; French language), anglais (masculine adjective; English language)). Moreover, I was not termed 'anglaise' or 'américaine' (the feminine adjectival forms in French) but 'anglais' (and occasionally 'anglaise'). Gitan students frequently described me as 'anglais(e)' even after being reminded by their instructors that I was American a number of times. This was quite possibly a consequence of the lexical semblance between the adjective (i.e., 'anglais(e)') and my native language, 'anglais' [English]. My sustained observations suggested that students were clearly using the language term, and not the nationality adjective, when they referred to me (and others).

When I later initiated an English language workshop in the CM-level classes, some students voiced concern, on the grounds of *identity*, that the lessons would be too difficult for them: "Mais je ne suis pas anglais moi!" [But I'm not English!]. However, learners did occasionally express an awareness of the potential to be and become other languages. I was not always exclusively termed 'anglais'; I was also often described as somewhat French, presumably since students came to know me as a French speaker in their classrooms. My sporadic and limited use of Catalan in the classroom, mostly as a resource to quietly offer clarifications when students

solicited my help, but more often as a means to probe students' language ideologies, prompted inquiries about my possible identity as Gitan. For example, when I employed a single word in Catalan (i.e., *aquest*, this one) to direct students to the focus of an activity during an English lesson (01.30.2018), André suggested an additional Gitan identity for me: "Uyyy t'es française et anglaise et gitane?" [Uyyy you're French and English and Gitan?].

Language appeared to serve as a salient marker of identity and functioned as a heuristic for classification among the Gitan learners in Perpignan whose classrooms I frequented. It was possible, within this context, to *be* more than one language, however the extent of identification with different languages was not equal; students sometimes identified as a series of languages (e.g., saying they were three languages), however they assigned each of their languages a varying degree of importance to their identity (e.g., being a little French, but not too much). Practicing an additional language was transformational, entailing both the advantages and the risks that devolve from identification with other languages within this context.

3.1.1 Becoming Another Language (and Identity)

Speakers' identities were not only 'brought along'; they could also be modified through language use, 'brought about' (Baynham, 2015) in interaction with others. However, as research has previously documented in other contexts, the decision to employ another language more extensively is often not without consequences for identity. In his study of French-speaking African refugees attending high school in Ontario, Canada, Ibrahim (1999) concludes that "ESL is neither neutral nor without its politics and pedagogy of desire and investment" (p. 349). Although situated in a distant sociolinguistic context, Gitan students' study of French as a second language was not a neutral process. Ibrahim poses questions with critical importance for Gitan students in Saint Jacques: "Who do we as social subjects living within a social space desire to be or to become? And whom do we identify with, and what repercussions does our identification have on how and what we learn?" (p. 352). Early on in my fieldwork in Saint Jacques, one student in particular, André, sensitized me to the social repercussions of extensive use of French.

I was first introduced to André (who was ten years old in 2016) during pre-dissertation research when I visited the Ludothèque, a recreational center located inside the focal elementary school.[40] As I left the floor where André was playing, he immediately invited me to return and contribute to his Lego construction. My participation in the Lego activity offered unanticipated insights for my evolving understanding of the Gitan children's sociolinguistic context when André disclosed his thoughts on language and identity:

> As I returned to the floor, André quickly initiated a conversation about how he wished he were not Gitan. He did not like Gitan culture. In his words, 'Les Gitans, ça ne connaît pas la politesse'[41] [Gitans do not know politeness]. Overhearing this comment, one of the site staff members instructed him not to say such things; it was his culture, and it is normal to appreciate some aspects but not others. The activity leader proceeded to self-identify as

[40] In addition to providing children from the neighborhood a welcoming environment in which to spend non-school hours, the Ludothèque socializes children into contextually appropriate behaviors for collective play (e.g., holding them responsible for games that they check out for on-site use and requiring adherence to site behavioral rules). Cost of attendance is one euro per day.

[41] See Linares (2019) for the first corpus-based linguistic study of this syntactic construction (i.e., dislocation featuring co-referent clitic 'ça').

> Arab and explained that she herself appreciated certain aspects of her cultural identity more than others. This claim to identity startled André, who had just commented that 'l'Arabe ça parle mal, c'est sa spécialité' [The Arab speaks badly, that's his specialty], to which the assistant had responded with a vocabulary lesson: 'spécialité' was used for food, while habits or preferences were more like 'goûts' [tastes]. With regard to his own identity, André informed the assistant that, in light of her comments, she really did not understand Gitan culture. He wanted to be with French people and admitted that he was 'un peu français' [a little French]. […] I asked André what language(s) he spoke. Gitan, he replied, though he really liked French much better; it was so much nicer, so much cooler, he asserted. I asked if his parents or siblings agreed. I learned that he only spoke Gitan at home and that his brothers did not like French, something he could not understand. 'Je leur plaigne' [I bug them about it], he added. Nevertheless, André observed that everyone could choose how to live their life, and he had decided that he liked all things French. He had not always held this preference; however, he had come to realize that 'French people' had not done anything bad to them (i.e., the Gitans), contrary to what he had once believed.
>
> (July 22, 2016, fieldnote excerpt)

During my subsequent dissertation fieldwork, André linguistically self-identified as both Gitan and French, expressing a preference for French but also claiming Gitan as his language ("ma langue") and his family's linguistic identity: "Je peux pas dire que le français c'est nul parce que j'adore le français. Je peux pas dire que ma langue c'est nul (.) ma famille est gitan[42] (.) Mais ma préférée c'est la française" [I can't say that French is lame because I really love French. I can't say that my language is lame (.) my family is Gitan (.) But my preferred language is French]. When asked about his comments during our exchange in summer 2016 and, in particular, his assertion that he did not wish to be Gitan, André acknowledged the possibility of changing one's languages—which seemed to signify an addition, not a replacement of languages, in his discourse—in a process that offered new subjectivities (2017.09.29.pm2).

Excerpt 2. "**On peut pas changer ta vie. Juste ta langue.**" [**You can't change your life. Only your language.**]

EL:	Tu as dit 'Je veux pas être gitan.'	You said 'I don't want to be Gitan.'
André:	Oui.	Yes.
EL:	C'est vrai ?	Really?
André:	Ouais.	Yeah.
EL:	Mais c'est ta culture.	But it's your culture.
André:	Oui même. Je-on peut changer hein ?	Yes but still. I-You can change, you know?
EL:	Oui.	Yes.
André:	Toi t'as changé combien de langues ? (.) Plusieurs langues.	You how many languages have you changed? (.) Many languages.
EL:	Mm::	Mm::
André:	Voilà. On peut changer. **On peut pas changer ta vie. Juste ta langue.**	You see. You can change. **You can't change your life. Only your language.**
EL:	Ah oui. C'est ça.	Ah I see. That's what you meant.

[42] The lack of expected nominative-adjective agreement suggests an interpretation rooted in identity: this is a reference to his family's identity as the Gitan language.

André:	J'ai pas dit que vraiment je veux me changer. J'ai dit que je voudrais changer ma langue.	I didn't say that I really want to change myself. I said that I'd like to change my language.
EL:	M::	M::
André:	C'est à dire je voudrais un peu être de langue différente.	I mean I'd kind of like to be from a different language.

Although André expressed a desire to identify with a different language (i.e., French), he was cognizant of the social ramifications of doing so. Specifically, his affinity for French and his use of the language outside of school had elicited strongly negative reactions from his brother, as he recounted (2017.09.29.pm2):

(1) Tu peux dire [quelque chose en français] à mon frère il dit '**arrête.**' Une fois je j'ai parlé français il m'a::: (.) Il m'a fait voir sa:: (.) ((petits rires)) il a dit ((sur un ton de voix en colère)) '**si tu reparles** ((tape du poing sur la table)) **encore en français je te renv'rrai pour ça.**'

[If you speak [French] to my brother he says '**stop it.**' One time I I spoke French and he made me::: (.) He showed me his::: ((chuckles)) he said ((in an angry tone)) 'If you speak French ((bangs fist on table)) **once more in French I'll kick you out for that.**']

The content of this comment and the hostile emotion with which it was seemingly voiced and later animated by André highlight the politics of linguistic identity for Gitan students and the potential repercussions of employing French, in particular, outside of school. When asked how a Gitan child speaking French at home would be perceived, a parent from the community explained:

(2) C'est mal vu, c'est mal vu. C'est-à-dire qu'il peut être considéré comme un non-Gitan. Voilà. Alors bon pour ton identité, pour le quartier, pour la communauté voilà, ça se fait pas et c'est pas bien.

[It's frowned upon, it's frowned upon. I mean he can be seen as a non-Gitan. Yeah. So well for [the sake of] your identity, for the neighborhood, for the community, yeah, it's not done and it's not good.]

(Interview, May 2018)

The presence of French lexical influences in students' L1 appeared unremarkable; for instance, based on my fieldwork, students employed French-origin words during Catalan lessons, which they did not characterize as French but defended as part of their L1. The decision to speak French monolingually, however, carried social implications. To speak French is sometimes referred to as 'parler payo' (i.e., speaking Payo, that is, Payo or French people's language) (Escudero, 2004, p. 57; my own observation) within this context and doing so too extensively could signal *being* predominately Payo.

André confirmed his intent not to be "vraiment [really] Payo" and to remain "un peu [a little] Gitan." In other words, he wished to speak and identify as predominately Gitan, although he recognized French as an essential aspect of his identity. I inquired as to when the use of French becomes too extensive (2017.09.29.pm2):

Excerpt 3. "Je veux pas vraiment être payo." [I don't really want to be Payo.]

André:	Je veux pas vraiment être payo. Je veux être un peu gitan.	I don't really want to be Payo. I want to be a little Gitan.
EL:	D'accord (.) un peu français aussi ?	I see (.) a little French too?
André:	Pas trop quand même. Ma famille est gitan.[43]	But still not too much. My family is Gitan.
EL:	Quelle est la limite ?	What's the boundary?
André:	Hein ?	Huh?
EL:	Quelle est la limite ? Euh entre français et gitan ? Quand est-ce qu'on dépasse ?	What's the boundary? Uh between French and Gitan? When do people go too far?
André:	Les Français sont (3.0) Ils parlent pas mal.	French people are (3.0) They don't speak badly.

Although André seemed to misunderstand my question about the social constraints on French usage as an inquiry into differences between French and Gitan speakers, his response is noteworthy in multiple regards: first, he enacts an association between a particular identity and way of speaking, reinforcing the link between identity and language that was repeatedly expressed by Gitan youth. Second, rather than openly state what is implied about Gitans in his discourse (i.e., Gitans speak badly), and rather than express the corollary for French people (i.e., French people speak well), André describes the French as not speaking badly. Consequently, his commentary preserves the face of both groups of speakers. Third, with the evocation of 'les Français,' André's use of the third-person plural suggests that he does not claim full membership to this group. His identity is consequently predicated on hybridity, specifically, partial and differential identification with French and Gitan language and identity.

3.2 YOU ARE(N'T) WHAT YOU SPEAK

Gitan students' understanding of identity as a function of language contrasted with instructors' tendency to situate identity geographically and, more specifically, within national borders. In other words, whereas students understood their *language* as delimiting their identity, focal instructors emphasized spatial delimitations. Consequently, instructors viewed identity as independent of language; although speaking French could strengthen one's national identity, instructors explained that it was possible to speak French without being French. Two extended interactions serve to illustrate the divergent perspectives on the relationship between language and identity as articulated by students and their instructors.

The first example is taken from a CE-level Catalan lesson led by a guest instructor, Mònica (2018.01.09.am2; for an extended analysis of these lessons, see Chapter 4). When the French instructor, who was present during the Catalan session in question, expressed surprise at the students' competence in the subject matter, one student responded that their performance was to be expected since they were Catalan. The discussion on the relationship between language and identity that ensued is reproduced in its entirety for the insights that it offers into negotiations of identity and its relationship to language within this context.

[43] In this instance and in other discussions of identity, the lack of gender agreement and, specifically, the frequent employment of the masculine singular adjectival form creates ambiguity, as this form could be interpreted as a reference to the language (e.g., my family is Gitan [language]).

Extended Example 1. "C'est pas parce que (.) Emily parle le français qu'elle est française" [Just because (.) Emily speaks French doesn't mean she's French]

FrInstructor:	Eh ben vous connaissez déjà tout=	OK well you (pl.) know everything already.=
Mimi:	((visiblement agitée et quelque peu indignée)) =Mais c'est normal. On est catalan(s).	((visibly flustered and somewhat indignant)) =Well obviously. We are Catalan.
Mònica:	((éclate de rire))	((bursts out laughing))
FrInstructor:	Tu as raison. Mimi. Merci de le dire (.) C'est normal. Vous êtes catalans (.) Tu as raison.	You're right Mimi. Thanks for saying so (.) Of course. You (pl.) are Catalan (.) You (s.) are right.
Students:	((les voix des élèves se chevauchent; quelques-uns disent qu'ils sont espagnols ou gitans))	((students talk over one another; some say that they are Spanish or Gitan))
FrInstructor:	Alors. Vous êtes (.)=	So. You (pl.) are (.)=
Student:	Catalan(s).	Catalan.
FrInstructor:	Alors. Vous êtes français parce que vous [êtes nés en France	So. You (pl.) are French because you [were born in France
Enzo:	[espagnol(s)	[Spanish
FrInstructor:	Et comme vous êtes nés en France- ((à Enzo)) Sh: deux secondes	And since you were born in France- ((to Enzo)) Sh: hang on two seconds
Student:	((levant le doigt pour parler)) Moi aussi.	((raising hand to speak)) Me too.
FrInstructor:	Non. Deux secondes (.) Vous êtes français parce que vous habitez en France et parce que vous êtes né:s en France.	No. Hang on two seconds (.) You are French because you live in France and because you were bo:rn in France.
Maria:	Non moi je suis pas née en France.	No I wasn't born in France.
FrInstructor:	Tu es née où?	Where were you born?
Maria:	Je suis née au nord.	I was born up north.
FrInstructor:	Eh ben le nord c'est dans la France.	OK well the north is in France.
Students:	((contestant ces propos)) Moi non. Moi non.	((challenging this comment)) Not me. Not me.
FrInstructor:	Vous êtes tous=	You are all=
Student:	=À Barcelone=	=In Barcelona=
FrInstructor:	=Vous êtes tous français (.) D'accord ? (.) Vous êtes tous français (2.0) Vous êtes (.) catalans parce que- Vous êtes catalans parce que vous vivez en Catalogne (.) Et parce que vous parlez une langue qui est le catalan. (2.0) Et vous êtes gitans parce que vous vivez dans une communauté (.) que avec des Gitans.	=You are all French (.) OK? (.) You are all French (2.0) You are (.) Catalan because- You are Catalan because you live in Catalonia (.) And because you speak a language that is Catalan. (2.0) And you are Gitans because you live in a community (.) with only Gitans.
Students:	Ouais.	Yeah.
FrInstructor:	D'accord? (.) Et que vos parents sont gitans. Vos arrière-grands-parents sont gitans (.) Vous êtes français. Catalans. Gitans.	OK? (.) And your parents are Gitans. Your great-grandparents are Gitans (.) You are French. Catalan. Gitan.
Student:	Et payo.	And Payo.
Student:	Non maîtresse.	No teacher.
FrInstructor:	((apparamment surprise)) Et vous êtes payos aussi ?	((with apparent surprise)) And you are also Payos?
Mònica:	No:n.	No:.
Israël:	On est espagnol(s).	We are Spanish.

Mimi:	Mais on est espagnol(s).	But we are Spanish.
FrInstructor:	**Alors.** Est-ce que vous êtes nés en Espagne ?	**Well.** Were you born in Spain?
Student:	Non.	No.
Israël:	Oui. Moi oui.	Yes. I was.
FrInstructor:	Et est-ce que vous vivez en Espagne ?	And do you live in Spain?
Maria:	Non.	No.
Israël:	On y va des fois.	Well sometimes we go there.
FrInstructor:	Oui tu y vas des fois (.) Mais elle est où ta maison ?	OK you go there sometimes (.) But where is your house?
Israël:	(3.0) Euh là-bas.	(3.0) Uh over there.
FrInstructor:	**No:n.** Elle est ici ta maison (.) Donc tu es français. Tu es pas espagnol.	**No.** Your house is here (.) So you are French. You're not Spanish.
Students:	((Les voix des élèves se chevauchent))	((Students talk over one another))
Maria:	((en exclamant, pointant Mònica du doigt)) **Eh !** Mais tu nous l'apprends alors on sera bientôt espagnol(s).	((exclaiming, pointing at Mònica)) **Hey!** But you're teaching us it so we will be Spanish soon.
FrInstructor:	Mais ça c'est pas de l'espagnol.	But that's not Spanish.
Student:	C'est de l'anglais.	It's English.
Israël:	C'est du ca-ta-lan.[44]	It's Ca-ta-lan.[44]
FrInstructor:	**Non.** C'est pas de l'anglais non plus.	**No.** It's not English either.
Mònica:	Non. C'est pas ça. Mais toi-	No. It's not that. But you (s.)-
FrInstructor:	Alors attends. Attends. Attends.=	So wait a minute. Wait. Wait.=
Mònica:	=**Oh là là là là là.**	=**Oh my my my my my.**
FrInstructor:	Maria. Il faut pas confondre- c'est pas parce que ((en appelant les élèves qui tiennent une conversation à part)) **Eh. Eh-oh!** ((à Maria)) C'est pas parce qu'on **parle** une langue (2.0) C'est pas parce que (.) Emily parle le français qu'elle est française (.) Elle est quoi Emily?	Maria. We've got to get this straight- it's not because ((calling to students who are having a side conversation)) **Hey. Hey-oh!** ((to Maria)) It's not because someone **speaks** a language (2.0) Just because (.) Emily speaks French doesn't mean she's French (.) What is Emily?
Maria, Mimi:	Anglaise.	English.
FrInstructor:	Presque. Alors elle parle anglais (.) mais elle est pas anglaise. Parce que elle- Sa maison ((appelant des élèves distraits)) ouh ouh!	Almost. So she speaks English (.) but she isn't English. Because she- Her house ((calling to distracted students)) hey hey!
Enzo:	**Française.**	**French.**
FrInstructor:	Sa maison n'est pas en Angleterre. Sa maison elle est où?	Her house isn't in England. Where is her house?
Students:	Là. Là.	There. There.
FrInstructor:	Alors là en ce moment elle vit là. Mais sa maison elle est en **Amérique.**	Well she's living there right now. But her house is in **America.**
Students:	((en poussant un hoquet de surprise et regardant EL))	((gasping and looking to EL))
FrInstructor:	Alors est-ce qu'elle est française Emily?	So is Emily French?
Students:	((ensemble)) No::::n.	((in unison)) No::::.
FrInstructor:	Et pourtant elle parle français.	And yet she speaks French.
Enzo:	Américaine.	American.

[44] In labeling the language of Mònica's lessons as "ca-ta-lan," stressing each syllable of the word, Israël imitates the French instructor. The latter's frequently heavy accentuation of the word reinforced her insistence that Catalan (not "Gitan") was the language of instruction.

FrInstructor:	Elle est américaine (.) Est-ce qu'elle est française Mònica ?- Je sais pas d'ailleurs.	She is American (.) Is Mònica French?- I actually don't know.
Students:	Non. Non. Catalan.	No. No. Catalan.
Israël:	Un peu un peu [français].	A little a little [French].

As seen in this exchange, the French instructor positions identity as independent of language and spatially defined. This stance is reinforced by her inquiries about where students and I were *born* (a form of the verb *naître* [to be born] is employed by the instructor four times) and where we *live* (with three references to living in a particular place and six mentions of the location of homes). Although the instructor does appear to recognize cultural identity in noting that students' family members are also Gitans, she frames their identity as a consequence of their residence within a Gitan community. Mimi's claim to a Catalan identity appears to be understood by the instructor as the articulation of a regional identity, and the latter reinforces regional ties in asserting that students are Catalan because they *live* in Catalonia. However, based on my extensive fieldwork inside and outside of the classroom, the student's comment more likely represents a claim to a linguistic-cultural identity that is not necessarily attached to a particular physical location but to membership in a Catalan Gitan speech community.[45]

The clearest assertion of language as identity is evidenced by Maria's comment that she and her classmates are *becoming* Spanish through Mònica's language lessons: "**Eh!** Mais tu nous l'apprends alors on sera bientôt espagnol(s)" [**Hey!** But you're teaching us it so we will be Spanish soon]. This statement highlights some uncertainty among the students concerning the identity of the additional language of instruction (i.e., Catalan), and standard Catalan's confusion with English reinforces the alterity introduced by the linguistic standard of instruction for students in the class. Maria's description of the additional language as Spanish, specifically, could also originate from an awareness that Catalan is spoken differently on the other side of the border (i.e., in Spain) (Escudero, 2004) where some students occasionally travel with their families.[46]

The French instructor, intent on challenging students' conflation of identity and language, capitalizes on my presence in the classroom. Students initially deem me English ('anglaise'), however the instructor's association between place of residence and identity appears to engender greater confusion when students label me as French and respond that my house is *over there* (i.e., in Perpignan). The instructor mobilizes Mònica's identity as another means to support an understanding of identity as geographically situated, asking students whether or not the Catalan instructor is French.[47] Students label Mònica as Catalan, but Israël remarks that she is also somewhat French ('Un peu un peu'). Israël's comment that Mònica is a little French arguably stems from the fact that students have not infrequently observed her speaking French in their presence (i.e., when she is not leading Catalan lessons and during an afterschool French literacy program for which she teaches). Following this exchange, the French instructor turns to a non-human resource in an effort to insist upon students' French identity, drawing attention to their possession of a national identity card. Retrieving her own identity card from her desk, she returns to the front of the room to display it before them and observes that their families possess the same

[45] While students overwhelmingly rejected the label 'Catalan' to refer to their L1, a small number of students occasionally aligned with Mònica as Catalan speakers, likely due to diverse experiences of socialization.

[46] When I encountered the mother and grandmother of a student from the school and attempted to speak Catalan with them, my efforts provoked laughter and comments that I sounded like a Catalan from Barcelona.

[47] This is arguably a poor choice of exemplification on the part of the instructor since Mònica has lived in France since childhood, however, the instructor appears unaware of Mònica's background.

document: “Votre papa il l’a. Votre maman elle l’a. Et vous aussi vous l’avez” [Your dad has it. Your mom has it. And you (pl.) have it, too].

The second example comes from a classroom debate on gender parity, which took place in the CM focal class. In articulating his position, one student makes a distinction between ‘the French’ and ‘the Gitans’ (2017.12.01.pm1), a comment that prompts the instructor to explain that being French does not preclude additional claims to Gitan identity. Like the CE instructor, this focal instructor similarly turns to the same material artefact, the French national identity card, in an appeal to a common identity shared by members of the classroom community.

Extended Example 2. “Ne dis pas les Français (.) et les Gitans” [Don’t say the French (.) and the Gitans]

FrInstructor:	Est-ce qu’ils [les hommes et les femmes] sont égaux ? Oui ? Non ? On y va. ((faisant appel à un élève)) Vincent.	Are they [men and women] equals? Yes? No? Let’s dive in. ((calling on a student)) Vincent.
Vincent:	Pour les pour les Français oui ils peuvent faire les mêmes choses mais les Gitans non. Parce que pour les Gitans la femme elle n’a pas le droit de porter le pantalon, de fumer ( )	Well the for the French yes they can do the same things but Gitans can’t. Because for Gitans women don’t have the right to wear pants, to smoke ( )
FrInstructor:	Alors les- pour les Français	So- for the French
Students:	((en faisant du bruit en essayant de prendre la parole))	((making noise in an attempt to take the floor))
FrInstructor:	Hop hop hop (.) Attends (.) Pour les Gitans c’est pas pareil. Donc vas-y.	Hey hey hey (.) Wait (.) For Gitans it’s not the same. OK continue.
Vincent:	Parce que les Français ils peuvent mettre des jeans et pour les pour les Gitans=	Because the French can wear jeans but for the for the Gitans=
Kenji:	=Ah oui:: à Montpellier y a des gens ( )	=Oh yes:: in Montpellier there are people ( )
FrInstructor:	Hop hop hop eh. Kenji et Dawson. Si vous voulez parler vous levez le doigt. (.) Attends. Vincent il avait terminé ou pas ?	Hey hey hey uh. Kenji and Dawson. If you want to talk you raise your hand. (.) Wait. Had Vincent finished or not?
Vincent:	Oui.	Yes.
FrInstructor:	OK. Alors juste- juste je fais une rectification rapide. Vincent. Juste- pas contre toi- juste un petit truc.	OK. So just- I’ll just make a quick correction. Vincent. Just- this isn’t against you- just one little thing.
Vincent:	D’accord.	OK.
FrInstructor:	Si tu veux utiliser les termes bien précis.	If you want to use very precise language.
Vincent:	Hein.	A-huh.
FrInstructor:	Ne dis pas les Français (.) et les Gitans (.) Parce que (.) tu es français.	Don’t say the French (.) and the Gitans (.) Because (.) you are French.
Vincent:	Ah je sais.	Ah I know.
FrInstructor:	Et pourtant t’es gitan aussi.	But you’re also Gitan.
Vincent:	Je sais.	I know.
Norman:	Moi je suis arabe.	And I am Arab.
FrInstructor:	On peut on peut être les deux en même temps. Si tu veux dire ceux qui sont pas gitans et ceux qui sont gitans oui (.) D’accord ? Ou les Payos et les Gitans si tu veux. Mais. Dire. les Français les Gitans non. Toi t’es un Gitan mais t’es français aussi. Sur la carte d’identité t’es français. (.) Ça va ?	People can people can be both at once. If you want to say those who aren’t Gitan and those who are Gitan fine (.) OK? Or the Payos and the Gitans if you want. But. Saying the French the Gitans no. You’re a Gitan but you’re also French. On your identity card you’re French. (.) Got it?

Kenji:	Moi je suis je suis trois langues.	And I am I am three languages.

The focal instructor waits to ensure that the student with the floor has completed his thought before offering an amendment to his statement. He then hedges in his response, explaining that what he is about to say does not constitute a criticism of the student in question, and frames his suggestion as linguistic in nature; the instructor's recommendation concerns the use of precise language ("les termes **bien précis**"). By explicitly correcting the student's discourse as opposed to his perspective, the instructor maintains a position that he was observed to consistently adopt during other debates: specifically, offering feedback on the propositional form of students' contributions to the on-going dialogue without challenging the content of their claims. Instead of correcting the students' claim, through a command or an impersonal expression of necessity or obligation (e.g., il faut; il est nécessaire, etc.), the instructor embeds his recommendation within a hypothetical 'si' [if] *clause*: If you want to use precise language… The instructor pauses long enough for Vincent to respond to each of his comments concerning the student's French and Gitan identity, and the latter acknowledges his mixed identity. Norman interjects to claim a third identity when he states "moi je suis arabe" [And I am Arab]. The instructor proceeds to offer Vincent and his peers different linguistic possibilities to articulate their identity, situating French and Gitan not as mutually exclusive but compatible: "on peut être les deux en même temps" [people can be both at once].[48] A classmate's subsequent identification with three languages (i.e., "Moi je suis je suis trois langues") illustrates an acknowledgement of and expansion on the instructor's observation that identities need not be mutually exclusive; however, instead of foregrounding the multiplicity of his cultural ties, Kenji asserts the multiplicity of *languages* that define him. By identifying as three languages, he reinforces the common view among the students of identity as a function of language.

By appealing to national identity, symbolically materialized in the possession of a French identification card, both focal instructors evoke a French "secular, colour-blind 'Republican' model" in which "factors such as regional identity, community culture, religion, ethnicity or gender are relegated to the private sphere" (Raveaud, 2008, p. 74).[49] Speaking French alone is insufficient for national identity, which is officially sanctioned by the state and symbolically represented in the form of official documentation. As the instructor in the first example comments, "C'est pas parce que (.) Emily parle le français qu'elle est française" [Just because (.) Emily speaks French doesn't mean she's French]. Nevertheless, the French language has long been viewed as a national unifying force, and schools have functioned as socializing sites aimed at integration (Auger, 2010, p. 26). As Auger (2014) writes, "Assimilation via language is the aim of the hidden French language curriculum" (p. 225). This position was reflected in responses to a survey administered to instructors at the focal middle school.

When asked whether there exists a relationship between language and national identity ("Selon vous, est-ce qu'il y a un rapport entre les langues qu'on parle et son identité nationale?"),

[48] It is noteworthy that the instructor accepts a contrast between Payos and Gitans while rejecting a distinction between French and Gitans. This reflects an insistence on students' national French identity while recognizing their acknowledgement of an ethnic distinction.

[49] Consequently, official statistics are only to include 'objective data' (i.e., nationality, place of birth), whereas 'sensitive data' (e.g., ethnicity, religion) is subject to significant regulations (p. 75). As a result of this policy, the focal schools did not possess any official data on the number of enrolled Gitan students. Professor Nathalie Auger, an advisor for this study, observed that some of the questions pertaining specifically to Gitan students that I asked in my instructor survey instruments were likely only acceptable due to my status as a non-French researcher immune to the policy.

71-percent of instructors (n=22) responded affirmatively, with 16 written explanations. Two instructors explicitly addressed the assimilatory function of language:

1) C'est [La langue est] la première intégration.	It's [Language is] the first [form of] integration.
2) Refuser de pratiquer la langue national [sic] est un déni d'intégration.	Refusing to practice the national language is a denial of integration.

In their explanations, instructors described language as connected to, welding, cementing, and forging national identity (responses 3-6) and instrumental to group belonging, heritage, and the transmission of culture (responses 7-9):

3) La langue rattache à la culture donc à la nation.	The language is connected to culture and therefore to the nation.
4) Elle [la langue] soude l'identité nationale à travers une culture, une langue (...) commune.	[Language] welds national identity through culture, a common (…) language.
5) Cela [la langue] cimente sans doute une forme d'identité nationale puisque ce langage parlé crée une cohesion…	[Language] no doubt cements a form of national identity because spoken language creates a cohesion…
6) Il me semble que la langue première, celle parlée dès le plus jeune âge, forge notre identité et notre appartenance à une nation malgré les langues apprises par la suite.	It seems to me that the first language, the one spoken from the earliest age, forges our identity and our belonging to a nation regardless of languages learned later on.
7) Oui utiliser la même langue renforce l'appartenance à un groupe.	Yes using the same language reinforces one's belonging to a group.
8) Une langue fait partie d'un patrimoine.	A language is part of a heritage.
9) La langue porte la culture.	Language carries culture.

One instructor highlighted the role of schools as sites of socialization (response 10). Given that French is the national language of instruction within France, instructors are implicated in the formation of French citizens, as this comment suggests:

10) L'étude de la langue par le biais scolaire formate un individu.	The study of language by means of schooling conditions an individual.

Although the color-blind model seeks to advance a common French identity that overlooks underlying differences, there have been some more recent efforts to recognize diversity. An acknowledgement of linguistic and cultural diversity within France was evident in some survey responses. Of those who asserted a relationship between language and French national identity, some instructors still acknowledged the existence of additional national or cultural identities within France. One instructor in particular, evoked the specific case of the Gitans, who have a different relationship to the nation-state (response 11).

11) Dans identité il y a une part d'identique et une langue est un élément important pour dire qu'un groupe de personne ont quelque chose en commun, d'identique. Mais la France s'est construite avec des régions et des phases d'immigrations. Pour ma part la langue nationale est première, mais il ne faut en aucune façon oublier les langues régionales ou natales qui participent à construire la culture d'une personne et ainsi définir son identité.	In identity there is an identical component and a language is an important element for saying that a group of people have something identical in common. But France developed with regions and waves of immigration. For me, the national language comes first, but we cannot forget in any way regional or first languages that work to construct an individual's culture and also to define his/her identity.
12) Oui. Y compris dans le cas de nationalités incluses dans des nations.	Yes. Including in cases of nationalities embedded within nations.
13) Il peut y avoir un rapport mais il existe des algériens qui parlent français mais qui sont algériens...	There could be a relationship but there are Algerians who speak French but who are Algerians…
14) pas pour les Gitans qui d'ailleurs ne saisissent pas le concept de "nation": ils se considèrent gitans parce qu'ils parlent "gitan" et vivent dans une communauté regroupée, localisée géographiquement.	Not for the Gitans who moreover do not grasp the concept of "nation": they consider themselves Gitans because they speak "Gitan" and live in a consolidated, geographically situated community.
15) Je parle catalan. Je me sens catalan. Mais cela dépend de chacun sans exclure la possibilité d'identités multiples et évolutives.	I speak Catalan. I feel Catalan. But it also depends on everyone without excluding the possibility of multiple and evolving identities.

Five of the nine instructors who did not uphold the existence of a relationship between language and national identity provided explanations. Two of these respondents contended that French identity was independent of language and identified the possibility for multilingualism within a nation.

16) On est français avant tout, quelle que soit la langue que l'on parle.	One is French first and foremost, irrespective of the language that one speaks.
17) Plusieurs langues peuvent être parlées au sein d'une même nation.	Several languages may be spoken within the same nation.

The remaining three respondents viewed the connection between language and national identity as relational, dependent upon personal experiences:

18) Pas forcément. Cela dépend de nos origines et de notre vécu.	Not necessarily. It depends on our origins and our lived experience.
19) Pas toujours, un peuple n'a pas toujours de nation.	Not always, peoples do not always have a nation.
20) On peut maîtriser plusieurs langues et ressentir une appartenance plus ou moins forte à un lieu.	One can master several languages and feel a weaker or stronger sense of belonging to a place. Speaking

Parler plusieurs langues est une richesse, un atout, une chance.	several languages is a source of wealth, an asset, an opportunity.

While there was some recognition in writing of the possibility of multiple and diverse identities within the national context, instructors' emphasis within the classroom was on French language and French identity. The limited introduction of Catalan within one grade level at the elementary school was justified by the administration and instructors as an aid to the development of French; expanding students' L1 vocabulary, which was deemed limited by instructors, could eventually support competence in the language of schooling. Auger (2008a) found instructors in France to be wary of a pedagogical approach that emphasizes communitarianism (p. 191).[50] As Raveaud observes, an increased tolerance for diversity exists in aspects of French schooling that are less central to formal instruction: "[Cultural diversity] tended to be all the more acceptable where it remained on the margins or the periphery (van Zanten, 2001) of the education system (in the canteen or the playground), or could be incorporated into the dominant mode of knowledge transmission" (p. 81). With their predominant identification as Gitan, insistence on language as identity, and awareness of the consequences of speaking French too extensively beyond the school walls, Gitan students challenge a Republican model that seeks to integrate them by means of the French language.

3.3 IMPOSTURE: THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONDITION OF FRENCH GITANS

Students' hyphenated linguistic and cultural identity as French nationals who identify as Gitan, and as speakers of both a variety of Catalan shaped by contact with French and of French characterized by Catalan influences, places them in a double-bind within the classroom. As Auger and Matheu (2016) observe, Gitan language is consistently judged as non-normative at school: "[L]a langue 'gitane' se retrouve systématiquement classée comme 'hors-normes', quelle que soit la langue de référence (*vs* le français, *vs* le catalan central et par les traces du lexique kaló)" ["Gitan language" finds itself systematically classified as "non-normative," regardless of the language used as a benchmark (*compared to* French, *compared to* Central Catalan and with its traces of Caló [the ancestral language] vocabulary)]. The situation of Gitan learners, who find themselves criticized for their 'impure' French (contaminated by contact with Catalan) and for their use of the 'wrong kind' of Catalan (i.e., not 'real' Catalan, see Chapters 4 and 5), approximates the predicament of Spanish heritage speakers in the U.S. Working in a U.S. context, Leeman (2012) observes, "They are marginalized by Anglophones for their 'impure' English or their association with Spanish; but they are also ostracized by Hispanophones for not speaking Spanish, or for speaking the 'wrong kind' of Spanish" (p. 48). As researchers have noted, ideologies "are rarely, if ever, exclusively about language" (Leeman, 2012, p. 43; also see Flores & Rosa, 2019; Kelly-Holmes, 2019; Rosa, 2019) but reflect larger representations of certain groups of speakers.

[50] *Communautarisme* does not translate easily into English. As Bourget (2019) explains, the French term "implies valuing an affiliation to an ethnic/religious community above integration to the collective, and thus threatens the unity of the Nation" (p. 4). The existence of communities within France is regarded as divisive. Gemie (2010) notes, "France is probably the only country in the world in which a word linked to the term 'community' carries severely negative connotations. 'Communautarisme' does not mean an innocent activity to build up a community: instead, it means a challenge to the Republican ideal of a transparent, unified public sphere in which all citizens appear as approximate equals" (p. 15).

Kramsch (2012b) employs the term 'imposture' to capture the state of occupying a subject position that diverges from expectations: "If posture has to do with 'a state of being, a condition, position, disposition, strength, or capability' (Oxford English Dictionary), imposture has to be seen as a non-fixed, wrong, false, or illegitimate (subject) position" (p. 487). Gitan learners find themselves characterized by a two-fold imposture during classroom language activities, situated as less legitimate speakers of French and as "bad" speakers of Catalan (see Chapter 4). While imposture is, in these circumstances, imposed onto Gitan learners, at other times, it is claimed by them. As Kramsch recognizes, imposture need not result from a lack of conscious agency; it can also emerge from individuals' conscious agency to challenge pre-existing expectations—in this case, of what it means to be a French or Catalan speaker: "[Imposture] can index a refusal to let yourself be pigeonholed in any pre-established position" (p. 487). In other words, in addition to "an inability to occupy the slot legitimately meant for you" (p. 487), imposture can also capture the ability to identify a third place for oneself that lies somewhere in-between normative subject positions (Kramsch, 2018). The following two sections examine both configurations of imposture as experienced and claimed by Gitan students. Section 3.1 centers on an extended example, specifically the sociolinguistic situation of Sharon, a student in the GES program who is the child of a non-Gitan mother and Gitan father. Sharon's case serves to illustrate how peer socialization can construct imposture and result in social exclusion. In contrast, Section 3.2 captures how Gitan learners can capitalize on their imposture to negotiate a third place for themselves that challenges norms for being a French or Gitan speaker—understood in purely linguistic terms—as well as a speaker of culture (Ochs, 2002).

3.3.1 Imposture and Social Exclusion

As previously mentioned, while seminal studies in early language socialization research focused on how adults socialized children, researchers have recently turned their attention to peer socialization (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011; see also Cekaite & Björk-Willén, 2012; García-Sanchez, 2011; Kyratzis & Goodwin, 2017; Surtees, 2018). Emphasis on socialization has also focused on social inclusion, and there remains a need to better understand social exclusion (García-Sánchez, 2011) and the formation of "culturally problematic subjectivities" (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 365). The case of Sharon, a student in the GES Class 4 cohort and the child of a non-Gitan mother and Gitan father, exemplifies how imposture is assigned to those who are seen to occupy illegitimate subject positions. Sharon is framed as a deviant subject when she does not conform to the norms expected of her by the social circles that she navigates: while her French instructors recognize her exemplary progress in French, they lament her inability to distance herself from her Gitan cohort and complete mainstream coursework. In turn, Sharon's enthusiasm for her studies, and French in particular, cause her to be ostracized and framed as a Paya by her Gitan peers. In this way, Sharon's linguistic and cultural ties to a French-Gitan identity seem to preclude inclusion in both French and Gitan social contexts. Her situation captures how "the socially organized practices that are inconsistent with fully fledged membership in a community […] may render certain groups of novices as 'outsiders' and as a [sic] second-class members of the social group" (García-Sánchez, 2011, p. 391).

I met Sharon in early September 2017 when, during my first full-day observation at the middle school, instructors commented on her exemplary fluency when reading in French. In inquiring about Sharon's literacy practices, I first became aware of her mixed French and Gitan parentage (2017.09.14.pm3).

Excerpt 5. "Moi je m'entraîne chaque nuit" [I practice every night]

EL:	Comment t'as appris à lire si bien ?	How'd you learn to read so well?
Sharon:	Moi je m'entraîne chaque nuit.	Well I practice every night.
EL:	Ah bon ? T'as beaucoup de livres en français ?	Oh yeah? Do you have a lot of books in French?
Sharon:	En fait ma mère elle m'écrit parce que elle elle sait bien écrire et m::: elle écrit des textes- elle invente? (.) Oui invente.	Actually my mom writes (them) for me because she she knows how to write well and um::: she writes some texts- she invents? (.) Invents yes.
EL:	Invente.	Invents.
Sharon:	Et moi je lis.	And well I read.
EL:	Ah. Elle écrit en français ou en-	Ah. Does she write in French or in-
Sharon:	En français.	In French.
EL:	Parfois en gitan ?	Sometimes in Gitan?
Sharon:	Non. Mon père il est gitan. Et moi parce que je manquais beaucoup et j'arrivais pas trop lire.	No. My dad he's Gitan. And because I missed a lot of school and I couldn't read much.
EL:	Ouais.	Yeah.
Sharon:	Et après (.) euh (.) à force de lire avec ma mère ben j'ai appris à lire.	And then (.) uh (.) by reading with my mom well I learned to read.
EL:	Ta mère est gitane aussi ?	Your mom is also Gitan?
Sharon:	Non elle est française.	No she is French.

As Sharon indicated in this exchange, her mother served as a French literacy mentor with whom she habitually engaged in reading and writing practices, notably dictations. While facilitating her daughter's academic success in French, as a Paya Sharon's mother also inadvertently contributed to social tensions that Sharon experienced among Gitan peers.

The location of the family's apartment—situated in the neighborhood adjacent to Saint Jacques—symbolically reinforced the boundary that Sharon regularly navigated in social interactions with Gitan peers and French instructors.[51] At times, Sharon's French identity was foregrounded in exchanges with peers: in particular, she was criticized and labeled as a Paya by female classmates when she manifested visible enthusiasm for her studies and the French language. This same interest simultaneously earned Sharon the praise of instructors, who recognized her potential and lamented the fact that she was not enrolled in mainstream classes at the middle school. Given her high performance, Sharon was periodically called upon in French language courses to instruct her classmates as a more able peer. The following illustration is taken from a class session during which, having completed her own work, Sharon was asked to assist a classmate with a French language worksheet. In Except 6, Sharon endeavors to keep her peer, Enzo, on task, employing their L1 to capture his attention when he becomes distracted (2017.09.14.pm3):

Excerpt 6. "Nen ? (2.0) Nen ? (4.0) Nen ? (5.0)" [Kid? (2.0) Kid? (4.0) Kid? (5.0)]

Sharon:	No. Hélène (.) És un **nom.** Donc une majuscule (.) **Hélène.** (4.0) ((Enzo se retourne, distrait par l'élève derrière lui)) Nen ? (2.0) Nen ?	*No.* Hélène (.) *Is a **name.*** So (you need) a capital (.) **Hélène.** (4.0) ((Enzo turns around, distracted by the student behind him)) *Kid?*

[51] I suspected that Sharon's more extensive identification with French culture compared to other students, which seemed to complicate her relationship with Gitan peers, may have facilitated my interactions with her.

	(4.0) Nen ? (5.0) **Enzo.** (5.0)	(2.0) *Kid?* (4.0) *Kid?* (5.0) **Enzo.** (5.0)
	((Enzo demande comment l'écrire)) **Ah.** M:::	((Enzo asks how to write it)) **Ah.** M::: ((
	((indiquant comment l'écrire)) Així.	showing how to write it)) *Like this.*
Enzo:	((écrit)) Així ?	((writing)) *Like this?*
Sharon:	Regarde. Aquí.	Look. *Here*.
Enzo:	((écrit))	((writing))
Sharon:	((avec un sentiment apparent de satisfaction)) **Voilà.** (.) Hélène.	((with a seeming sense of accomplishment)) **That's it.** (.) Hélène.

At other times, Sharon's Gitan identity was made more salient. When she became habitually absent during the second semester, instructors attributed her inconsistent attendance to her Gitan identity (i.e., "C'est une gitane après tout" [She's a Gitan after all]); when she appeared reluctant to integrate into mainstream courses or when her father refused this possibility, instructors rationalized the seeming impossibility of integration as a consequence of her Gitan identity; when Sharon became animated in discussing a recent wedding or another important celebration within the community, she displayed pride in her Gitan identity; and while her French speech seemed less influenced by Catalan in comparison to that of her peers, her L1 articulatory habitus occasionally altered her speech in French. This was observed when, during an interview in late March, she referenced her father ("mon père") and immediately appeared startled by the markedly non-standard French pronunciation that this word had elicited (i.e., /pe'rə/).[52] When I inquired into whether she had considered the prospect of continuing her studies at high school, Sharon defined herself through an opposition to the French: "Les Français sont plus forts que nous" [The French are better in school than we are] (fieldnote, 2017.09.21). Yet during class time Sharon occasionally commented on her affinity for the middle school and desire that it be prolonged (e.g., "J'aime bien le collège" [I really like middle school]; "C'est dommage que le collège termine à seize ans" [It's a shame that middle school ends at age 16] (2017.09.21.2b)).

Sharon's school experiences repeatedly attested to the challenges inherent to a French-Gitan identity. Given the strong association—and even equation—of language and identity among Gitan youth in this study, being the child of a Gitan and a non-Gitan parent entailed navigating complex linguistic and cultural affiliations both inside and outside of the classroom.[53] Sharon's case exemplified the politics of living a hyphenated identity, of being and speaking both Gitan and French, in a context where a Gitan-French binary governs social distinctions (e.g., the language of home versus the language of schooling, the language and identity of students versus that of their instructors, Gitan versus "Payo" French culture, etc.). Overall, Sharon's affinity for French and progress in her coursework was mobilized by her peers in socializing acts of exclusion. In enacting distance—through space and language—between themselves and Sharon, her peers framed her as an illegitimate member of their Gitan cohort, as a Paya Other. When fewer students were in attendance and more seats were consequently available in the classroom, students isolated Sharon at the front of the room. Her stance vis-à-vis her French coursework, which she diligently completed, seemed to fuel additional socio-affective exclusion by other members of her cohort. As one of the instructors observed, Sharon's palpable desire to learn carried social ramifications

[52] While this could be viewed as a typical southern French pronunciation, the rising and falling intonation of the student's utterance characterized Gitan speech. Auger and Dufour (2017) and Auger and Matheu (forthcoming) identified prosody as the primary linguistic difference serving to distinguish Gitan from non-Gitan speakers. Prosody has often been mobilized by speakers as a linguistic means of identification (Trimaille, 2005).

[53] This complex social footwork is not unique to students of mixed Gitan and non-Gitan heritage but is experienced by multiethnic and multiracial youth in other contexts (see, for example, Cauce et al., 1992; Haddock & Falkner, 2014; Herman, 2004, among others).

(2017.11.27.am3): “C’est la seule qui veut apprendre et du coup elle est jugée” [She’s the only one who wants to learn and she is judged for it].

On two occasions during my in-class observations, Sharon was mocked by female peers while reading aloud in French. In the first instance, an instructor of a French language course called on a female student to read the opening lines of a distributed text (2017.11.27.am1). The student initially refused but eventually conceded to read three lines, albeit with a significant amount of continued prodding from the instructor. When the instructor next called on Sharon, she read with striking gusto, her voice bouncing in measured cadences, filled with emotion. The student who had previously begrudgingly read proceeded to visibly imitate Sharon’s emotive speech production, mouthing the text and bobbing her head from side to side. As she performed this caricature, her face gradually contorted into a snarl, signaling her disapproval of Sharon’s enthusiasm for the literacy activity. Since this student was seated behind Sharon, it was unclear whether or not Sharon realized that she had been the object of her peer’s mockery. However, she seemed to sense this possibility, glancing over her shoulder soon after completing the passage. This interaction repeated itself the subsequent week in a different French language course; the same peer visibly mocked Sharon following the latter’s reading performance (2017.12.04.am2).

In addition to being mocked for her enthusiasm for French, Sharon was sometimes explicitly labeled as a Paya. This was clearly exemplified when the GES coordinator arrived towards the end of a morning session to inform students in the Class 4 that they would be dismissed for lunch late due to inappropriate classroom conduct (2017.12.04.am3). A peer anticipated Sharon’s timely dismissal, framing her as an exception within the cohort.

Excerpt 7. “Et celle qui peut partir c’est Sharon” [And the one (f.) who can leave is Sharon]

Inès:	Quand ça sonne (.) il y a certains élèves qui n’ont pas eu un comportement acceptable tout à l’heure avec Madame X qui vont rester un peu parler.	When it (the bell) rings (.) certain students who did not behave acceptably just now with Madame X will stay after class a little while to talk.
Dorothy:	Attends je sais qui c’est. Moi, Anaïs, Samantha, Amatsia. Et celle qui peut partir c’est Sharon.	Wait I know who it is. Me, Anaïs, Samantha, Amatsia. And the one (f.) who can leave is Sharon.
Inès:	Sharon.	Sharon.
Dorothy:	**Oi.** ((avec du mépris apparent))	**Ooh.** ((with seeming comptempt))

As Sharon prepared to leave, Dorothy dismissed her, both literally and symbolically, as a non-Gitan: “la Paya:: Au revoir Sharon” [The Paya… Goodbye Sharon], a comment that provoked laughter among the other female students in the cohort. The use of French to bid Sharon ‘au revoir’ can be seen as reinforcing her identity as a Paya. Comments such as this as well as physical and socioaffective distance within the classroom space situated Sharon as an outsider to the Gitan cohort. Outside of the GES cohort, however, Sharon did not find her place within non-Gitan classes.

The transition out of the GES sections, referred to among students as “les classes gitanes” [Gitan classes], implied socialization into a Payo academic cohort. In light of Sharon’s strong academic performance and affinity for French, one of the focal instructors remained particularly determined to integrate her into “les classes classiques” [mainstream courses], at least for a portion of her schedule. She approached Sharon’s mother early in the year to broach the subject of integration, writing to inform me of this initial attempt:

> Quant à Sharon, j'ai rencontré la maman mais elle refuse toute intégration (enfin surtout le père, je crois), c'est dommage.
>
> [As for Sharon, I met with the mom but she refuses any integration (well mostly the father, I think), it's a shame.]
>
> (email correspondence, September 21, 2017)

Sharon's father had himself attended the GES program and reportedly wished for his daughter to remain in the Gitan classes in order to protect her. In addition to insisting on her enrollment in the GES program, he had initially requested that his daughter remain the same classroom throughout the entire day. He was particularly intent on limiting her contact with non-Gitans at the school in light of a prior tense encounter, which Sharon had shared with me. Unlike the majority of students enrolled in the GES program, Sharon had not attended the focal elementary school due to her place of residence. It was at her culturally diverse elementary school that Sharon, who described herself as the comedian within her friend group, became aware that her playful engagement with language could get her into trouble. Prompted by a friend, she repeated a joke in Arabic, which she herself could not understand but which two female Arabic-speaking students overheard. According to Sharon's account, the latter brought knives to school the following day and harassed her thereafter (fieldnote, 2017.09.21).

In light of Sharon's advanced competence and consistent attendance during the first semester, the instructor persisted in her integration efforts. On October 2, she informed me that she had encountered Sharon's mother near the middle school the previous week and had revisited the possibility of integration. During the exchange in question, the instructor had expressed her concern that Sharon's French performance could begin to decline should she remain in classes that did not allow her to realize her potential. Sharon's mother conceded to her daughter's integration and suggested having her transition into sixième courses unbeknownst to her father. Concerned for the mother's safety should Sharon's father become aware of this arrangement, the instructor voiced discomfort. The mother consequently agreed to discuss the possibility with Sharon's father over the weekend.

In the teachers' lounge Monday morning, the focal instructor lamented that the situation remained unchanged: Sharon's father still opposed integration. Appearing deeply disappointed, she added, "Au moins on aurait essayé" [At least we tried]. Even so, the instructor proceeded to provide Sharon with a sixième schedule and reminded her that she could attend whenever she desired. During an afternoon French class, Sharon confided in me as I passed her desk: "J'ai un gros souci dans ma vie" [I have a big problem in my life]. She appeared uncharacteristically disconnected from class, a change that did not go overlooked by her instructors. As she lay her head on her desk, the instructor present made eye contact with me, seemingly concerned. Four days prior, as we were walking home together, Sharon's house being on the way to my own residence, she informed me that her parents had separated. I wondered if the prospect of integration could bear any relation to this news. Irrespective of the discussions at home, however, integration was eventually realized, if only in an exceedingly sporadic and piecemeal way. The instructor who had remained intent on integrating Sharon notified me that Sharon had attended her sixième course for the first time:

> Sharon a commencé l'intégration dans mon cours aujourd'hui. C'était chouette ! Le niveau est bien plus approprié et elle a vraiment une attitude positive. Je l'interroge comme les autres élèves et elle connaît bien sûr les réponses.
>
> [Sharon began integration in my class today. It was great! The level is much more appropriate and she really has a positive attitude. I call on her just like the other students and she knows the answers of course.]
>
> (email correspondence, December 1, 2017)

Even when Sharon did not attend sixième courses, the focal instructor in question continued to provide her with more advanced language coursework intended for her sixième students. For instance, on one occasion in late March (2018.03.27.am1a) with only Sharon in attendance for the Class 4 French language course, the instructor assigned her an essay on mythology. When I observed the focal instructor's sixième class the following day, although Sharon was not physically present, her work was shared with the students. In introducing the same mythology essay assignment that Sharon had previously completed, the instructor began by reading Sharon's composition aloud as a model. The students expressed awe upon hearing Sharon's description and some of them inquired as to whether or not she had received assistance. The instructor responded with a question directed at students: 'Did they typically receive some help from her?' When they nodded affirmatively, she commented the same had been true for Sharon. One student proceeded to inquire about Sharon's placement in the school, curious in particular as to whether she was enrolled in the Ulis program (Unités localisées pour l'inclusion scolaire; local units for inclusion in schooling), which provides support to students with a handicap. The instructor replied that Sharon was not part of Ulis. Following this initial questioning, the students situated Sharon's text as a desirable model, as evidenced, for example, when one student, in drafting her own essay, asked whether or not Sharon had used a particular construction in her writing.

During the second semester, Sharon became increasingly absent. In a fieldnote on February 5, I reflected on her more habitual absence during my observations in the GES classes. Sharon had largely ceased to attend classes on Thursdays, the weekday on which I most frequently observed during the second semester.[54] Towards the end of the school year, an instructor informed me of plans to fully integrate Sharon into the sixième program the following fall. However, having witnessed the limited success of attempts to integrate Sharon into single class sessions coupled with her dwindling attendance, and having developed an understanding of the social implications of becoming part of a "Payo" cohort, I was dubious at best that these plans would come to fruition. The instructor who spearheaded efforts to integrate Gitan students had assumed her post at the school in August 2017, her arrival coinciding with the initiation of my fieldwork. I had witnessed her faith in the prospect of integration wane over the intervening months, and, as she informed me of the intention to place Sharon in the sixième class, I sensed that she too doubted the feasibility of this project. As she had often repeated, "Au moins on aura essayé" [At least we will have tried].

Sharon's case reinforced the fact that extensively identifying with more than one language carried consequences for one's identity among Gitan peers. In a context where students regularly contrasted Gitans and Payos in their everyday discourse, where Gitans and Payos had limited

[54] This was the day of the week on which students engaged in most literacy activities, whereas portions of other days involved courses such as physical education or science.

contact, where speaking French too much could elicit emotionally charged reactions, being the child of a non-Gitan French and a Gitan-French parent meant managing linguistic and cultural allegiances. Sharon's identity could cause her to be labeled as the Paya within her cohort, and her visible enthusiasm for French could invite mockery. At the same time, her Gitan identity and inclusion in the GES program distanced Sharon from non-Gitan students at the school. From this position of imposture, she defined her academic identity in contrast to French students: "Les Français sont plus forts que nous" [The French are better at school than we are] (fieldnote, 2017.09.21). Yet, contrary to what this statement may suggest, and as the preceding illustrations highlight, Sharon did not occupy the legitimate subject position of a Gitan student either.

3.3.2 Imposture as a Resource

The hyphenated linguistic and cultural identification of Gitan-French learners can cause them to be seen as impostors in both French and Catalan circles. As speakers of a variety of Catalan shaped by contact with French and of a French variety influenced by Catalan, they can find themselves framed as impostors in both languages. Although imposture can result in social exclusion, as seen in the previous section, Gitan students were sometimes observed to capitalize on their imposture by strategically aligning with particular manners of speaking at different times. Through the decision to employ a specific language, as opposed to its alternative, and to accentuate particular aspects of speech that indexed social allegiances, students demonstrated their ability to enact sameness and difference vis-à-vis speakers of other backgrounds (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). As Auger (2017, p. 109) reminds us, internalized boundaries between linguistic and cultural backgrounds are not immutable; like the linguistic and cultural representations that shape them, they are subject to shift as a result of both internal dialogism and interactional accomplishments as speakers situate themselves in relation to others. As the remaining examples illustrate, Gitan students' manipulation of French and their L1 allowed them to challenge representations of French and Gitan identity, thereby highlighting the power afforded to them by their imposture: "in that very imposture lies the potential for resignifying/reinflecting the words of others" (Kramsch, 2012a, p. 491).

3.3.2.1 Manipulating French(ness)

A focal French language instructor who worked exclusively with the GES cohorts surmised that Gitan students' identity functioned as a brake inhibiting full "mastery" of French:

(3) Je pense que ça peut être un frein le fait que la notion d'identité communautaire est très forte. Je pense aussi le fait qu'ils vont pas non plus chercher à maîtriser le français plus que ça. Je pense que ça peut être un frein aussi. (2.0) Parce que de toute manière ils vivent dans leur communauté et dans leur communauté ils ont pas besoin de pratiquer- d'avoir une aisance en français pour vivre (3.0) donc du coup je pense que (.) il y a pas non plus la recherche de la maîtrise de la langue française de façon optimale.

[I think that it can be a brake the fact that the notion of community identity is very strong. And also the fact that they won't look to master French either much at all. I think that can also be a brake. (2.0) Because in any case they live in their community and in their community they don't need to practice- to have ease of expression in French

to live (3.0) so as a result I think that (.) there's no search for optimal mastery in the French language.]

(Interview, May 2018)

As previously suggested, it was not uncommon in conversation for instructors to characterize Gitan students' French as "poor" and to occasionally contextualize this deficiency as a function of their identity. Students' linguistic background as L1 Catalan speakers within France whose speech displayed cross-linguistic influences could cause them to be framed as poor Catalan and poor French speakers. However, that they were seen as diverging from dominant monolingual models simultaneously enabled Gitan students to challenge hegemonic conceptions of French speakerhood through language.

An in-class exchange in a GES French-language class illustrated Gitan students' ability to manipulate their identity through interaction with an Other functioning as a foil. The instructor involved had asked a student to leave the classroom in light of her repeatedly disruptive behavior. In response, the student reportedly snarled, informing the instructor that the latter was "**vraiment** une française" [**really** a French woman]. When the instructor first related this interaction to me (2018.01.29) she prefaced it as an "insulte suprême" [ultimate insult] that she had received the previous week. She disclosed her immediate reaction as the student in question snarled and looked her over from head to toe in uttering what was seemingly intended as an insult: "J'avais envie de répondre toi aussi" [I felt like saying so are you]. During a semi-structured interview, the instructor recalled this exchange when asked whether or not she believed that Gitan students at the school considered themselves French:

(4) Ben alors. Je sais pas. De temps en temps je dirais. Et je te le dis vraiment franchement puisque quand [l'élève en question] m'a traitée de française quand elle m'a dit 't'es vraiment une française'- et c'était vraiment une insulte dans sa bouche hein ? Ça m'a vraiment (.) je suis restée estomaquée. Tu veux que je te dise- Non mais on m'a jamais insultée de française. ((rires)) Pour moi c'était pas une insulte, on est tous français. Alors tu vois c'était un truc que je comprenais pas du tout. Et ben du coup je me suis dit c'est qu'elle ne se considère pas comme française si elle m'insulte en disant 't'es vraiment une française.' Et à côté de ça l'autre anecdote dont je t'ai parlé, c'est la mère de [une autre élève] qui dit à [une enseignante] : 'Mais pourquoi la France accueille tu sais les primo-arrivants et tout ? Ils ont rien à faire dans notre pays. La France devrait pas.' Alors c'est que là du coup j'ai l'impression qu'elle ressent, qu'elle a l'impression d'être française et pour pour finalement justifier la xénophobie : faut pas accueillir l'autre qui n'est pas français. **Mais** au sein du quartier on n'est pas français. C'est très- J'aurais du mal à me prononcer. Je peux juste te parler de ces deux anecdotes qui m'interpellent encore mais je pourrais pas en tirer de conclusion. Je pense qu'il y a des moments où ils se sentent français quand c'est par rapport à **l'autre** (.) qui n'est pas français. (.) Là t'as cette dimension de de voilà de l'appartenance nationale. Voilà. Mais vis-à-vis des Payos (.) ils ne sont pas fran- ben ils se refusent à être vraiment français. Ils le disent parfois 'Je suis gitan.' J'ai eu encore quelqu'un [une collègue] qui m'a dit : 'Il me disait « J'suis gitan j'suis gitan. » Et j'ai dit « Ben t'es né où ? » –« À Perpignan. » –« Ben t'es français. »' Mais il faut leur **rappeler** quoi. (.) Tu vois c'est dingue hein ?

> [Er so. I don't know. Sometimes I would say so. And I'm being really frank with you because when [the student in question] called me French when she said to me 'You're really a French (f.)'- and it was really an insult in her mouth you know? That really (.) left me flabbergasted. I don't really even have to explain this to you, do I? No come on I have never been insulted for being French. ((laughs)) For me it wasn't an insult, we are all French. So you see it was something that I didn't understand at all. And er so then I said to myself she must not consider herself French if she insults me by saying 'You're really a French.' And then there's the other anecdote that I told you about, it's when [another student]'s mother said to [an instructor]: 'But why does France welcome you know all these newcomers and stuff? They have no business in our country. France shouldn't.' So then I have the impression that [this mother] feels, that she has the sense that she's French and ultimately trying to justify xenophobia: can't welcome those who aren't French. **And yet** in the heart of the neighborhood they are not French. It's very- I would have trouble settling this once and for all. I can just tell you about these two anecdotes that still give me pause but I wouldn't be able to draw conclusions from them. I think that there are moments when they feel French but it's in relation to **an Other** (.) who is not French (.) And then you see this dimension of national belonging. That's it. But faced with Payos (.) They are not Fr- well they refuse to be really French. They sometimes say it 'I am Gitan.' I've also had [a colleague] tell me: 'He [a student] was telling me "I'm Gitan I'm Gitan." And I said "Well where were you born?" –"In Perpignan." –"Well then you're French."' But you have to like **remind** them (.) You see it's mad right?]
>
> (Interview, March 2018)

Having been excluded from the classroom, the student in question sought to enact the instructor's exclusion through her discourse. The "insulte suprême" related by the instructor is noteworthy for its linguistic form: the student elected to use French in a critique of Frenchness. This decision could be influenced in part by the fact that the instructor would not have understood a rebuke voiced in Catalan. However, by means of French, the insult reframes the French language instructor—traditionally associated with institutionally sanctioned linguistic legitimacy and authenticity—as an undesirable model. The second-person singular subject pronoun (as reported in the instructor's account), as opposed to the expected, more deferential form of address (i.e., 'vous'), further signals opposition to institutional norms of speech between students and their instructors in France. The student appears keen to reestablish symmetry between teacher and student; seeing as the teacher employs the informal subject pronoun (i.e., 'tu') with students, she will employ the same pronoun in addressing the teacher.

In content, the exchange, as well as the instructor's reflection on it, evoke questions of legitimacy, of being *really* French or not. In light of her own memorable interaction and those reported by colleagues, the instructor perceived students' identification with Frenchness as relative, dependent upon confrontation with alterity. While, in the first example, the student distances herself from being *really French*, Gitan families—themselves the descendants of nomadic peoples—may assert their Frenchness (signaling distinction in Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework), vis-à-vis migrants whose children attend the middle school. According to the second reported interaction, the instructor's colleague responded to the student proclaiming his

Gitan (as opposed to French) identity by reminding him of his place of birth. This appeal to birthplace as evidence of identity recalls other observed instances in which instructors endeavored to reassure—or even *convince*—students of their Frenchness (e.g., Extended examples 1 and 2, this chapter). However, these anecdotes highlight how Gitan students sometimes benefit from their hyphenated identity to the extent that their imposture—their "refusal to let [themselves] be pigeonholed in any pre-established position" (Kramsch, 2012b, p. 487)—enables them to manipulate their Frenchness and Gitanness and to speak from two positions of authority. Such a stance is evident, for instance, in a CE student's claim to greater competence than her Catalan instructor due to her identity as both Gitan and Paya (Chapter 4). It is this very imposture, of being French—but not too much—, that allows the student in the GES program to reframe real Frenchness as an insult. It is the authority evident in the students' assessments that my French was accented upon learning that English was my first language. And it is the authority paradoxically seen in claims to Frenchness vis-à-vis "less French" arrivals to France.

As outlined in Chapter 2, the nature of identity has been contested as either 'brought along' or 'brought about' (Baynham, 2015). Gitan students, for whom you are what you speak, understood identity as an intersubjective, interactional achievement in this context, "the social positioning of self and other" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586; also see Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Gadet, 2007). As the product of interactional negotiation, cultural identity "requires as its foil a sense of alterity, of an Other who can be positioned against those socially constituted as the same" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 371). Through interaction, the linguistic resources (on different linguistic levels, from phonetics to syntax) that speakers employ index social meanings. Of relevance for interactional performances of identity is not only the content of speakers' assertions but the linguistic form that they take. As Bucholtz and Hall (2005) remind us, "[I]dentity does not emerge at a single analytic level – whether vowel quality, turn shape, code choice, or ideological structure – but operates at multiple levels simultaneously" (p. 586). Gitan students bring their identity (i.e., Gitan but also French) to interactions, but they also display an ability to manage this identity through language use (Rampton, 1995).[55] This identity work was illustrated by a GES student's performance in a televised interview.

During a GES French-language class session, instructors reflected on a student (i.e., Enzo) in the Class 4's apparent manipulation of his French speech in a documentary that had recently aired on a major television station (2018.04.30). Upon Enzo's arrival in class, the co-instructors commented that they had seen him interviewed in *Cas d'école* [Textbook case], a documentary centering on rampant absenteeism among Gitan students in Saint Jacques. When the instructors asked Enzo whether he had consciously distorted his speech, remarking in particular on the excessive uvular /R/ in his pronunciation of the adverb "tard" [late], he conceded that he had exaggerated his French speech somewhat in the interview. He added, however, that his French had also improved since the time of filming. The instructors agreed that he had progressed in his French abilities but maintained that the interview segment did not offer an accurate representation of his speech.

In the clip in question, the student can be seen seated at a table, his elbows resting in front of him and his palms pressed firmly into his cheeks to the point of contorting his lips. The physical distortion of Enzo's face parallels a seemingly intentional linguistic manipulation of his responses to the interviewer. His linguistic production recalls 'mock Spanish,' the intentional misuse of

[55] In his (1995) seminal study of 'crossing,' Rampton documented how multiracial adolescents in Britain drew on Creole, Panjabi, and Asian English as a means to renegotiate their identity.

Spanish as a means to enact social distance from Latinos (Hill, 1993), however, in this case, it is a minority speaker who manipulates the majority language:

Interviewer:	T'es venu ce matin à l'école ?	You come to school this morning?
Enzo:	((en appuyant ses mains sur ses joues, il fait non de la tête))	((pressing his hands against his cheeks, he shakes head negatively))
Interviewer:	Pourquoi t'es pas venu ?	Why didn't you come?
Enzo:	Pourquoi je me suis levé vers midi.	Why I got up around noon.
Interviewer:	Euh pourquoi tu t'es levé aussi tard ?	Uh why'd you get up so late?
Enzo:	Pourquoi je vais dormir tard [taR]. Et si je vais dormir tard [taR] je me suis tard [taR]. Et si je me dors d'hor' je me suis d'hor'.	Why I go to sleep lay::te. And if I go to sleep lay::te. I am lay::te. And if I go to bed *d'hor*[56] I get up *d'hor'*.
Interviewer:	D'hor'. On dit pas d'hor' en français on dit tôt. Si je vais dormir tôt et je me lève **tôt.** C'est ça.	*D'hor'*. We don't say that in French. We say tôt. If I get up early and I wake up **early.** Like that.
Enzo:	((souriant, il hoche la tête et puis aspire du mucus fortement, remue son nez))	((smiling, nods and then sucks in loudly through his nose, wiggles his nose))
Interviewer:	Et hier à quelle heure tu t'es couché ?	And what time'd you get to bed yesterday?
Enzo:	Quatre heures (.) du matin [ma.tɛ̃]	Four o'clock in the morn'
Interviewer:	((avec de l'horror apparent)) A quatre heures du matin tu t'es couché Enzo ? Et oui c'est **tard.** Mais pourquoi tu t'es couché aussi tard ?	((with seeming horror)) You went to bed at four in the morning Enzo? Well I'd say that's **late.** But why did you go to bed so late?
Enzo:	((manipulant ses lèvres avec ses pouces)) Pourquoi je jouais.	((moves lips between his thumbs)) Why I was playing.

Enzo's discourse is characterized by a number of salient linguistic features. On the lexical level, his systematic employment of 'pourquoi' [why] for both 'parce que' [because] and 'pourquoi' was common to Gitan students' speech in all grade levels in which I observed.[57] The same instructor who inquired as to why Enzo had altered his speech in the interview segment corrected his and his peers' use of 'pourquoi' during another class session (2018.03.26.pm1):

Excerpt 8. "**Parce que parce que parce que**" [Because because because]

Coralie:	Enzo. On fait une dictée. **D'accord ?** Ouvre ton cahier:.	Enzo. We are doing a dictation. **OK?** Open your notebook:.
Enzo:	**Je le donne pas mon carnet pourquoi après je l'oublie.**	**I won't hand over my notebook why after I forget it.**
Coralie:	J'ai dit **ouvre** ton cahier. >J'ai pas dit donne ton carnet. **Allez.** (3.0) On dit pas 'pourquoi' on dit '**parce. que.**'	I said **open** your notebook. >I didn't say hand it in. **Come on.** (3.0) We don't say 'pourquoi' [why] we say '**be.cause.**'
Enzo:	**Parce que parce que parce que**	**Because because because**
Lorena:	((rires))	((laughter))
Coralie:	Pourquoi c'est en catalan. (2.0) Hein ? C'est c'est en gitan que vous dites euh:: pourquoi. C'est parce que et vous traduisez pourquoi mais c'est **parce. que.** D'accord en français ?	Pourquoi is in Catalan. (2.0) Yeah? It's it's in Gitan that you say uh:: pourquoi. It's 'because' and you translate 'why' but it's **parce. que.** [be.cause.] In French OK?

[56] A truncated version of the Catalan expression for 'early': d'hora.

[57] In Catalan there is only one phonetic form for both the interrogative particle and response: per què? (why?), perquè (because).

While this particular instructor, herself a Catalan speaker, possessed a linguistic explanation for students' persistent use of 'pourquoi,' other instructors did not benefit from the same insight. Enzo's repetition of 'parce que,' which provoked laughter, may have signaled an awareness of the standard response expected of him in school contexts (i.e., acceptance of the linguistic norm of instruction). In contrast to 'pourquoi,' which constitutes a semantic calque (i.e., loan translation), *d'hor'* is a code-switch, a non-French lexical insertion.[58] It is unclear whether its attestation in the interview is the result of unconscious production or conscious manipulation of linguistic resources on the part of the student in order to further distance himself from linguistic standards. Nevertheless, its repetition in parallel structure and phrase-final position draws attention to its status as a foreign insertion in the French discourse.

Syntactically, Enzo's statements about his sleeping habits may also evidence L1 syntactic influence. Whereas the verb 'aller' is used as the auxiliary in French to construct the futur proche [future tense], the Catalan equivalent construction communicates the simple *past*. For example,

CATALAN		FRENCH
Vaig dormir	≠	Je vais dormir
[I slept]		[I will sleep]

While Enzo's statement about when he got up is syntactically unremarkable notwithstanding the insertion of 'pourquoi' ("Pourquoi je me suis levé vers midi"), his disclosure about his sleeping patterns presents less normative syntax. Assuming the possibility of L1 syntactic influence, in line with the above example, Enzo's statement "Pourquoi je vais dormir tard" could be understood as 'because I went to bed late.' The hypothetical 'si' [if-] clauses that follow are not constructed according to French syntactic norms for tense agreement, which dictate the following sequence:

SI + [PRESENT TENSE], [PRESENT OR FUTURE TENSE]

PRESENT, PRESENT
Si je dors tard, je me lève tard.
If I go to sleep late, I get up late. [generic statement]

OR

PRESENT, FUTURE
Si je dors tard, je vais me lever tard
If I go to sleep late, I will get up late [projection]

Enzo's statements concerning his sleeping habits are characterized not only by unconventional tense sequences but also by ellipsis, namely, the elimination of the past participle. In this case, the second component of the passé composé (i.e., compound past tense) is eliminated when he asserts in French:

[58] In adopting a usage-based account of language change I uphold a distinction between borrowing and code-switching as articulated by Backus (2013): "Borrowing is a diachronic process, while [code-switching] is a synchronic event" (p. 29). In the absence of other attestations of 'd'hor'[a],' in my fieldwork data, which might signal the term's entrenchment in the Gitan learners' French speech, I assume that it constitutes a code-switch.

Pourquoi je me suis levé vers midi … je me suis tard [taR] … je me suis *d'hor'*.
(levé) (levé)

These ellipses, coupled with deviations from lexical and syntactic French norms, serve to reinforce a representation within Perpignan of Gitans as impoverished individuals with impoverished language (i.e., « pauvre, qui parle une langue de pauvre », see Auger & Matheu, 2016).

The student's pronunciation of 'tard' ['late,' in French] seems to more clearly reflect the conscious performance of an unrefined social identity, and it is on this feature specifically that his French instructors commented after having viewed the documentary. What then was the intended effect of Enzo's apparent performance? For whom was it intended? Bakhtin draws attention to the addressivity of our language "[as] the capacity […] to take in account 'the apperceptive background of the addressee's perception of [our] speech' (Bakhtin 1986: 95)" (cited in Krasny, 2016, p. 178). Specifically, Enzo's linguistic production (i.e., an exaggerated uvular (i.e., guttural) R in [taR], syntactic ellipsis, a calque, and a code-switch] and extralinguistic behavior (i.e., loudly clearing mucus in an audible inhale, wiggling his nose, contorting his lips between his thumbs) during the interview could be interpreted as collectively contributing to a caricature of a French Gitan identity. By playfully manipulating his appearance and his speech, the student distorts his French identity for a non-Gitan French television audience to the point of rendering it foreign and unrefined according to norms of sanctioned linguistic and extralinguistic behavior. Students communicated an awareness of perceptions of Gitans as non-normative and savage. For instance, when an instructor informed a student who was disrupting class, "À un moment donné, il faudra devenir un élève normal" [At some point, you'll have to become a normal student], the student replied that he was not a "sauvage" [savage] (2017.10.16). As previously mentioned, another student described Catalans, in contrast to Gitans, as not being "sauvages."

While Sharon's case highlights the assignment of imposture as an undesirable subject position, the Gitan student's insult to her French instructor and Enzo's televised performance have served to illustrate how students can at other times capitalize on their imposture to challenge hegemonic identities or to perform a caricature of themselves. The following extended case study illustrates how one Gitan student from Saint Jacques developed critical reflexivity that allowed him to interrogate language, identity, and community.

3.3.2.2 Thomas's Case: In Search of a Third Place

Thomas served as a memorable reminder within the school system that linguistic and cultural affiliations need not define Gitan students' trajectories. His reputation preceded him within the focal schools; he was fondly remembered as "une petite lumière" [a little beam of light]. However, an official at City Hall cautioned that I not discuss my plans to meet with Thomas in the presence of students at the focal schools. An example of success to some, this official observed that Thomas simultaneously represented a model for Gitan youth of what *not* to become.

I encountered Thomas one day in late January 2018 as he was exiting the library at the University of Montpellier. Apologizing for the slight delay in his arrival, he explained that he had been immersed in a translation from Ancient Greek. Both his physical appearance (black, shoulder-length hair streaked with purple highlights; a septum nose ring; loose, flowing, dark clothing) and personality broke with local Gitan norms that I had come to recognize. Born into a Gitan family in Saint Jacques, Thomas had attended the École de la Miranda and Collège Jean-Moulin in Perpignan before pursing his studies at a local high school and now university, as an undergraduate

student of philosophy. His academic trajectory had been marked by obstacles, however the confidence and self-assurance that Thomas exuded suggested an explanation for his continued studies. As became evident during the two-hour, wide-ranging conversation that ensued at a table in the university cafeteria, through our continued exchanges via Whatsapp, and from a meeting during my final days of fieldwork, Thomas's sense of his identity had been shaped by critical awareness, which he had cultivated through the study of language and philosophy.

Thomas's early schooling experiences did not bode well for the pursuit of long-term studies. Due to his mother's reservations about the transition to middle school and upon her request, Thomas had repeated the highest level of elementary school twice. However, after completing a 'classe passerelle,' a then-existent bridge program aimed at easing students' transition from the elementary school, Thomas enrolled in the traditional first year of middle school [i.e., sixième grade level] coursework. Due to what he described as "phobie scolaire" [school anxiety], however, he abandoned his studies in the mainstream program and resumed his schooling in the GES cohort the following year. Yet after only a couple of months in the GES classes, he elected to return to the non-GES cinquième [the subsequent grade level in the traditional French middle school sequence]. The motivation for this return to the traditional program came from a surprising source: Korean music, specifically, "K-Pop":

(5) … j'ai eu une phobie scolaire je- il y avait un professeur qui me faisait peur voilà (…) Donc j'ai laissé tomber (2.0) et puis j'ai voulu reprendre [en GES]. Mais après j'ai voulu reprendre en classe standard normale comme tout le monde (3.0) parce que (2.0) c'est un peu anodin je sais pas j'avais découvert j'avais découvert un style de musique (2.0) à l'époque (.) je l'écoute toujours d'ailleurs. Et en fait ce style de musique il vient de Corée du Sud (…) Et du coup je me suis dit 'Mais je veux aller là-bas. J'adore cette culture ce cinéma cette mode cette musique cette danse.' J'ai tout adoré de la Corée du Sud. Et je me suis dit 'Je vais aller là-bas.' Mais pour y aller il faut avoir de l'argent, pour l'argent il faut du travail, pour le travail il faut des diplômes, pour avoir un diplôme il faut aller à l'école. (2.0) Et c'est pas en étant en classes GES qu'on va pouvoir avoir des diplômes. Alors j'allais tout faire pour reprendre en classe normale.

[… I had a school phobia I- there was a teacher who scared me yeah (…) So I dropped the ball (2.0) and then I wanted to take school up again [in the GES program]. But later I wanted to resume my studies in the standard normal class like everyone [else] (3.0) because (2.0) it's a little trivial I don't know I had discovered I had discovered a style of music (2.0) back then (.) I actually still listen to it. And well this style of music comes from South Korea (…) And so then I said to myself 'But I want to go there. I love this culture this cinema this fashion this music this dance.' I loved everything from South Korea. And I said to myself 'I am going to go there.' But to go there you need money, for money you need work, for work you need degrees, to get a degree you have to go to school. (2.0) And it's not by being in GES classes that you're able to get degrees. So I was going to do everything possible to resume studies in the standard class program.]

(Interview, January 2018)

The middle school principal at the time had proven instrumental in Thomas's return to school. He described how the principal had taken the initiative to meet with his parents at the

family home. Thomas situates this encounter and the discussion that ensued as a critical juncture, after which he would claim full autonomy over the progression of his studies, just like any other French student:

(6) Ma mère ne voulait pas [que j'aille au collège] bien sûr, elle refusait tous les rendez-vous avec la principale mais la principale (2.0) elle est venue **chez moi** pour rencontrer mes parents. Et c'est mon père qui a dit oui il a dit « Bon ben tu veux y aller mais après tu vas ( ) parce que si tu pleures à nouveau ben tu vas plus jamais y aller. » J'ai plus jamais pleuré parce que comme c'était moi qui avais choisi d'y aller (…) Comme le choix est venu de moi j'avais plus peur parce que ce n'était plus une contrainte. (2.0) Et donc à partir de là j'ai suivi une scolarité comme tout autre Français.

[My mother did not want [me to go to middle school] of course, she refused all of the meetings with the principal but the principal (2.0) she came **to my house** to meet my parents. And it's my father who said yes he said 'Ok well you want to go there but after you will ( ) because if you cry once more well you will never go back there again.' I never cried after that because since I was the one who had chosen to go there (…) Since the choice came from me I was no longer scared because it was not a constraint anymore. (2.0) So from then on I had an education like every other French person.]

(Interview, January 2018)

Thomas related his determination not only to keep pace with the other students in his cinquième cohort but to perform competitively. An avid dancer, he was driven by a spirit of competition: "Si je me trouve confronté à des autres et de me dire 'Ils peuvent me dépasser' alors je vais me donner encore plus à fond" [If I find myself confronted with others and I say to myself 'They could outperform me' well I will dig even deeper.] In reflecting on his transition back to the mainstream middle school program and integration into the cinquième cohort, Thomas expressed a determination to perform at the highest level possible. With Sharon's case in mind, I asked Thomas whether students in the GES program had been critical of his decision to integrate into the traditional, non-GES program. Thomas responded negatively, having explained to his Gitan peers that his priority at the middle school was to work: "Ah non. Pas du tout. Moi je leur avais dit 'Je viens pour travailler. Je viens pas pour refaire ce qu'on a appris en primaire parce que moi je sais déjà tout ça'" [Oh no. Not at all. I'd told them 'I'm coming to work. I'm not here to redo what we learned in elementary school because I already know all of that']. Thomas differentiated himself from his Gitan peers not only in his schooling but in his conception of language and identity.

Unlike the majority of students at the focal schools in which I observed, Thomas did not identify as a Gitan speaker. When, during our exchange, I used the term "Gitan" to refer to students' L1, Thomas promptly communicated his aversion to the notion of "Gitan" language. He instead recognized the Gitans of Saint Jacques, himself included, as Catalan speakers:

(7) Je ne pense pas qu'on puisse dire **le** gitan. (3.0) C'est pas une langue. (2.0) C'est du catalan. Le catalan est une des langues qui a les plus de dialectes. C'est une langue qui a beaucoup de dialectes. Dans chaque région il y a des choses qui sont différentes. En Roussillon c'est le roussillonnais. (2.0) Mais il y a le catalan normatif, celui qui est écrit dans les livres et celui qu'on apprend dans toutes les écoles, celui qui est parlé à

Barcelone. Après bien sûr il y a des changements comme en Roussillon. Et les Gitans (.) c'est **encore** une autre forme déformée (2.0) du Roussillonnais (2.0) Mais ça vient (.) du catalan.

[I don't think that we can say **the** Gitan language. (3.0) It's not a language. It's Catalan. Catalan is one of the languages that has the most dialects. It's a language that has a lot of dialects. In each region there are things that are different. In Roussillon it's Roussillon dialect. (2.0) But there is normative Catalan, which is the one in books and the one that is learned in schools, the one that is spoken in Barcelona. Then of course there are changes like in Roussillon. And [the language of the Gitans] (.) it's **yet another** deformed form of Roussillon (2.0) But it comes (.) from Catalan.]

(Interview, January 2018)

When I replied that, from my experience, Gitans, particularly at a young age, tended to identify with "Gitan" language, Thomas acknowledged this practice but noted that he did not endorse the said ideology: "Oui bien sûr les Gitans ils disent ça. Mais moi j'aime pas. Je préfère dire je parle catalan. À mes profs je leur dis je suis catalan" [Yes of course the Gitans say that. But I don't like it. I prefer to say I speak Catalan. I'll say to my profs that I am Catalan]. In evoking "les Gitans" in the third person, Thomas further distanced himself from a Gitan identity. Reflecting on the notion of community, Thomas asserted the physical and mental distance that separated him from Gitan membership:

(8) C'est une communauté (5.0) Une communauté du mot commun- commun ça veut dire ensemble. Mais moi je ne vis plus avec eux. Je me suis éloigné. Je suis à Montpellier aujourd'hui. Et je n'ai pas la même mentalité qu'**eux.** Et je pense pas comme **eux.** Et à partir du moment où on n'est pas de ce côté ben on ne fait plus partie de la communauté. Une communauté c'est juste (2.0) une mentalité, c'est dans la tête. Tu vois ce que je veux dire ? C'est pas parce qu'on **naît** Gitan qu'on pensera comme un Gitan. Si on prend un enfant qui est de parents gitans mais qu'on élève je sais pas moi au nord de la France par des parents purement français (.) il pensera pas comme un Gitan. Donc (.) de dire (2.0) je suis gitan- enfin moi je pense pas que la mentalité soit inscrite dans le sang. ((rire))

[It's a community (5.0) It's a community from the word common- common meaning together. But I do not live with them anymore. I moved away. I am in Montpellier today. And I do not have the same mentality as **them.** And I don't think like **them.** And from the moment that one is no longer on the same side well one is no longer part of the community. A community it's just (2.0) a mentality, it's inside the head. You see what I am trying to say? It's not because someone is **born** Gitan that they will think like a Gitan. If you take a child who has Gitan parents but he's raised I don't know in the north of France by purely French parents (.) he won't think like a Gitan. So (.) to say (2.0) I am Gitan- well I don't think that the mentality is registered in the blood. ((laughter))]

(Interview, January 2018)

Having developed critical distance to Gitan culture, Thomas voiced his mixed feelings towards the group of which he was once a part:

(9) D'un côté je les [les Gitans] déteste. ((rires)) Parce qu'ils ont justement une mentalité archaïque (.) moyenâgeuse des choses auxquelles d'autres- que la France, enfin pas juste la France mais plein d'autres peuples on va dire (2.0) ont fait passer. Mais eux non ils sont toujours dans ça.

[On the one hand I dislike them [the Gitans]. ((laughter)) Precisely because they have an archaic Middle-Ages mentality about things that others- that France, well not just France but plenty of other peoples let's say (2.0) have let go of. But they are still in that (way of thinking).]

(Interview, January 2018)

While he aligned his childhood self with Gitans (Quand j'étais petit je disais 'je suis gitan, je pense comme eux.' [When I was little I would say 'I am Gitan, I think like them']), he differentiated himself from the community at present:

(10) À partir d'un moment j'ai changé parce que justement à travers la musique, l'école j'ai eu cette ouverture d'esprit qui m'a fait réfléchir. (2.0) Je suis encore dans cette réflexion (4.0) Réflexion au sens étymologique (.) **Ré** fléchir. S'écarter des choses.

[At some point I changed because really through music, school I got an open-mindedness that made me reflect. (2.0) I am still in this [state of] reflection (4.0) Reflection in the etymological sense (.) **Re**-flect. To distance oneself from things.]

(Interview, January 2018)

As Thomas explained, given the predominate ideology among Gitans in Saint Jacques to consider identity as a personal—and not an institutionally, or nationally defined—attribute intimately tied to language practices, they do not habitually claim French identity. As an example of this tendency, Thomas cited his experience in elementary school whereby instructors would root students' identity in their national context, insisting on their Frenchness, which Gitan students, in turn, struggled to accept:

(11) Les mots ont plusieurs sens. (.) Les mots ont toujours plusieurs sens. Alors quand on dit français (.) un Gitan il peut vouloir dire beaucoup de choses. (…) Si on est *francès* ben je suis né en France, j'ai la carte d'identité française donc légalement je suis français. Je pense si on leur explique ça (3.0) oui. Ils sont français. (2.0) Mais. Ils ont une vision (.) une mentalité aussi binaire. Dualiste. Manichéen. Tu vois ce que je veux dire ? Ça c'est du bien. Ça c'est du mal. Ça c'est noir. Ça c'est blanc. Donc il y a eux (.) et les autres. Et eux ils se considèrent comme les plus grands les plus élevés. Comme une race supérieure. ((rire)) (…) Mais du coup est-ce qu'ils se sentent français ? Euh :: je me souviens quand on était (2.0) plus jeunes- je crois que c'était au primaire. Il y

avait une prof- plusieurs profs- plusieurs instituteurs qui **expliquaient** qu'on était français. Et il y avait plein d'élèves qui avaient du mal à l'accepter. Ils disaient '**non.** Je suis pas français. (2.0) je suis pas français.' Mais on leur disait 'Mais tu as une carte d'identité ou pas ?' '**Oui** j'en ai une.' 'Et on est quoi ? En république française ou pas ?' 'Oui.' 'Alors ça veut dire que tu es français parce que tu es **né** en France. Tu as la **nationalité française.**' (2.0) Mais c'est pas **institutionnel.** Ils [les Gitans] ne l'entendent pas de manière **institutionnelle** eux. Ils l'entendent plus de manière personnelle (2.0) dans leur mentalité leur façon de penser. Ils se disent pas français quoi.

[Words have several meanings. (.) Words always have several meanings. So when someone says French (.) a Gitan can mean several things by that. (…) If one is *francès* well I was born in France, I have the French identity card so legally I am French. I think that if you explain that to them (3.0) yes. They are French. (2.0) But. They have a vision (.) a binary mentality. A dualist. Manichean. You see what I'm trying to say? This here is good. That there is bad. This is black. That is white. So there is them (.) and others. And they consider themselves like the biggest the highest. Like a superior race. ((laughter)) (…) But do they consider themselves French in turn? Uh:: I remember we were (2.0) younger- I think that it was in primary school. There was a teach- several teachers- several primary school teachers who **would explain** that we were French. And there were lots of students who had trouble accepting it. They would say '**No.** I'm not French (2.0) I'm not French.' But they'd say to them 'But you have an identity card don't you?' '**Yes** I have one of those.' 'And where are we? In the French republic or not?' 'Yes.' 'So that means that you are French because you were **born** in France. You have **French nationality.**' (2.0) But it's not **institutional.** They [the Gitans] do not understand it in an institutional way. They understand it more in a personal way (2.0) in their mentality their way of thinking. Like they don't call themselves French.]

(Interview, January 2018)

He underscored the contrast in perspectives on identity held by students and instructors, a situation that recalls the classroom interactions taken from my fieldwork at the same elementary school that Thomas had attended. In his recollection of students' position, Thomas again enacted an us-versus-them dichotomy, speaking about Gitans in the third person. While Thomas does not self-identify as Gitan, nor does he claim a French identity. Effectively positioning himself and his aunt as between Gitan and French culture, Thomas explained, "parce qu'on aime bien la langue [le français] et leur culture [celle des Français] et (2.0) on est ouverts d'esprit et on aime pas trop les Gitans" [Because we really like the language [i.e., French] and their culture [i.e., that of the French] and (2.0) we are open-minded and we don't like the Gitans so much].

Thomas' behavior was reflective of an affinity for third places and an aversion to binaries: An admirer of Judith Butler, he understood gender as a social constructions and selected clothing as it appealed to him, without heeding distinctions between "men's" or "women's" departments. His discourse was an exercise in philosophy ("Faire de la philosophie c'est prendre des distances, c'est réfléchir, c'est se poser des questions sur des choses banales" [Practicing philosophy is distancing oneself, it's reflecting, it's asking oneself questions about commonplace things]). Such questioning has led him to redefine notions such as that of community: "Une communauté c'est

juste (2.0) une mentalité, c'est dans la tête" [A community it's just (2.0) a mentality, it's inside the head]. Overall, Thomas's critical linguistic and cultural awareness heightened his understanding of language as a resource to interrogate mentalities and renegotiate one's identity. Through his continued study of multiple languages (i.e., French, Catalan, English, Korean, and Ancient Greek) and by means of his exposure to the semiotic potential for meaning-making and philosophical thought afforded by language, he has come to recognize the individual agency to redefine oneself. In other words, he displayed not only his "refusal to let [himself] be pigeonholed in any pre-established position" (Kramsch, 2012b, p. 487) but his ability to question established notions of language and identity such as "French" and "Gitan." And even so, the socializing pressures of Saint Jacques remain. When I met with Thomas in May 2019 at a café in downtown Perpignan, his nose ring was absent, his dress more conservative. Asked whether this was a conscious choice, he responded affirmatively. While Thomas may no longer identify as a member of the Gitan community, he appeared compelled to adapt to some of its norms, if only performatively, if only as a sacrifice to visit his maternal grandmother and avoid unwanted additional attention.

3.4 CONCLUSION

As this chapter has illustrated, Gitan students and their French instructors displayed contrasting understandings of the relationship between language and identity.[59] While students understood language as constituting identity, instructors largely defined identity as a consequence of local and national contexts. Historically, the latter understanding is in line with the State's definition of French identity as based on "jus soli" ['the law of soil' in Latin],[60] as opposed to "jus sanguinis" ['the right of blood' in Latin]. Although some instructors did acknowledge the possibility of additional identities within a national context, they emphasized a common French linguistic and cultural identity in classroom instruction. Students, who identified first and foremost as Gitan, opposed instructors' efforts to socialize them by means of the French language into a national identity.

Language socialization researchers understand that the process of acquiring a language is deeply implicated in the process of becoming recognized as a member of a particular community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984, p. 277). Gitan students managed their language practices as they navigated French and Gitan social spaces, and their decision to employ a particular language more or less extensively was not neutral. Although André desired to be "un peu de langue différente" [a little bit from a different language], he was aware of the social consequences of modifying his language practices. Imposture, as both imposed and claimed, appeared to constitute the characteristic posture of Gitan students in Saint Jacques. When imposture was assigned (i.e., when a Gitan student's peers deemed her too Paya due to her divergence from in-group norms), it could result in social exclusion, as exemplified by Sharon's experiences within the GES cohort. On the other hand, Gitan learners also demonstrated an awareness of the power afforded to them by a refusal to be pigeonholed into a fixed identity. Students were repeatedly confronted with linguistic

[59] While this is entirely likely to be the case in a multitude of other schooling contexts within France, ethnographic fieldwork would be required to reveal distinctions in a country where focusing on ethnic groups and "collecting statistics is considered 'racist' because it makes ethnic distinctions among France's one 'indivisible' majority" (Yap, 2016).

[60] Article 44 of the *Certificat de nationalité française* (CNF; or French Nationality Code). Enacted in 1993, the Loi Méhaignerie [Méhaignerie Law] abolished Article 44 and required that children born in France to foreigners request nationality between age 16 and 21 years. The Loi Guigou [Guigou Law] reestablished citizenship by virtue of birth in France, irrespective of whether one's parents are foreigners or French nationals (Rastello, 2013).

choices and associated questions of belonging: “Who do we as social subjects living within a social space desire to be or to become? And whom do we identify with, and what repercussions does our identification have on how and what we learn?” (Ibrahim, 1999, p. 352). They appeared aware of their ability to manipulate their linguistic resources to signal opposition to institutional speech norms or playfully enact a caricature of Gitan identity.

The following chapter continues to examine students’ imposture, focusing on Catalan lessons implemented in one grade level at the focal elementary school. The analysis centers on how students were socialized into normative practices of Catalan speakerhood, how they were framed as ‘bad subjects’ when they did not recognize these norms as their own, and how they challenged linguistic and cultural hierarchies.

CHAPTER 4

"JE PARLE PAS CATALAN": GITAN STUDENTS' SOCIALIZATION TO AND CONTESTATION OF CLASSROOM LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Although unexpected outcomes of socialization are not uncommon, their documentation in the literature has been scant (García-Sánchez, 2016; also see Garrett, 2017). In an effort to fill this gap, language socialization researchers have begun to attend to 'bad subjects,' those "who persistently display culturally dispreferred traits and engage in nonnormative, 'deviant' behaviors" (Garrett, 2017, p. 292; also see García-Sánchez, 2016; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). Educational contexts in which learners receive L1 instruction in the 'standard' variety offer one opportunity to document the process whereby "marginalized subjectivities come into being" (García-Sánchez, 2016, p. 171) "as socializing messages to behave and feel in particular ways […] produce their own inversion" (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 356). The socializing efforts aimed at the promotion of a linguistic standard "inculcate the notion that there is a single acceptable way to speak" (Leeman, 2012, p. 49). Consequently, learners may be positioned as 'bad subjects' when studying their L1 at school if they do not recognize and reproduce the standard linguistic and cultural practices modeled within the classroom as their own.

This chapter analyzes how Gitan learners were socialized to use standard Catalan—but also how they contested that socialization—during Catalan language lessons. The introduction of Catalan at the focal elementary school was limited though non-negligible; Catalan lessons were integrated into the CE grade-level curriculum beginning in early November 2017. An analysis of these lessons reveals that Gitan students were socialized to and through discourses that reflected unfamiliar ways of speaking and conceptualizing language. Consequently, they were discursively positioned as ethnic Others when their speech diverged from that of a prototypical, monolingual Catalan speaker. In this way, the lessons reinforced how schools' good intentions to foster language diversity in the classroom can have unintended consequences, "unwittingly [identifying] minority children as culturally different and exotic" (García-Sánchez, 2016, p. 294), as bad speakers and 'bad subjects.' Importantly, however, these interactions bolster the notion that children are not helpless or blindly obedient subjects; rather, they exercise agency to challenge classroom language practices and the underlying ideologies that they reflect.

4.1 WHY CATALAN?

I was present for the first Catalan lesson of the year entirely by chance when, during a routine morning observation in the focal CE classroom, a visitor unexpectedly appeared. As a woman in her 60s with long grey locks and a wide smile stepped into room, a handful of students greeted her with surprise and enthusiasm—*en català*: "Hola, bonica!" [*Hello, beautiful!*]. She returned their greeting in a booming voice, embracing individual students as they ran to embrace her: "*Hola, bonica! Hola, bonic. Com vas?*" [*Hello, beautiful. Hello, handsome. How are you?*]. It became evident that Mònica already knew some of the children from *Coup de Pouce* [Nudge in the Right Direction], an afterschool program that provides disadvantaged students with extra-scholastic

literacy support.[61] As Mònica's arrival in the CE classroom and subsequent interactions made clear, she displayed great affection for the students, which they reciprocated. Her concern for the children's well-being and educational development was continually reinforced by our conversations both inside and outside of the classroom. The frustration that she also expressed stemmed from an inability to comprehend students' frequent assertion of their Gitan identity and their resistance to her language lessons.

Mònica's arrival marked the official introduction of a language that had been latently present at the school: Catalan. I had previously heard it as mothers kissed their children goodbye at the start of the school day or conversed with one another at the entrance to the school. It had been audible inside the classroom when students whispered, and sometimes yelled, to one another during class activities, or when an instructor authorized a student to explain instructions to a classmate "en gitan" [in Gitan (Catalan)]. Catalan would now receive formal recognition as part of the CE curriculum. The focal French instructor informed the students that she and the other CE instructors had decided to restart weekly, one-hour Catalan lessons, which had been implemented during the previous (2016-2017) school year.

The incorporation of Catalan suggested a recognition on the part of the administration and CE instructors of the importance of developing students' linguistic competence in their L1. Within France and the European Union, Auger and her colleagues (Auger, 2010, 2014, forthcomingB) have endeavored to sensitize language instructors to the importance of positioning students' L1 as a resource for advancement in the primary language of schooling. As part of her action research, Auger had organized workshops on this topic at the focal school five years prior to my fieldwork. Nevertheless, as my longitudinal observations of the CE Catalan lessons along with informal conversation and semi-structured interviews revealed, Gitan students' L1 remains enigmatic for many instructors. Confusion surrounding the identity of their language and its relationship to standard Catalan are compounded by, among other considerations: a high turnover in instructors, which diminishes the long-term impact of professional development workshops such as those coordinated by Auger; limited contact between Gitans and non-Gitans outside of interactions at school or service encounters; and the broad circulation of disparaging representations of Gitans[62] as existing and speaking unconventionally, in discordance with the norm of instruction (Auger & Matheu, 2016).

Instructors were aware of the existence of linguistic differences between students' L1 variety, which they most often referred to using students' term, "Gitan," and the Catalan of classroom instruction. They struggled, however, to determine the precise relationship between "Gitan" and "Catalan": Were students receiving instruction in an entirely different language? Or were they being exposed to a "different language" in quotations, a linguistic variety that was fundamentally the same but marked by salient differences that distinguished it from the standard?

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[61] This program was conceived in 1989 by Gérard Chauveau, an Academic Inspector based in Seine-Saint-Denis, France. Coup de Pouce has three primary missions: to foster the afterschool development of literacy; to promote equity by providing students who lack support and experience with formal literacy outside of school with additional resources; and to constitute a 'club of four,' promoting interaction between the learner, program coordinator, instructor, and parents.

[62] A cover story published in August 2015 in *Le Petit Journal Catalan*, a newspaper based in Occitanie, entitled « Dix ans après les émeutes : à quoi servent les gitans de Perpignan ? » [Ten years after the riots, what are Perpignan's gitans good for*?*] illustrates negative representations of the community. Here, Gitans' objectification is evident in the employment of a syntactic construction typically reserved for objects (i.e., What are X good for?) and the absence of a majuscule, required for nouns representing national or ethnic identities, on *gitans.*

Excerpts (1) and (2) taken from individual interviews with two CE instructors highlight this ambiguity:

(1) Alors, moi je suis un peu frontale, hein ? Je leur dis que le gitan et le catalan c'est **pas la même langue**. Il y a une langue qui est institutionnalisée, qui est rattachée à un état- Enfin, c'est un peu dur, hein ? … et que leur gitan est une langue qui initialement a bougé dans ce sens-là. C'est pour ça qu'il y a énormément de choses qui se ressemblent.

[So I go at things head-on, you know? I tell them that Gitan and Catalan are **not the same language**. There is a language that is institutionalized, that is attached to a state- Well, it's a bit hard, you know? … and that their Gitan is a language that initially developed in that direction. That's why there are a huge number of things that are similar.]

(Interview, May 2018)

(2) Après on aurait pu nous proposer une autre langue, je sais pas, je pense pas qu'on aurait dit oui. (2.0) Parce que le catalan sert quand même leur langue maternelle. Donc tu vois il y avait quand même un objectif d'enrichir leur lexique à eux. Tu vois qu'ils puissent s'exprimer- parce que même l'oral dans leur langue est très très pauvre aussi. (.) Donc y avait y avait à la fois (3.0) découvrir une « **autre langue** »- je le mets entre guillemets (2.0) et à la fois que cette langue leur permette d'enrichir leur propre langue qui est construite à partir de cette langue-là.

[Honestly, if they had proposed another language,[63] I don't know, I don't think that we would have accepted [the offer of a guest instructor]. (2.0) Because Catalan still helps their mother tongue. So, you see there was still an objective to enrich their own vocabulary. You know, that they be able to express themselves- because even their oral competence in their own language is similarly very very poor. (.) So there was the idea of (3.0) discovering "**another language**"- I put that in quotation marks (2.0) and that this language could simultaneously allow them to enrich their language, which is constructed from that other language.]

(Interview, May 2018)

The use of spoken quotation marks and the notion that the students' L1 moved *in the direction* of the 'Catalan of the state' without reaching the finish line (presumably, standardization), communicate proximity while underscoring difference. As previously documented by Auger and Matheu (2016), instructors characterized students' language variety as impoverished and consequently in need of enrichment. The representation that they identified remained prevalent during my year of fieldwork: "Encore une fois, on en revient à la représentation du 'pauvre, qui parle une langue de pauvre', 'étranger, qui parle une langue barbare,' donc étrangère, non civilisée parce que non normée'" [Once again, we return to the representation of the 'poor person who speaks a poor person's language,' 'foreigner, who speaks a barbaric language,' which is therefore foreign and uncivilized because it's non-normative]. That students' L1 variety was seen as

[63] The instructor here references the fact that the city offers guest instruction on a variety of topics and that a Catalan instructor was proposed to the instructors at the focal school.

removed from Catalan was reinforced when, upon initiating lessons for the year, the French focal instructor commented that she would endeavor to learn Catalan *with* the children. In this way, the instructor positioned herself as learning alongside, rather than *from*, the students, whom she situated as fellow learners as opposed to experts in the language of study.

During an interview (Excerpt 3), a Gitan parent from Saint Jacques decried French instructors' use of the term Gitan to refer to students' L1, insisting on the importance of recognizing them as Catalan speakers.

(3) Moi je dis catalan moi … on parle principalement en catalan. Vous pouvez trouver quelques personnes ils sont pas de la communauté gitane qui ils vont vous dire on parle pas. Mais non. En fait on parle bien catalan. Sauf qu'ici ils ont une notion du catalan […] Comme les enfants sont dans la communauté gitane souvent- il y en a beaucoup que- ils sont rejetés, ils sont mis à part. On leur dit souvent : 'Non. Tu parles pas catalan.' Mais ils parlent catalan.

[I say Catalan … we mainly speak Catalan. You can find some people who are not from the Gitan community who will tell you that we don't speak [it]. But that's not the case. We really do speak Catalan. Except that here people have a notion of what Catalan is. […] Since the kids are in the Gitan community- many of them- are often rejected, excluded. They are often told: 'No. You don't speak Catalan.' But they speak Catalan.]

(Interview, May 2018)

This parent acknowledged, however, that children from the community are often convinced that they speak Gitan. Although self-identification can vary between families, children generally come to view themselves as Catalan speakers with time (Excerpt 4).

(4) … enfin on n'a pas cette notion de dire 'On parle catalan.' Pour eux, ça veut dire- Ils sont petits, ils sont gitans, ils parlent **gitan**. Ça c'est leurs origines et leur culture. Mais en fait quand ils ont un âge de raison et de comprendre mieux des choses ils vont voir que ils parlent catalan. Moi aussi quand j'étais petit j'étais **persuadé** que je parlais gitan.

[… well we aren't used to saying 'We speak Catalan.' For [the children], I mean- When they are little, they are Gitans, they speak **Gitan**. That that's their origins and their culture. But really when they reach an age of reason and understand things better they will realize that they speak Catalan. When I was little I was also **convinced** that I spoke Gitan.]

(Interview, May 2018)

As Auger (2017) suggests, borders not only exist in geographic space; as speakers, we may internalize divisions (i.e., between being and speaking Catalan versus Gitan) that compel us to draw and insist upon linguistic and cultural distinctions:

> La frontière, cette limite, cette partie-là plus « à l'avant » (étymologiquement) qui borde un territoire, se peut-il qu'elle soit aussi à l'intérieur de nous-mêmes, les locuteurs ? N'est-ce pas plutôt la force des représentations et des pratiques sociales qui tracent dans les

> discours, les institutions, une ligne notable entre les langues, entre les gens ? Les limites d'un État seraient-elles devenues, par effet de dialogisme, par volonté des États-nations, une séparation également tangible et insurmontable entre les langues ? Forment-elles des bornes, des tracés indélébiles qui empêchent la rencontre tout en favorisant la distinction, la catégorisation des langues et des personnes ? (p. 139)
>
> [The frontier, this limit, this area that is further « to the front » (etymologically) that borders a territory, is it possible that it is also within us as speakers ? Is it not the power of representations and social practices that draw a line between languages, people, in our discourse, institutions? Have the boundaries of the State become, through dialogism and the will of nation-states, an equally tangible and insurmountable divide between languages? Do they form ineffaceable limits that prevent contact while facilitating distinction, the categorization of languages and people?]

Children's decisions to refer to their language as Gitan, as opposed to Catalan, symbolically enacted a distinction from other Catalan speakers: "Cette dénomination vise à tracer une frontière pour se distinguer des autres locuteurs catalanophones" [This act of naming aims to mark a border to distinguish oneself from other Catalan speakers] (Auger, 2017, p. 151). This assertion of difference, in turn, likely reinforced instructors' belief that students' L1 was not, in fact, Catalan, or that it represented a degenerate form of Catalan that could not be considered the same language. Instructors are positioned to exert a powerful socializing influence in adjudicating on the legitimacy of languages and practices (Fader, 2000, 2001); consequently, their beliefs about language are of considerable import. With this chapter's focus on instruction in Catalan, and students' contestation of sanctioned language practices, it is important to understand, in particular, the positionality of the guest Catalan instructor.

4.2 MÒNICA: A LINGUISTIC PORTRAIT

Mònica was born in Southern Catalonia to a father from the south of Spain and a mother from a wealthy Catalan family. Her maternal grandparents opposed her parents' union, and, in exchange for financial support, they attempted to control the most minute details of daily life. Mònica's parents fled Southern Catalonia to escape familial pressure and the political climate under Franco, settling in a village outside of Perpignan. Once in France, Mònica's father insisted that the children continue to speak Catalan, but he informed them that the door to the house constituted a border; inside, they spoke Catalan, but once they crossed the threshold, they were only to speak French. Mònica's situation therefore represents that of a Type 2 bilingual (Romaine, 1995, p. 191), who learned each language in a different environment (i.e., one language in the home, one at school). In addition to requiring observance of this spatial-linguistic divide, Mònica's father insisted on linguistic correctness. Mònica offered the following anecdote to illustrate her father's stance: As a child she always struggled to remember that the French preposition 'jusqu'à' [until] had a grave accent on the 'a.' One day, an instructor informed her that she would never again repeat this mistake. Eagerly anticipating a helpful mnemonic device, Mònica was surprised by the instructor's solution: She was to copy the preposition five hundred times. When Mònica returned home and informed her father, he positively appraised the assignment and instructed her to write the preposition an additional five hundred times.

Having been socialized to respect linguistic correctness and clear divisions between languages as a child, Mònica developed an aversion to the use of languages in combination. She expressed this sentiment during a semi-structured interview. Mònica underscored the irritation that she experiences when speakers mix their languages, citing the example of her mother (Excerpt 5).

(5) C'est pour ça que quand j'entends ma maman maintenant qui **mélange tout** ((en riant)) **ça m'agace**. (3.0) Elle est vieille. 92 ans. Elle va en faire 93. (2.0) Alors bon. Ça m'agace. Ça m'agace parce que je me dis ( ) ((en riant)) Parce que pour ça aussi- parce que peut-être ça vient aussi de quand moi j'étais enfant c'était **très rigoureux**.

[That's why when I hear my mom now who **mixes everything** ((laughing)) **it gets on my nerves**. (3.0) She is old. 92 years old. She will turn 93 soon. (2.0) It irritates me. It irritates me because I think ( ) ((laughing)) Because that also- because that may also come from the fact that when I was a child it was **very rigorous**.]

(Interview, February 2018)

Mònica's selection of this particular example to support her stance evidences the degree of her intolerance. Her acknowledgement of her mother's age is embedded in a negative reaction [i.e., it gets on my nerves . . . It irritates me. It irritates me . . .). In the classroom, in opposition to advocates of translanguaging (García & Wei, 2009), who encourage speakers to draw on the full extent of their linguistic repertoire to make meaning, Mònica insists on the strict separation of languages that she was raised to obey. She shares the French focal instructor's observation that students' speech does not coincide with institutionalized language (Excerpt 1), citing, in particular, their employment of French-origin words when speaking Catalan (Interview Excerpt 6).

(6)

Mònica:	'Nous on parle gitan.' (.) Tu- tu les as entendu le dire parfois ?	'But we speak Gitan.' (.) You've heard them [the students] say that sometimes?
EL:	Oui. Tout le temps. Tout le temps.	Yes. All the time. All the time.
Mònica:	'On parle pas catalan nous. On parle gitan.'	'We don't speak Catalan. We speak Gitan.'
EL:	'On est gitan. On parle gitan.'	'We are Gitan. We speak Gitan.'
Mònica:	Ouais. (2.0) Alors c'est compliqué de leur faire comprendre 'T'es gitan mais tu parles catalan aussi.' (2.0) Après c'est embêtant de dire 'Ouais mais tu le parles mal.' ((petit rire)) C'est pour ça que j'essaie de relever quand ils emploient un mot français (2.0) C'est pour ça que j'accentue dessus. Je dis 'Ben non. Jaune. C'est un mot en français.' (.) Que- alors même si tu dis /ʒonə/ ((petit rire)) même si tu essaies de lui mettre un accent catalan ça reste un mot français. C'est (3.0) tu vois c'est comme (3.0) les Français qui mettent des mots (.) anglais justement (3.0) moi ça m'agace un peu. J'ai rien contre l'anglais. Mais ou tu parles	Yeah. (2.0) So it's tricky to make them understand 'You're Gitan but you speak Catalan too.' (2.0) And then it's annoying to say 'Yeah but you speak it badly.' ((chuckles)) That's why I try to point out when they use a French word (2.0). That's why I really stress that. I say 'Well no. Jaune. That's a word in French.' (.) That- well even if you say it like /ʒonə/ ((chuckles)) even if you try to put a Catalan accent on it it's still a French word. It's (3.0) you see it's exactly like (3.0) the French people who pepper their speech with (.) English (3.0) I'm a little annoyed by that. I have nothing against English. But either you speak English or you speak French. (2.0) The

	anglais **ou** tu parles français. (2.0) Le même mot il existe euh::: (.) voilà. Pourquoi- je ne sais pas il y a (2.0) au lieu de dire 'Je vais aller courir' pourquoi tu dis 'Je vais faire du footing' ? Euh: mais non. Tu vas **courir**. ((petit rire)) Il **existe** le mot en français.	same word exists um::: (.) OK. Why- I don't know like (2.0) instead of using *courir* in French when you're going running why do you say 'I'm going to do some *footing*'? Uh: No way. You're going **courir**. ((chuckles)) That word **exists** in French.
EL:	Si tu parles anglais c'est autre chose. Et là tu parles anglais.	If you speak English that's one thing. But then you're speaking English.
Mònica:	(4.0) Les mélanges. (2.0) Alors peut-être parce que- peut-être parce que j'étais habituée aussi enfant comme ça.	(4.0) These mixtures. (2.0) So maybe because- maybe because I was used to this idea as a child too.

(Interview, February 2018)

Mònica expressed her reluctance to explicitly characterize the Gitan students with whom she worked as speaking badly, although she was observed to do so on one occasion in a rejection of students' proposed terminology (see Example 12). However, she became agitated when they did not recognize the linguistic boundaries that she herself had been socialized to heed as a child. When speaking a particular language, Mònica deemed the decision to employ a word originating from another language unjustifiable, barring situations of necessity in the absence of internal alternatives.[64] This insistence on linguistic purism coincides with the mission of the French educational system (i.e., the French state) in which she was educated and in which she now socializes young learners.[65]

Language ideologies, while immaterial in themselves, have material consequences, for they are "are rarely, if ever, exclusively about language" (Leeman, 2012, p. 43). Although with different rationale (i.e., on the grounds of identity as opposed to linguistic purism), Gitan students and their Catalan instructor agree that Gitan and Catalan are not entirely the same. Their differing understandings of "Gitan" (as a symbol of in-group identity for students or a linguistic mixture in need of pedagogic intervention) carry implications for what it means to identify, and to be identified, as a speaker of Gitan. In daily classroom interactions, instructors, accorded legitimacy through their institutions, socialize students to understandings of what counts as good language and, in turn, who counts as a good speaker.

4.2.1 Conflicting Ideologies: Who is a 'Good' Speaker?

Whereas the Catalan instruction in the CE classrooms was predicated on ideologies of linguistic and cultural homogeneity (i.e., socialization to a Catalan linguistic and cultural identity), Gitan students' practices were characterized by heterogeneity. Writing about the Catalan spoken by

[64] Linguists have long maintained a distinction between necessary and luxury loanwords ('les emprunts de nécessité' versus 'les emprunts de luxe'), however, from a functional perspective on language use as espoused in this study, this divide is unproductive. Winter-Froemel (2015) challenges this distinction, arguing that if 'luxury' words are selected from another source language to serve particular communicative purposes, they do not in fact constitute a luxury (p. 421).

[65] That French was and continues to be shaped by speakers' and writers' contact with other languages is often overlooked. Although they consider language contact the 'midwife for the French language' (p. 5), Gadet and Ludwig (2014) observe that "[the] perception of pure language as a culturally central symbol for a 'nation une et indivise' [single and undivided] caused the contact characteristics of the French language to fade into the background" (p. 7).

Gitans in Saint Jacques, Escudero (2004) identifies heterogeneity as a fundamental aspect of Gitan culture:

> Hétérogénéité est un mot qui définit assez bien l'origine des composantes de ce langage. Cette hétérogénéité particulière n'est pas un fait isolé, elle fait intimement partie de la culture tsigane. Elle en est une des clefs essentielles. Une analyse minutieuse de la musique des Gitans, fait aussi apparaître une mosaïque d'influences, synthétisées dans des formes comme la rumba ibérique ou la récente musique liturgique gitane. Là, encore, diversité ne signifie pas désordre ; c'est avant tout la marque d'une richesse qui établit la frontière avec les autres. On oserait presque dire que la diversité des sources est un signe majeur de l'unité du monde gitan face à la relative uniformité des cultures traditionnelles sédentaires. (p. 251)
>
> [Heterogeneity is a word that sums up fairly well the historical make-up of this language. This particular heterogeneity is not an isolated feature, it is an intimate aspect of Tsigane culture. It is one of its central tenets. A careful examination of Gitans' music also reveals a mosaic of influences, synthesized in genres like the Iberian rumba or more recent Gitan liturgical music. Again, in these cases, diversity does not equal disorder; it is more than anything a sign of richness that forms a border with others. One would almost venture to say that diversity of influences is a defining characteristic of the Gitan world vis-à-vis the relative uniformity of traditional sedentary cultures.]

Heterogeneity is the *order* of Gitan language, and it is the *disorder* that Mònica attempted to eliminate from the children's Catalan. While speaking Gitan well may involve the incorporation of a richness of lexical influences, this same eclecticism was decried as "parler mal" [speaking badly] during Catalan lessons.[66] Beyond the classroom, as the Gitan parent who was previously quoted explained, Gitans are not readily regarded as Catalan speakers in Perpignan, notably due to the French influences in their speech (Excerpt 7).

(7) La nouvelle génération ici … ils ont plus de mal à admettre que nous on parle catalan. Parce que c'est-à-dire c'est un catalan un peu francisé, francisé notamment qui veut dire ils ont pas mal de mots en français.

[The new generation here [in Perpignan] has more difficulty admitting that we speak Catalan. Because I mean it's a little bit of a Frenchified Catalan, Frenchified which mainly means there are a good deal of French words in it.]

(Interview, May 2018)

Although this parent attributed linguistic discrimination to 'la nouvelle generation,' the stance that he described is not, in fact, new; rather, we see the monolingual French ideology at work in this educational and surrounding social context. Moreover, heterogeneity in linguistic practices has

[66] Auger (forthcomingA) relates how young students from Barcelona who were invited to visit the focal school adopted a prescriptive stance, citing lexical examples in invalidating the Gitan students' speech (e.g., « et ils ont dit/ la *vutura* tu sais/ comme ils disent/ mais non c'est la *cotxe* » [and they said/ the *vutura* [French : voiture (car)] you know/ like they say/ but no it's *cotxe*].

long been viewed as a threat to French national identity, as represented by its 'fonctionnaires' (i.e., civil servants) such as the focal instructors. France is "a country where mastery of a carefully defined linguistic standard (le bon usage) is highly prized, and taken as a precondition for legitimate citizenship" (Doran, 2007, p. 499). Given the historically strong association between national and linguistic unity, "'deviant' language [represents] a 'fracture linguistique'" (p. 499). Within this national context, being a good speaker means observing strict linguistic boundaries between one's languages.

How then do contrasting models of good speakerhood held by Gitan students and their instructors come into competition during Catalan lessons? As previously mentioned (see Chapter 1), Leeman (2012) encourages the use of ethnographic classroom-based research to inform our understanding of standard ideologies. In an effort to contribute to this gap, this chapter examines language socialization to language ideologies during weekly Catalan lessons. The interactional data reveal how students were socialized to and through discourses that reflected unfamiliar ways of speaking and conceptualizing language. The Catalan instructor repeatedly attempted to fold the Gitan students into a Catalan cultural-linguistic identity; she systematically defined students' language as 'Catalan' and aligned herself with the children as fellow Catalans through the form and content of her discourse: the linguistic choices (e.g., repetition of the first-person plural pronoun and associated verbal forms) that she made and the examples (e.g., the evocation of purportedly shared cultural experiences and perspectives) that she provided (Section 4.3.1). Gitan students were discursively positioned as 'bad subjects' when their speech diverged from that of a prototypical, monolingual Catalan speaker (Section 4.3.2), and they were disempowered by instructors' characterizations of their language (Section 4.3.3). The exchanges between students and instructors that are analyzed in this chapter are not intended to be exhaustive; instead, they were selected as representative of the dissonance in language ideologies observed during lessons in Catalan.

4.3 GITAN STUDENTS' SOCIALIZATION TO CA-TA-LAN

Mònica's entry into the classroom on Tuesday mornings signaled the initiation of Catalan lessons. Students were called to the front of the room and asked to take their seats at benches situated around the interactive whiteboard. The French focal instructor sometimes remained at her desk; at other times, particularly when she sought to monitor student behavior, she positioned herself next to the children on one of the benches.

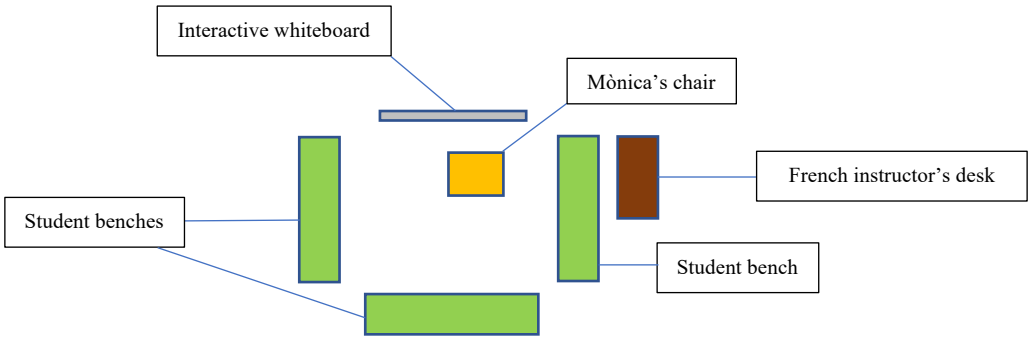

Figure 1. Classroom configuration during Catalan lessons

The French instructor ('FrInstructor' in the transcriptions) reminded the children that their purpose in working with Mònica was to study *Ca-ta-lan*, and she would frequently punctuate each syllable in emphasizing the language of the lessons. In initiating Catalan instruction, the French instructor informed the students of their role (Example 1).

Example 1. "Il faut juste écouter." [It's only necessary to listen.]

FrInstructor:	Le seul exercice qu'on a à faire en catalan (.) c'est de bien écouter. Parce qu'il y a des mots que vous ne connaissez pas- c'est comme en anglais. En anglais on ne fait que écouter aussi. On ne va rien écrire. On ne va rien lire. D'accord ? Il faut juste écouter. Parce que Mònica elle prononce des mots- Ivana pose cette chaise. Il faut vraiment que tu calmes ton corps. ((en criant)) Pose cette chaise. ((en chuchotant)) Il faut vraiment que tu calmes ton corps (.) Je suis en train de te parler (.) Il faut vraiment que tu calmes ton corps pour que ton cerveau puisse écouter (.) et enregistrer ce que dit Mònica (3.0) OK?	[The only exercise that we have to do during Catalan (.) is to listen carefully. Because there are words that you don't know- it's like in English. In English we only listen, too. We are not going to write anything. We are not going to read anything. OK? It's only necessary to listen. Because Mònica pronounces words- Ivana put that chair down. You really need to calm yourself. ((yelling)) Put down that chair. ((whispering)) You really need to calm yourself (.) I'm talking to you right now (.) You need to calm your body down so that your brain is able to listen (.) and to process what Mònica says (3.0) OK?]

(2017.11.14.am1)

The instructor expressed an expectation for students' corporeal disengagement from language instruction (i.e., students are to remain quiet in language and body during Catalan lessons), with Ivana serving as a counter-example of sanctioned behavior. The call for disembodiment in language learning is unsurprising in light of Lapaire's (2014) research on the 'la place du corps dans la formation des étudiants et élèves-professeurs de langues vivantes étrangères' [the place of the body in training of students and student-teachers of modern foreign languages]. As evidenced in the above example, the French instructor positioned Catalan as a foreign language, comparable to English, which students were to passively receive. In evoking the 'désincarnation des langues' [disembodiment of languages], Lapaire writes:

> Une majorité d'étudiants et d'enseignants entretiennent à leur insu une vision codique et 'abstractive' de la langue, 'envisagée indépendamment des conditions incarnées de sa production motrice' et de 'sa "consommation" perceptuelle par les partenaires engagés' (Bottineau, 2012, 73). L'enjeu majeur de l'étude d'une langue vivante semble être la domestication d'un système de formes lexicales et grammaticales […] (Andersen, 1983 ; Demaizière et Narcy-Combes, 2005). (p. 3)
>
> [A majority of students and instructors unconsciously sustain an 'abstract' vision of language as a code, 'envisaged independently of the embodied conditions of its production' and of 'its perceptual "consumption" by interlocutors' (Bottineau, 2012, 73). The major aim of the study of a modern language seems to be the domestication of a system of lexical and grammatical forms […] (Andersen, 1983 ; Demaizière et Narcy-Combes, 2005).]

Indeed, during Catalan (as well as French) instruction, Gitan students were reprimanded for their corporeal engagement. For example, when students approached the interactive whiteboard to point to projected visuals, they were repeatedly instructed to return to their seats and explain themselves exclusively in words. Although this could have happened to non-Gitan children as well, students' use of their body during language activities was perceived as compensation for deficient vocabulary.

As quiet consumers of Catalan, Gitan students were only to process the language in speech; they were not to engage in reading and writing. While precluding students from writing in Catalan, the French instructor employed writing as a tool for her own retention of presented vocabulary. During the first two sessions with Mònica, she moved to the front of the room and noted vocabulary words on the interactive whiteboard during the lesson, asking that students disregard the text. In subsequent lessons, seated at her desk, she wrote down the vocabulary from the lesson on paper or her computer. Upon the French instructor's initial, observable attempts to record Catalan vocabulary on the whiteboard, Mònica corrected her orthography (in particular, the instructor incorrectly transcribed the letter 'e' as 'a'[67]). Giggling, one of the students exclaimed that their instructor did not know how to write: "Maîtresse! Tu ne sais pas écrire!" [Teacher! You don't know how to write!]. As the French instructor endeavored to identify phonemic-graphemic correspondences, she asserted that literacy-related activities in Catalan were too complex for the students (Example 2).

Example 2. "On retient pas le catalan en écriture" [We don't remember Catalan with writing]

FrInstructor:	Je ne veux pas que vous lisiez le catalan. Mais moi je l'écris pour pouvoir m'en souvenir la prochaine fois. D'accord? Donc **moi** je le relirai- moi je le relirai la prochaine fois. Mais en catalan ça va être compliqué (.) Parce que regarde (.) euh en français moi ça je le lirais /leʒe/ [le verbe *//egir*, lire].	I do not want you to read Catalan. But I'm writing it to be able to remember next time. So **I** I will reread it- I will reread it next time. But in Catalan it's going to be complicated (.) Because look (.) um in French I would read that as /leʒe/ [the verb *//egir*, to read].
Students:	((petits rires))	((giggling))
FrInstructor:	Et en catalan ça se lit pas comme ça. Oui- eh alors déjà y aurait pas deux L- ça serait /ləː:/ ou /ləʒi/- je-en français je le lirais /ləʒi/ (.) ou même pas (.)	And in Catalan it's not read that way. Yes- and so to begin with there aren't two Ls- it would be /ləː:/ or /ləʒi/- I- in French I would read it as /ləʒi/ (.) or not even like that (.)
Lucas:	Je. lis.	I'll. read.
FrInstructor:	Alors je ne veux pas que vous lisiez en catalan- vraiment pas. On retient pas le catalan en écriture ((criant pour se faire entendre comme des élèves font du bruit)) **Par contre Lucas** (.) on le retient de mémoire avec les mots et on essaie de le dire.	So I really don't want you to read in Catalan- (I) really don't. We don't remember Catalan with writing ((yelling over students who are making noise)) **But Lucas** (.) we remember the words using our memory and we try to say it.

(2017.11.14.am1)

[67] This transcriptional error can be explained by the fact that unstressed *a* and *e* have merged to /ə/ in Eastern Catalan dialects.

In an interview, the French instructor explained that her resolution not to expose the students to written texts in Catalan stemmed from their status as new readers who were just beginning to decode texts in French (Excerpt 8).

(8) Alors après le truc c'est que Mònica tenait à ce que- à faire un peu d'écrit (.) et là moi ça me pose problème parce qu'ils ont déjà tellement de difficultés avec la phonologie française (3.0) Souvent quand tu commences à faire apprendre aux enfants- à apprendre à lire- tu commences avec leur prénom. Et rien que leur prénom- Leurs prénoms on les dit pas en phonologie française. [...] Donc c'est déjà rien que ça- le le mot qu'ils connaissent le mieux, c'est-à-dire leur prénom, et qu'ils ont appris. C'est la première chose qu'on apprend à écrire (.) d'habitude (.) même ça tu peux pas te baser dessus. Et quand elle insiste pour écrire en catalan je la laisse faire mais (3.0) ça me dérange parce que ça ça ça brouille les enfants qui en sont encore au au au démarrage de 'je décode' : une lettre fait tel son. Tu vois ?

[So well for me the thing is that Mònica was really into- doing a little bit of writing (.) and that's where I start to have issues because they already have so many difficulties with French phonology (3.0) Often when you start teaching kids- to learn to read- you start with their first name. And already their first name- their first names aren't said with French phonology. […] So already just that- the the word that they know the best, I mean their first name, and that they've learned. It's the first thing you learn to write (.) usually (.) You can't even use that as a starting point. And when she insists to write in Catalan I let her go ahead but (3.0) it bothers me because it it it confuses the kids who are still at at at the starting point of 'I decode': one letter makes such a sound. You see?]

(Interview, May 2018)

This observation overlooks the fact that reading in *French* is doubly foreign to students in this context: as they are socialized to school reading practices for the first time, they are simultaneously taught to read in a *second* language. The instructor expressed an understandable concern that learning to write in Catalan could impede students' literacy development in French. As studies in bilingual literacy have found, however, L1 phonological awareness supports L2 awareness and L2 literacy development (Durgunoglu, Nagy, & Hancin-Bhatt, 1993; Gottardo, 2002; Quiroga, Lemos-Britton, Mostafapour, Abbott, & Berninger, 2001). The instructor characterized not only students' L1 but their identity as a potential obstacle to reading in French, citing the example of their names. This appeal to proper names, which do not always obey French phonology, is problematic; for example, Kévin is pronounced [kevin] (not [kevɛ̃], as would be expected), and Ruben is pronounced [ʁybɛn] (not [ʁybɛ̃]). In light of her concerns, the French instructor did not endorse students' engagement with reading and writing in Catalan. Mònica, however, did occasionally make use of the whiteboard to record vocabulary, and, on one occasion, she invited students to complete a word dictation on the board—an activity that elicited enthusiasm among the students—during the French instructor's absence.

Catalan lessons predominately centered on the development of vocabulary, which was often reinforced through oral drills. As the French instructor had explained to students in initiating lessons with Mònica, they were to listen carefully in order to learn new words, as they would during an English lesson: "… [Il] y a des mots que vous ne connaissez pas- c'est comme en

anglais" [There are words that you don't know- it's like in English]. When asked about this emphasis on vocabulary, the French focal instructor explained the pedagogical rationale (Excerpt 9).

(9) Alors au début comme on savait pas trop on était m:::: (4.0) on a fait des séances comme on aurait fait des séances d'anglais. Et en fait on s'est rendu compte qu'ils parlaient déjà plus ou moins. Donc on a plutôt orienté vers des séances de vocabulaire. Enrichir le vocabulaire. Plutôt que de découvrir une langue (.) la syntaxe.

[So in the beginning since we didn't really know we were:::: (4.0) we made sessions like we would have done for English. And then we realized that they already spoke more or less. So we focused instead on vocab lessons. The enrichment of their vocabulary. Instead of the discovery of a language (.) its syntax.]

(Interview, May 2018)

Although the instructor had compared Catalan lessons to English in her presentation of behavioral expectations for students, she here recognized that students' experience with the respective languages was not, in fact, the same. Her realization that students already spoke "more or less" underscores the way in which the students' competence as L1 Catalan speakers was not fully recognized. In her research on Spanish heritage language learners in the U.S., Leeman (2012) observes how a focus on isolated lexical items "[rewards] students who have had formal language instruction" (Leeman, 2012, p. 54). The same is true for Gitan students who, hereto educated in French monolingual schools, have not had prior opportunities to develop Catalan vocabulary pertinent to formal schooling contexts. As evidenced in Excerpt 9, the instructor situated language as a system, which, for the students, was in need of enrichment. Students were socialized to a monolingual, standard language ideology that viewed linguistic variation as illegitimate.

4.3.1 'Nosaltres els catalans' [*We Catalans*]: Speaking a Collective into Being

This section illustrates the ways in which the Catalan instructor endeavored to discursively position the children in the class as fellow Catalans and Catalan speakers. Following Mònica's greeting, in Catalan, which initiated the start of the lessons for the school year, a student objected that he and his peers did not speak Catalan. Mònica reassured the student that differences could be reduced to nomenclature (i.e., speaking 'Gitan' versus 'Catalan').

Example 3. "Moi je parle pas catalan moi" [I don't speak Catalan]

FrInstructor:	Est-ce que c'est facile- Alors vous m'excuserez mais moi je sais pas parler catalan comme vous donc je continuerai à parler français. Mais vous par contre vous parlez catalan=	Is it easy- So you will excuse me but I don't know how to speak Catalan like you so I will keep speaking French. But you on the other hand you speak Catalan=
Student1:	=Non. Moi je parle pas catalan moi.	=No. I don't speak Catalan.
FrInstructor:	Alors je vais essayer	So I am going to try.
Mònica:	Alors què parles tu?	So *what do you speak?*
Student1:	Je sais pas parler moi.	I don't know how to speak.

Mònica:	A veure. Entre parlar gitano i parlar català quina diferencia hi ha?	*Let's see. What's the difference between speaking Gitan and speaking Catalan?*
Student2:	És el mateix.	*It's the same*.
Mònica:	És el mateix (.) Pots dir 'jo parlo gitano' si vulls eh? No hi ha cap problema.	*It's the same* (.) *You can say 'I speak Gitano' if you want OK? It's no problem at all.*
Some students:	Ouais.	Yeah.
Mònica:	És el mateix.	*It's the same.*

(2017.11.07.am2)

That Student1 latched onto the French instructor's statement in French is unsurprising, as this is in fitting with the interactional sequence. It is noteworthy, however, that he responded to Mònica's question, posed in Catalan, in French ("**Je sais pas parler moi**"). With this discourse move, the student broke alignment with the Catalan instructor and her linguistic practice. The student did not respond directly to Mònica's question, objecting only that he did not speak [Catalan]. However, the Catalan instructor assumed that the student was appealing to a distinction between Gitan and Catalan. Although Mònica subsumed Gitan under Catalan, arguing that the two terms were interchangeable, this initial exchange did not settle the issue. Discussions concerning the status of Gitan *versus* Catalan or Gitan *as* Catalan were recurrent throughout the year, as evidenced by the following exchange between Mònica and another student, taken from a lesson in March.

Example 4. "Català i gitano és el mateix." [Catalan and Gitan are the same]

Mònica:	Mais jo jo què parlo?	*But what about me what do I speak?*
Student:	(3.0) L'an-	(3.0) Eng-
Enzo:	Voyons dis (.) ((en catalan)) tretze.	Let's see say (.) *thirteen*.
Mònica:	Non mais (4.0) Seguim seguim el què deien ells. ((à Enzo)) Tu me demanes si sé parlar gitano. (.) Què parlo ara?	No but (4.0) *Let's explore what they were saying.* ((to Enzo)) *You ask me if I know how to speak Gitan* (.) *What am I speaking now?*
Enzo:	Eh parles gitano.	*Eh you're speaking Gitan.*
Mònica:	Eh clar. Català. És igual (.) És és la mateixa cosa.	*Clearly. Catalan. It's the same* (.) *It's the same thing.*
Student:	Hein ?	Huh?
Enzo:	Il y a un peu d'anglais dedans.	There's some English in it.
Mònica:	**No::.**	**No::.**
Enzo:	Oui pourquoi ( ) c'est pas gitan.	Yes because ( ) it's not Gitan.
Mònica:	**Beh** (.) Català i gitano és el mateix. Simplement (2.0) Tenim mots a vegades. A vegades tenim mots que són un poc diferents però és el mateix.	***Eh*** (.) *Catalan and Gitan are the same. It's just* (2.0) *we sometimes have words. Sometimes we have words that are a little different but it's the same.*
Simon:	Sí. Eh sí.	*Yes. Well yes.*
Mònica:	(3.0) Ho tenim clar això? (2.0) Ho cal enregistrar.	(3.0) *We've got it down?* (2.0) *It needs to be memorized.*
Enzo:	Oh (.) m'ha entrat per aquí ((en montrant du doigt son oreille)) i m'ha sortit per aquí ((indiquant l'autre côté de la tête)).	*Oh* (.) *It came in my head here* ((pointing at ear)) *and came out of my head here* ((pointing at other side of head)).
Mònica:	((en riant)) **Oh** fes un tap!	((laughing)) ***Oh*** *plug in it!*

(2018.03.13.am1)

Students signaled the presence of foreign aspects in Mònica's speech, as suggested by the first student's seeming, although truncated, label of her language as English. Enzo proposed an experiment (i.e., having the instructor say a word) to determine the identity of Mònica's language and concluded that she was a Gitan speaker. The Catalan instructor in turn recast his finding, referring to the language in question as Catalan and further asserting that both terms referred to the same language. Students again broke alignment with their instructor in responding to her assertion in French and highlighting the foreignness of her speech in another reference to English (i.e., "Il y a un peu d'anglais dedans"). Mònica insisted, however, that differences between her variety of Catalan and that spoken by students in the class could be reduced to vocabulary, citing the occasional instance of lexical variation. In this way, she importantly overlooked the historicity of language use, that has shaped what it means to speak 'Gitan' as opposed to standard Catalan. As Bakhtin (1981) reminds us:

> [There] are not 'neutral' words and forms—words and forms that can belong to 'no one'; language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents. For any individual consciousness living in it, language is not an abstract system of normative forms […] Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life. (p. 293)

For this reason, insistence on a standard variety does not simply involve the acknowledgement of linguistic proximity and students' replacement of L1 terms with standard "equivalents"; instead, it compels learners to adopt foreign vocabulary shaped in unfamiliar contexts. Given the stakes for identity, it is unsurprising that the distinction between Gitan and Catalan remained a source of contestation within the classroom.

In addition to positioning students as linguistically similar, Mònica endeavored to relate to them as fellow Catalans. Her effort aimed at cultural alignment were most fully exemplified by an activity that spanned multiple weeks and focused on the "Caga tió" [*Christmas log*] Catalan tradition. In the "Christmas log" tradition, Catalan families place a log creature, *Tió*, in their homes and proceed to leave food for it beginning with the feast of the Immaculate Conception on December 8. Children are to be on their best behavior and treat the log kindly in the days preceding Christmas in the hopes that he will defecate presents for them on Christmas Day. In children's absence as they pray for good presents, adults secretly hide gifts under a blanket that covers the Tió. When the children return, they proceed to beat the back of the log with a stick while singing a song that encourages him to defecate presents ("Caga, tió!").

Figure 2. A pop-out Tió created by a student as part of the Catalan lessons

Over the course of several weeks, Mònica socialized the children to the practices associated with this Christmas tradition and taught them the lyrics to one version of the song. As Mònica initiated a discussion of holiday traditions, laying the groundwork for the song, she aligned herself with the children as fellow Catalans, asking, "Què fem, els catalans?" [*What do we Catalans do?*] and referring to them as a collective of which she was a part: "Nosaltres, els catalans?" [*We Catalans*] (2017.11.21). In her discussion of the holiday, Mònica presented the tradition as one that she shared with the children, commenting, for example: "Hem guardat la tradició del tío" [*(We) have kept the tradition of the log*]. The Caga Tió activity represents an example of what Auger (2008a) has termed 'pédagogie couscous' [couscous pedagogy], an attempt to recognize cultural diversity within French schools that inadvertently advances generalizations rather than engaging with cultural nuances. Moreover, the generalizations made about collective experience were unrecognizable to students in the class who did not relate to a cultural identity that was presented as their own.

When Mònica sang the song for the children for the first time, they moved to the rhythm but struggled to follow the lyrics. The focal instructor commented that Mònica would need to explain all of the words to the song: "Il va falloir expliquer tous les mots car ils ne comprennent pas ce qu'ils chantent" [We're going to have to explain all of the words because they do not understand what they are singing]. As reinforced by this observation, "Caga, Tió" clearly constituted neither a culturally nor a linguistically familiar practice for the children in the class. Mònica offered extensive explanations for vocabulary in the song that was relevant to the tradition (terminology for candy as well as products derived from wood, e.g., wood used for paper products versus wood to make logs, etc.). In addition, she continued to ask the children how *we* referred to different referents in Catalan: "Com diem X en català?" [*How do we say X in Catalan?*] or, for instance, "En català quan diem bonbons què diem?" [*In Catalan to say* bonbons *what do we say?*] The children did not provide Mònica with the responses that she sought, however, and she rejected their lexical suggestions, most often on the grounds that they were 'very French.'

The children's body language further signaled their disengagement during Mònica's presentation of a tradition from which they were culturally disconnected. When they became restless, the instructor suggested that perhaps Mònica should leave if the class was not ready to receive her. Over one hour into the third lesson focused on the song, the children persisted in inventing lyrics and clapping offbeat to the tune. With Mònica becoming visibly more exasperated, she looked to the focal instructor and me, confessing her desire to cry: "J'ai envie de pleurer!" [I feel like crying!] Minutes later, she again voiced this feeling, exclaiming: "Je crois que je vais

rouler par terre. Je vais pleurer" [I think that I am going to roll on the ground. I'm going to cry]. As the students were dismissed for recess, Mònica exited the classroom shaking her head and, visibly frustrated, informed me that the children made her want to jump off the upper floor of the school.

Asked whether her use of the first-person plural pronoun and associated verbal forms during the Tió sessions and other Catalan lessons has been intentional, Mònica replied affirmatively and elaborated on her aversion to cultural divisions.

(10)

Mònica:	Pour essayer de (3.0) parce que c'est (.) ça me dérange beaucoup ces séparations comme ça de races de (3.0) On a des cultures différentes mais bon on:: ( ) Au contraire. (2.0) Je trouve que c'est enrichissant. Plus on est mélangés mieux c'est. Et ça me dérange beaucoup quand il y a des camps comme ça (.) Toi t'es dans mon camp mais toi t'es pas dans mon camp.	To try to (3.0) because it's (.) these separations between races they bother me a lot (3.0) We have different cultures but well we:: ( ) To the contrary. (2.0) I find it's enriching. The more we are mixed the better. And it bothers me a lot when there are camps like that (.) You you're in my camp but you you're not in my camp.
EL:	Mhm.	Mhm.
Mònica:	Et moi je profite de la langue pour leur dire ben '**Nous catalans** on dit' (.) C'est **nous tous**. De temps en temps t'as remarqué qu'il y en a qui me répondent (.) 'Non.'	And so I capitalize on language to tell them well '**We Catalans** say' (.) It's **all of us**. Sometimes you've noticed there are kids who tell me (.) 'Non.'
EL:	Avec de la résistance.	With some resistance.
Mònica:	Parce que toi t'es (.) pas gitane.	Because you you're (.) not Gitan.

(Interview, February 2018)

Mònica here communicated her awareness of being labeled as a cultural outsider by students ("Parce que toi t'es (.) pas gitane"), and she attempted to mobilize language as a feature of a common identity. However, the form and content of students' language caused them to be seen as Others vis-à-vis the Catalan sociolinguistic identity into which Mònica socialized them in the classroom. Mònica frequently voiced her dissatisfaction with students' responses to her cultural inquiries (e.g., explanations of presumably shared cultural practices). The description of the students' L1 as "pauvre" [poor] and in need of enrichment was often provoked by Mònica's elicitation of vocabulary (e.g., when she asked students to offer an equivalent to a French term). When students' suggestions were perceived as illustrating French influence ("francisé"), or entirely "français" (i.e., when they constituted a lexical borrowing, such as, *jaune*, pronounced /ʒonə/ in their L1), the Catalan instructor characterized the students as limited in their Catalan vocabulary and consequently positioned them as skilled at mixing up their languages. While she regarded cultural contact favorably ("Plus on est mélangés mieux c'est" [The more mixed we are the better]), her aversion to divisions did not apply languages, as evidenced by her negative characterization of linguistic mixtures. Students' resistance to the linguistic and cultural practices modeled in the classroom and Mònica's resulting frustration were symptomatic of the foreignness with which students and their Catalan instructor regarded one another. This sentiment was articulated when, on more than one occasion, Mònica described the school attended by the Gitan

students as another planet: “J’arrive sur la planète Miranda. Dans cette galaxie tout est différente.” [I am arriving on Planet Miranda. In this galaxy everything is different.] (2018.02.06.am1).

4.3.2 Linguistic Prescriptivism: Gitan as Wrong or Non-Existent

During weekly language lessons, Mònica adopted a consistently prescriptive stance that did not regard students’ linguistic norm as legitimate. The Catalan instructor was frequently observed expounding on the use of a particular term and rejecting students’ suggestions. Vocabulary became the source of contestation during the first lesson when students used the word ‘mestressa’ [teacher] (resembling the French ‘maîtresse’ and constituting an example of semantic transfer from French) to refer to their primary instructor. Mònica insisted that their instructor was only a ‘mestressa’ when she returned home for the day and transitioned into her role as a mother. She instead insisted that students adopt the term ‘mestra’ in class. Despite Mònica’s incessant corrections during this and subsequent lessons, however, the students persisted in referring to their instructor as ‘mestressa’ and were never observed to employ ‘mestra.’[68] That students continued to employ their vocabulary even after repeated corrections and explanations caused the instructor to regard them as ‘bad subjects’ who remained resistant to socializing efforts.

Although the Catalan instructor occasionally acknowledged that she and the students used different words for the same referent (e.g., “Com dieu vosaltres jaqueta?” [*How do you guys say jacket?*] - Students would reply: “Jaq”), her metalinguistic commentary signaled a refusal to regard variation stemming from external linguistic influence as acceptable. For example, she would characterize terms proposed by the children as ‘very French,’ as in “el ‘goûter’ és un mot molt francès” [*‘goûter’ [snack] is a very French word*]. At other times she systematically negated students’ vocabulary, commenting, for instance: “Són ulletes, no llunetes” [*They are glasses [ulletes], not glasses [llunetes]*]. By the second Catalan lesson, the French focal instructor, herself possessing no prior knowledge of Catalan, also began correcting students: When the focal instructor asked students to recall the equivalent for the French ‘argent’ [money], anticipating ‘diners’—the word that she had recorded in her notes during Mònica’s previous lesson—one student proposed ‘sous’ (an alternative term available to Catalan speakers). The French instructor replied negatively (“non”), but Mònica, in a rare instance, conceded that there were, in fact, several ways to say ‘money.’[69]

Mònica habitually inquired about how to say particular words in *Catalan*. However, she appeared resigned on one occasion as the students hesitated to supply suggestions, sighing as she issued an invitation to respond in ‘Gitan’:

Example 5. “Oh: en gitano. Com voleu.” [Oh: In Gitan. As you wish]

[68] In contrast, the CP instructor, a non-Gitan native to Perpignan who had completed the local high school’s French-Catalan bilingual track, was observed using ‘mestressa’ in her interactions with students, seemingly adopting their term.

[69] As this exchange suggests, not only was students’ identity at stake and in competition with that of their instructors; tensions also manifested between the focal French instructor and guest Catalan instructor. The French instructor remained present, and involved, for the vast majority of language instruction. She expressed a responsibility to be involved in activity planning; for example, she proposed that Mònica teach the children a Christmas song in Catalan, which Mònica proceeded to select. Further, she acted as a participant-observer, interjecting observations on student behavior, asking students to recall vocabulary, and, at times, providing linguistic corrections or reproaching the children for their perceived inability to recall vocabulary that she herself had retained.

Mònica:	I com diem això en català? Un pantain?	*And how do we say that in Catalan?* A puppet?
Simon:	((répétant le mot français)) Un pantain.	((repeating the French word)) A puppet.
Mònica:	Eh ah. En català. ((en haussant les épaules)) Oh: en gitano. Com voleu.	Eh ah. In Catalan. ((shrugging)) Oh: In Gitan. As you wish.

(2018.01.16.am1)

Although Mònica occasionally used the terms 'Catalan' and 'Gitan' interchangeably to solicit students' responses to her vocabulary questions, their suggestions were often deemed incorrect. While words attested in Roussillon Catalan dialect were considered passable, words displaying cross-linguistic influences that students supplied were unacceptable. This is illustrated by the following exchange in which Mònica, seated before the children, turned to the focal instructor to quietly explain appropriate terminology for 'rabbit' in Catalan.

Example 6. "Quand vous dites llapin. Alors là c'est pas correct du tout" […when you guys say llapin. Well that's not right at all]

Mònica:	Alors. Alors. Il y a un truc quand même. El llapí c'est c'est du roussillonnais.	So. So. There's some truth here. *Llapí* it's it's in Roussillon.
FrInstructor:	Ah.	Ah.
Mònica:	C'est pas faux.	It's not wrong.
FrInstructor:	Ouais.	Yeah.
Mònica:	(2.0) M: voilà. (.) Mais (.) on on doit dire un conill. (5.0) Par contre (.) quand je dis (.) **llapí**. Comme ça. ((Mònica demande un feutre à l'enseignante pour écrire au tableau)) Alors. Llapí	(2.0) M: You see. (.) But (.) We we should say *conill*. (5.0) But (.) when I say (.) ***llapí***. Like that ((Mònica asks the instructor for a pen to write on the whiteboard)) Well. *Llapí*
FrInstructor:	((aux enfants)) Regardez ce que fait Mònica.	((to the children)) Look at what Mònica is doing.
Mònica:	((écrit llapí)) Ça ((en pointant 'llapí' au tableau du doigt)) s'écrirait comme ça avec un accent.	((writes *llapí*)) That ((pointing at *llapí* on the board with her finger)) would be written like that with an accent.
Student:	Llapí.	*Llapí*.
FrInstructor:	**Alors écoute vite sinon on n'aura pas le temps de jouer**.	**So listen otherwise we won't have time to play**.
Mònica:	Mais quand vous dites llapin. Alors là c'est pas correct du tout. (2.0) Ça. ((écrit 'llapin' au tableau et le barre de suite)) Ça c'est le mélange que vous faites d'habitude entre le catalan et le français. Parce que en français ça serait comme ça. (2.0) Et (2.0) et vous vous dites llapin. Alors ça c'est faux. ((barre le mot *llapin*)) (.) Ça c'est complètement faux. Ça. ((indiquant le mot *llapí*)) Ça peut passer. C'est correct. C'est du roussillonnais. (.) Mais mais le mot c'est conill. Conill.	But when you guys say *llapin*. Well that's not right at all (2.0) That. ((writes '*llapin* ' on the board and crosses is out right away)) That that's the mixture that you guys typically make between Catalan and French. Because in French it would be like that. (2.0) And (2.0) and you you say *llapin*. So that's that's wrong ((crosses out the word *llapin* with a large X)) (.) It it's completely wrong. That. ((pointing at *llapí*)) It can work. It's correct. It's Roussillon. (.) But but the word is *conill*. *Conill*.

(2018.03.20.am1)

Mònica's discourse established a linguistic hierarchy, ordering the lexical options for 'rabbit' according to acceptability: while 'conill' *was* the word, the Roussillon Catalan 'llapí' was passable, and the students' 'llapin' was completely unacceptable.[70] Their L1 variety was situated in a no man's land of illegitimacy and inauthenticity; the authenticity of some of their words, which did not index a single recognizable source (ascribing neither to the norms of standard French nor Catalan), could not be validated by a figure of authority nor a reference work (such as a dictionary). As Kramsch (2012a) writes, "If authenticity means 'with a recognizable origin,' then the monolingual [native speaker] was that origin. If legitimacy means 'authorized by a recognizable authority,' then the monolingual [native speaker] was that authority" (pp. 114-115). The instructor's monolinguist, standard ideology led her to view language as a fixed system; words were not understood as shaped by their contexts of use among speakers across space and time but were only characterized according to dichotomous assessments: right or wrong, superior or inferior, existent or non-existent.

The act of writing Gitan students' term for 'rabbit' on the board only to bar and then emphatically cross it out represents a powerful act that may serve as the impetus for symbolic violence. Although students may resist or subvert dominant discourses, they may also reproduce them in an effort to acquire legitimacy in the eyes of their instructor. Students may internalize the instructor's perspective, leading them to self-censor their language in accordance with the norm to which they have been socialized: "Si l'élève comprend les règles, il se les appropie par lui-même et pratique une sorte d'auto-discipline, un self-government" [If the student understands the rules, he comes to appropriate them on his own and practices a form of auto-correction, self-government] (Lahire, 1993, p. 39). Yet more than rules for language use were at stake in the vocabulary lessons that Mònica provided. In negating the students' word, both through her discourse and the physical act of crossing it out, the Catalan instructor advanced an ideology of 'languagelessness' that "[calls] into question [their] linguistic competence—and, by extension, legitimate personhood—altogether" (Rosa, 2016, p. 163). Over time, students may come to internalize not only linguistic norms but to also see themselves as bad Catalan speakers. García-Sánchez (2016) notes that this shift in perspective can be seen as emerging from double consciousness (Du Bois, 1903): "the sense of looking at one's self through the eyes of others; of measuring one soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt" (cited on pp. 305-306).

Although Mònica habitually represented the linguistic authority on Catalan in the classroom, the French focal instructor increasingly adopted an expert role during Catalan lessons. This was most evident when Mònica was absent the first week of March and the focal instructor conducted the Catalan lesson three times, once with each CE section. Students questioned her legitimacy upon learning that she would lead the class: With Mònica nowhere in sight, one student approached me to ask, "On va faire du catalan avec qui?" [Who's doing Catalan with us?]. When I replied that the focal instructor would run the session, he raised his eyebrows, seemingly incredulous: "Elle sait parler?" [She knows how to speak?]. Seated around the benches at the front of the room, the students offered no encouragement as their instructor attempted to initiate the lesson: "Comment tu vas faire?" [How are you going to do it?] one student asked, while another informed her that she would not manage: "T'arriveras pas" [You won't cut it] (2018.03.06.am2). As the lesson began, the focal instructor corrected the students' vocabulary, insisting on the terms that she had heard Mònica present during previous sessions. For instance, when reviewing body

[70] Interestingly, in this case, Escudero provides evidence that llapin (/ʎəpín/) is a Gallicism employed in the Gitan community of Saint Jacques (Escudero, 2004, p. 220).

parts and their associated functions, one student proposed that "els peus per marxar" ([*feet (are) for walking*]; the verb 'marxar' is a Gallicism present in Septentrional (Northern) Catalan (see Escudero, 2004, p. 221), but the French instructor corrected him with 'caminar' [to walk], the term that Mònica had expounded upon during the previous session. When the student's peer also employed the verb 'marxar,' the French instructor replied that the verb in question did not exist: "Marxar ça n'existe pas" ['*Marxar'* does not exist]. The instructor did not limit her corrections to vocabulary; she was even observed attempting to correct students' pronunciation. For example, she corrected a student's pronunciation of the masculine definite article 'el' (i.e., /əl/, the neutral phonology in Septentrional Catalan) according to Spanish phonetics, insisting on /ˈel/. That she herself had struggled on several occasions to pronounce the vocabulary introduced by Mònica, her attempts characterized by false starts and French influence, rendered her identification as a model for correctness more striking.

The French instructor expressed frustration when she became unable to verify the legitimacy of students' language. This was evident during a vocabulary review exercise when she was unable to confirm the normative status of some of the words that students proposed. In these moments, the students interpreted her frustration as symptomatic of her own incomprehension and consequently endeavored to facilitate her understanding. When, for instance, students proposed 'el cervell' (the standard Catalan term for 'brain'), their instructor was unable to confirm the term's correctness (2018.03.06.am3). The students repeated 'le cerveau' (the French word for 'brain') as they pointed at their head. The French instructor groaned, threw her head backwards, and implored "Sainte Mònica" to return to class. When another student proposed 'la cama' (the standard Catalan term for 'leg') the instructor sighed, again unsure of the term's legitimacy. In light of the recurrent discussions of the distinction between Gitan and Catalan, a fellow student interpreted the instructor's reaction to 'la cama' as reluctance to accept the term as 'real' Catalan. "Il parle gitan" [He speaks Gitan], the student in question explained.

Although unaware of my prior study of Catalan, at moments of uncertainty concerning the correctness of the students' vocabulary, the French instructor occasionally turned to me for guidance, presumably due to my status as an adult who had also been present during lessons with Mònica.[71] For instance, she asked me if I knew when to use 'els' versus 'les' (the masculine and feminine plural definite articles in Catalan). In this case, I replied that I thought they were definite articles; however, I downplayed my certainty. Linguistic legitimacy, it seemed, need not be defined by linguistic identity. The instructor's comment upon the completion of this session summarized her stance towards the children's language practices: "Vous parlez presque mieux catalan que moi" [You almost speak Catalan better than I do].

4.3.3 Limited Vocabulary, Limited Legitimacy

When students voiced incomprehension of Mònica's speech, she and the French focal instructor attributed this to a lack of focus on their part. For instance, on one occasion (2017.12.05.am1), a student justified her incomprehension by insisting that Gitan and Catalan were not the same. Mònica replied that comprehension was dependent upon students' attention. When the student countered, "Hi ha mots que entenc pas!" [*There are words that I don't understand*], Mònica

[71] Although I had studied Catalan, I did not reveal this to the focal instructor so as to minimize my involvement in the lessons. I aimed to avoid being called upon to substitute for or assist Mònica. Further, I wished to avoid intimidating the French instructors, some of whom already seemed frustrated by the presence of a language that they did not master in their classroom.

explained that this was normal. The Catalan instructor had informed me of the children's limited vocabulary, and, in informal conversation during recess (2017.11.29), she extended this limitation to their identity. In expressing her frustration about how much time she had invested in attempting to teach them the lyrics to the Catalan Christmas song, a task that she was certain could have been completed within five minutes at any other school, Mònica concluded: "Són limitats" [*They are limited*]. This assertion reinforces Auger and Matheu's (2016) findings in their research on language ideologies in this context, specifically, that the variety of Catalan spoken by Gitan students is seen as impeding thought: "[C]ette variation du catalan apparaît comme une forme abâtardie du catalan, basilecte rendant impossible la pensée" [This variety of Catalan appears like a bastardized form of the language, a basilect that renders thinking impossible]. Additionally, Mònica's projection of perceived linguistic limitations onto the children's identities (i.e., their vocabulary is limited, ergo *they* are limited), illustrates how language ideologies mobilize representations of more than language, communicating a belief of speakers themselves (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Leeman, 2018).

Mònica did attribute linguistic legitimacy to Gitan families, albeit a bygone legitimacy. When I inquired about the children's linguistic background during another recess exchange (2017.11.21), Mònica informed me the Gitans of Saint Jacques had lost their language, *kaló* ("Ils ont perdu leur langue") because it had not been written, adding that so-called Gitan language did not exist ("Ça n'existe pas, le gitan"; i.e., the notion that students' L1 did not constitute a variety in its own right but was merely 'poor Catalan'). During an interview, Mònica described her previous attempts to recognize students' linguistic legitimacy in evoking their ancestral language, noting the unforeseen consequences of her well-intentioned efforts:

(11)

Mònica:	L'année dernière j'avais essayé (.) en début de l'année (2.0) parce que je me doutais un petit peu (2.0) j'avais essayé de leur dire 'Vous savez' (2.0) ce qui est vrai d'ailleurs hein?- 'Vos (3.0) vos ancêtres même eux les parents de vos grands-parents (.) euh ils parlaient tous le kaló' (2.0) C'est une vraie langue hein? Le kaló.	Last year I had tried (.) at the start of the year (2.0) because I suspected a little bit (2.0) I had tried to tell them 'You know' (2.0) and this is true you know?- 'Your (3.0) your ancestors the parents of your grand-parents (.) uh they all spoke Caló (2.0) It's a real language you know? Caló.
EL:	Oui.	Yes.
Mònica:	Le problème c'est qu'ils ne l'écrivaient pas. (2.0) Alors leur ancrage c'est que (2.0) quand ils se croi- ils voyageaient tous- et quand ils se croisaient (.) de n'importe quel pays d'où ils venaient ils pouvaient se comprendre entre eux parce qu'ils parlaient la même langue. (2.0) **Mais** cette langue s'est perdue et là où ils se sont (.) sédentarisés (.) ben ils ont pris un petit peu de la langue de l'endroit où ils étaient. Alors ils parlent (.) euh catalan (2.0) mais c'est mélangé avec un peu de français. C'est mélangé avec un peu d'espagnol. De temps	The problem is that they didn't write it. (2.0) So their cornerstone is that (2.0) when they cross- they all traveled- and when they crossed paths- coming from whatever country they were leaving they were able to understand one another because they spoke the same language. (2.0) **But** that language was lost and when they became (.) sedentary (.) well they adopted a little bit of the language from the place where they found themselves. So they speak (.) uh Catalan (2.0) but it's mixed with a little French. It's mixed with a little Spanish. Sometimes there's a Caló word that comes out and you'll say ((exclaiming with

	en temps il y a un mot de kaló qui ressort tu dis ((en exclamant avec du surpris)) '**Ouu !**' ((rires)) D'où il sort celui-là? (2.0) Et du reste- Et en fait eux ils sont persuadés que c'est une langue.	surprise)) '**Ouu!**' ((laughs)) Where did that come from? (2.0) And as for the rest- And actually they are convinced that it's a language.
EL:	(2.0) Mais pour toi c'est pas le cas.	(2.0) But for you that's not the case.
Mònica:	Mais non. (5.0) Après (2.0) c'est normal- il y a des variantes du catalan des choses qui sont justes et des choses qu'on dit en en Roussillon qu'on qu'on dit pas à Barcelone. ((reprenant son discours suite à une interruption)) Oui voilà. C'est (3.0) très compliqué les Gitans. J'avais commencé par leur euh (.) leur parler du kaló en CE2. De les valoriser.	Of course not. (5.0) Then (2.0) it's normal- there are variants of Catalan things that are correct and things that people say in Roussillon that that they don't say in Barcelona. ((continuing her discourse following an interruption)) So yeah. They (3.0) are very complicated the Gitans. I had started by uh (.) talking to them about Caló in CE2 grade. To validate them.
EL:	Ah l'année dernière ?	Ah last year?
Mònica:	L'année dernière en leur disant 'Ne perdez pas votre culture. C'est- **toutes** les cultures sont **bonnes**. (.) On ne peut pas dire qu'une est meilleure que qu'une autre. **Toutes** les cultures sont **bonnes**. (2.0) Il faut la garder ta culture aussi. Et que tu rajoutes (2.0) que tu saches parler plusieurs langues- **formidable** (2.0) Mais la tienne (.) celle que tu as au départ- **garde-la**'(2.0) Et-	Last year in telling them 'Don't lose your culture. It's- **all** cultures are **good**. (.) We can't say that one is better than another. **All** cultures are **good**. (2.0) You need to protect your culture too. And if on top of that (2.0) you know how to speak several languages- **wonderful**. (2.0) But yours (.) the one that you have from the start- **keep it**' (2.0) And-
EL:	Donc tu parlais du kaló.	So you were talking about Caló.
Mònica:	Je parlais du kaló. Et (.) au contraire ça les a vexés. (3.0) Parce qu'à un moment [l'enseignante française] elle m'a dit euh (2.0) 'Ils se sont sentis dévalorisés en leur disant que-' Parce que il y avait un moment où ils voulaient pas venir avec moi. Alors je comprenais pas (2.0) parce qu'ils étaient contents de me voir. (2.0) Mais quand on disait 'On va faire catalan' alors là ils étaient pas contents alors (2.0) elle dit 'C'est pas une question de personne. C'est (.) quelque chose.' (2.0) Et elle a demandé à la psychologue. (2.0) Et la psychologue a dit 'Non. Parce que (.) ils ont- eux ils ont interprété elle nous dit qu'on parle mal.' (3.0) Alors j'ai changé un peu mon ( ) en disant 'c'est très bien.' Alors j'ai essayé de relever quand ils disent- des fois ils disent 'guaita.' 'Guaita' ça veut dire 'un regard.' Mais c'est un mot que **peu de gens** utilisent. (2.0)	I was talking about Caló. And (.) it actually ended up hurting them. (3.0) Because at one point [the French instructor] told me um (2.0) 'They felt devalued from being told'- Because there was a moment when they didn't want to come with me anymore. So I couldn't understand (2.0) because they were happy to see me. (2.0) But when we'd say 'We are going to do Catalan' well then they weren't happy so (2.0) she said 'It's not a question of person. It's (.) something else.' (2.0) And she asked the psychologist about it. (2.0) And the psychologist said 'No. It's because (.) they- they interpreted that she said that we speak badly' (3.0) So I changed my ( ) a little in saying 'that's very good.' So I tried to highlight when they say- sometimes they say 'guaita.' 'Guaita' means 'gaze.' But it's a word that **few people** use. (2.0)
EL:	Guaita.	*Guaita*.
Mònica:	Guaita. Et c'est un- un joli mot (.) mais c'est ancien. Les gens âgés le disent. (.) Et ça a fonctionné parce que quand je leur ai dit	*Guaita*. And it's a- a pretty word (.) but it's archaic. Old people say it. (.) And that worked because when I told them ((with enthusiasm

((avec de l'enthousiasme)) 'C'est **bien** ce mot hein? Peu de gens savent l'utiliser (.) C'est **bien**. Vous avez un vocabulaire quand même-' Et là bon.

)) 'That word's **good** you know? Few people know how to use it (.) It's **good**. You have a vocabulary that's actually-' And that was that.

(Interview, February 2018)

In an effort to avoid positioning the students as bad speakers, Mònica focused on the archaisms of their speech, characterizing their vocabulary's uniqueness as an asset through her metalinguistic comments. While she employed this tactic as a means to positively appraise one aspect of students' L1 variety, that Mònica regarded their use of archaisms favorably was questionable; using 'guaita' as an example, soon after describing it as a lovely word, she qualified this statement: "mais c'est ancien. Les gens âgés le disent" [but it's archaic. Old people say it]. Despite these efforts, as examples presented in this chapter have illustrated, the children's linguistic identity as framed by classroom discourse remained void: they were informed that the Catalan variety with which they identified and some of the words that they employed did not exist; and they were seen as having lost a language—and linguistic legitimacy—that had once belonged to their families. Consequently, students found themselves caught between standard languages in the classroom—as incipient learners of French as a second language and deficient speakers of Catalan.

Mònica and the French instructors who welcomed her into their classrooms each week frequently commented on the complexity of instruction and of Gitan learners themselves; as the Catalan instructor observed (Excerpt 11): "C'est (3.0) très compliqué les Gitans" [They (3.0) the Gitan are very complicated]. This perceived complexity was likely a consequence of differing socializing experiences between instructors and students, and consequent divergences in understandings of appropriate language use; while instructors expected adhesion to standard, monolingual norms, Gitan students demonstrated a more flexible approach to language practices. What instructors perceived as illegitimate, 'non-standard' linguistic practices caused them to characterize their multilingual students as linguistically confused. As Leeman (2012) notes, "[M]onolingualist ideologies of language—which imagine monolingualism as a universal norm and link multilingualism to cognitive confusion, intergroup conflict, and a lack of national cohesiveness—contribute to the portrayal of bilingual speakers as intellectually compromised" (p. 44).

Students were explicitly informed of their demonstrated ability to 'mix everything up' during a review of color names in Catalan. The French focal instructor took on the role of expert, aligning herself with Mònica as a linguistic authority and correcting the children's speech. In particular, the students rejected the standard Catalan term 'groc' [*yellow*] and persisted in employing the word for yellow in their L1 variety, 'jaune' (the French term also being 'jaune,' albeit with a different pronunciation).

Example 7. "Vous mélangez **tout**" [You mix **everything**]

FrInstructor:	Vous vous mélangez à la fois des mots du catalan et à la fois du français. Vous mélangez **tout**.	You guys you mix both Catalan and French. You mix **everything**.
Mònica:	Ouais.	Yeah.

FrInstructor:	Et en plus vous fabriquez des nouveaux mots. ( )	And on top of it you create new words. ( )
Student:	Ah ouais.	Ah yeah.
FrInstructor:	Vous êtes très fort là-dessus (.) Donc là ce qu'elle est en train de vous dire Mònica (.) Mònica elle vous dit le **vrai mot** en catalan (2.0) D'accord?	You're very good at it (.) So right now Mònica's telling you (.) Mònica is telling you the **real word** in Catalan (2.0) OK?

(2018.01.23.am2)

Normal processes in situations of language contact were described within the classroom as practices of defective speakers.[72] *In addition* to using their languages in combination, the Gitan students were criticized as fabricators of new words. From the instructor's assertion that Mònica was the source of *real* words in Catalan, it followed that the words employed by the Gitan students constituted *faux*—less than real—Catalan.

On one occasion outside of CE-level Catalan lessons, Gitan students demonstrated an awareness of French external linguistic influence in their speech and articulated a distinction between "real" Gitan and their L1 variety. During an English language workshop that I organized with the CM sections, a group of students spontaneously proposed to reciprocate my English instruction with lessons in their L1. When one student presented me with a greeting in Gitan, he was interrupted by a peer, who expressed apparent awe, noting that the phrase in question constituted "real" Gitan. This exchange evidenced an understanding among students that their language represented a variety of Catalan, although speakers (particularly those younger in age) did not consistently recognize it as such. Moreover, students displayed metalinguistic awareness, an ability to reflect on and discuss their linguistic practices.

Example 8. "C'est le vrai gitan" [That's real Gitan]

Ansel:	((à EL)) Regarde (.) Pour dire comment tu t'appelles ? en gitan (.) [*Com te dius ?*	((to EL)) Look (.) To say what's your name? in Gitan (.) (it's) [*Com te dius?*
Laurent:	[*Com te dius ?*	[*Com te dius?*
Noel:	*Com te dius ?*	*Com te dius?*
EL:	*Com te dius ?*	*Com te dius?*
Ansel:	Voi::là. (.) Comme ça.	Tha::t's it. (.) Just like that.
Kennan:	((en poussant un hoquet de surprise)) **Oh. C'est le vrai gitan celui-là *com te dius*** (.) **C'est le vrai gitan**.	((gasping)) **Oh. That one is in real Gitan *com te dius*** (.) **It's real Gitan**.
EL:	C'est quoi le **vrai** gitan ?	What's **real** Gitan?
Kennan:	C'est catalan.	It's Catalan.
Students:	((En me posant d'autres questions de vocabulaire, p. ex., Tu connais le mot pour X ? Y ?))	((Asking me other vocabulary questions, e.g., Do you know word X? Y?))
Ansel:	Ça c'est le gitan de d'avant. De nos ancêtres.	That's the former Gitan. Of our ancestors.
EL:	D'accord. Ça s'appelle le **vrai** gitan ?	I see. It's called **real** Gitan?

[72] Similarly, in her research on "le français des jeunes de banlieue" [French of youth at the margins], Doran (2007) observes how speakers construct "alternative identities" through "alternative French," capitalizing on linguistic features "in ways that challenge traditional republican conceptions of what it means to speak, and to be, French" (p. 498). Their speech, which incorporates borrowings from immigrant languages, indexes an identification with other marginalized groups and causes them to be framed as deviant French speakers.

Ansel:	Ouais (2.0) Nous on parle (.) le gitan français.	Yeah (2.0) We speak French Gitan.
EL:	Mais c'est une autre langue ?	But is it a different language?
Ansel:	Parce que nous pour dire la police (.) en gitan ils disent aussi police (.) et **avant** (.) les Gitans ils disaient (3.0) ils disaient (.) Attends je me rappelais (.) ***Els vigis***.[73] *Els vigis* c'était les policiers.	Because if we want to say police (.) in Gitan they also say police (.) and **before** (.) Gitans used to say (3.0) used to say (.) Wait I was remembering (.) ***Els vigis***. *Els vigis* was (the word for) police officers.
EL:	Ah oui. C'était une autre langue ? Ou ça a juste changé ?	Ah got it. Was it another language? Or it just changed?
Ansel:	Non. Ça a changé. C'est c'est pas le même gitan.	No. It changed. It's it's not the same Gitan.

(2018.01.11.pm3)

Although these students did not explicitly label their L1 variety as "fake," in contrasting it with the "real" Gitan (i.e., Catalan) of their ancestors they effectively implied such an opposition. As evidenced by Example 8, students seemed to attribute their L1's *less-real* (or less-authentic) quality to language change and sustained French influence. This is striking, as students' stance on their L1 (versus real Gitan) coincided with the same purist discourses to which CE learners were observed to be socialized during Catalan lessons, namely, that their linguistic variety had undergone "contamination" from French external linguistic influence. However, students' responses to standard Catalan were markedly different in the exchange reproduced above and weekly Catalan lessons with Mònica. These students communicated apparent awe and wonder when identifying instances of "real" Gitan, which they described as Catalan when questioned, while CE-level students resisted standard Catalan in the classroom (i.e., by rejecting presented vocabulary in their commentaries and not adopting it in practice).[74] This discrepancy likely stems from the fact that, in the latter case, Catalan was presented by a cultural outsider, in a formal instructional context, as opposed to by a member of the Gitan community.

Given learners' young age, one may assume that they obediently accepted the Catalan vocabulary and underlying language ideologies to which they were socialized in classroom interactions. While language socialization research initially centered on good (i.e., obedient) subjects and ideal outcomes, there has been a call since the early 2000s to expand the formerly narrow focus on 'normative' subjects and outcomes (Ochs, 2000; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). There remains a need to attend to the construction of marginalized subjectivities in cases of socialization 'gone wrong,' as well as how the production of marginalization can be resisted (García-Sánchez, 2016, p. 171). The data from the Catalan lessons contributes to this gap, offering illustrations of how Gitan learners challenged the vocabulary that Mònica presented and the linguistic hierarchies that were mobilized by the language lessons.

4.4 WHEN 'BAD SUBJECTS' TALK BACK

4.4.1 Gitan Students' Resistance to Catalan Vocabulary

[73] This likely represents a truncated form of *els vigilants*.

[74] It is striking that students, in a reversal of linguistic hegemony, use their identity as a point of comparison, evoking not "real" *Catalan* but "real" *Gitan*. This same perspective is evident in students' characterization of Catalan as Gitan's linguistic cousin (as opposed to Gitan as Catalan's cousin) (see Chapter 5).

When their French instructor inquired as to whether they had learned something with Mònica, students shook their heads negatively (2017.11.21). One student explained that they already spoke Gitan: "On parle déjà gitan."[75] When Mònica presented a 'new' word, students sometimes commented on the fact that the word in question also existed in Gitan: "Com en gitano" [*Like in Gitan*]. Most remarkably, when a student expressed a disinterest in learning Catalan ("On parle gitan; on veut pas parler catalan" [We speak Gitan; we don't want to speak Catalan]), Mònica reframed her purpose as teaching the students *proper* Gitan: "Us apreno a parlar gitano com cal" [*I'm teaching you to speak Gitan the right way*] (2018.03.13). This statement is particularly striking due to the Catalan instructor's appropriation of students' word—and identity—and her assertion that she represents an authority on their language. Given Mònica's stance on the illegitimacy of students' Catalan variety, her decision to adopt the term 'Gitano' was likely motivated by an effort to diminish resistance towards 'Català' and relate to students. In so doing, however, Mònica communicated that students did not speak their own language well and that *she* was qualified to teach them to speak it correctly.

The Catalan lessons were consistently characterized by Gitan students' resistance to accepted classroom vocabulary, with some learners rejecting words more frequently and vehemently than others. When one particularly vocal student, Talita, became relentless in her opposition, the French focal instructor intervened to command that she stop objecting to each word presented in class. The following exchange is illustrative of students' refusal to accept unfamiliar words and semantic distinctions. In this interaction, Mònica reviewed the semantic meaning expressed by *fulls* [*sheets* or *leaves of paper*] as opposed to *fulles* [*leaves on trees*], a difference that she had previously presented but which the children had yet to reproduce in their speech. The students persisted in employing *fulla*, whether referring to a leaf from a tree or a sheet of paper.

Example 9. "En gitano dieu una fulla >**mais non**" [In Gitan you say a *fulla* >**but no**]

Mònica:	A veure (.) Què porten els arbres? Perquè ja veieu que el tió ve de l'arbre.	*Let's see (.) What do trees have? Because you (pl.) already know that the log comes from the tree.*
Student:	Sí.	*Yes.*
Mònica:	L'arbre porta [fulles	*The tree has* [*fulles*
Maria:	[**fulles (.) amb branques**.	[***fulles* (.) *with branches***.
Mònica:	Això què és? ((indiquant une feuille de papier))	*And what's that?* ((indicating a sheet of paper))
Students:	Una fulla. Una fulla. Una fulla de l'arbre.	*A fulla. A fulla. A fulla from the tree.*
Mònica:	**No**. **No**. Això és **un. full**. (.) **un. full**.	***No***. ***No***. *That is* ***a. full***. *(.)* ***a. full***.
Talita:	Eh non. És una fulla.	*Uh no. It's a fulla.*
Mònica:	Els arbres=	*Trees=*
FrInstructor:	=No::n. **Eh**. Tu vas pas dire non à chaque fois ( )	=No::. **Hey**. You aren't going to say no each time ( )
Mònica:	Ouais. Parce que là::: euh.	((in French)) Yeah. Because at thi:::s rate uh.
Maria:	((à propos de Mònica)) Elle l'a déjà vu venir.	((about Mònica)) She already saw it coming.
Talita:	Ah ouais.	Ah yeah.

[75] On every occasion in which students voiced resistance to the Catalan lessons by signaling that they already spoke Gitan, this was accomplished in French. The linguistic form of students' resistance served to further distance them from Mònica and the 'standard' variety on which she insisted.

Mònica:	No és igual. T'aseguro que el que te dic és així- és que (.) Això és **un** full. De papel. Un full. Els abres tenen **unes**. **fulles**. ((Talita répond mais inaudiblement))	*It's not the same. I promise you I'm telling you how it is- It's that* (.) *That is **a** full. Of Paper. A full. Trees have **some**. **fulles***. ((Talita responding but inaudible))
FrInstructor:	((en poussant un soupir, visiblement exaspérée)) O::::h.	((sighing, visibly exasperated)) O::::h.
Maria:	((à Talita)) **Chut**.	((to Talita)) **Hush**.
Mònica:	En gitano dieu una fulla >**mais non**. Les fulles són als arbres.	*In Gitan you (pl.) say a fulla*>**but no**. *Fulles are on trees.*

(2017.12.05.am1)

Mònica here endeavored to make the children accept a semantic distinction that was unfamiliar to them. The French instructor intervened to *inform* Talita that the latter would cease to oppose Mònica's linguistic authority each time a word was presented. The students communicated an awareness that instructors had come to expect their resistance to vocabulary, as seen in Maria's comment to her peer, Talita, that Mònica had seen it (i.e., the challenge) coming. In an apparent effort to appease the students, the Catalan instructor conceded that the term "fulla" subsumed both referents in students' L1 variety, however she marked this usage as incorrect (>**mais non**). That this objection was voiced in French can be interpreted as a move to align with the French instructor as a fellow (linguistic) authority within the classroom, invested with power from the French state. Although Maria initially acknowledged the predictability of resistance on the part of Talita and her classmates, she was later observed attempting to silence her in an instance of peer socialization. Given her status as a 'good subject,' Maria (known within the school as Mimi) was regarded by instructors as a model for socialization within the classroom, with Mònica asking: "Només hi ha Mimi que sap tot?" [*Mimi is the only one who knows everything?*] (2017.12.05).

When, on another occasion, a student rejected the vocabulary item that Mònica presented, insisting that a tissue was a *papel*, and not a *mocador*, a word that the children seemed to be hearing for the first time judging by the amusement and confusion that the term provoked, Mònica reasserted her legitimacy as a Catalan speaker:

> Eh ben voilà. *Un moucador*. ((à l'enseignante)) C'est rigolo elle me dit non elle ((en pointant l'élève en question du doigt)) **Mais si**.
>
> [Eh there you have it. *A moucador*. ((to instructor)) It's funny she tells me no ((pointing at student in question and laughing)) **But yes** [that's what it is]]

(2017.12.05.am1)

In this instance, Mònica again aligned with the French instructor, offering a commentary on the student's resistance, which she characterized as 'funny,' and reasserting her position as the Catalan linguistic authority (i.e., **Mais si**). It is unsurprising that students' challenges to 'standard' vocabulary were met with resistance and viewed by instructors as both amusing and exasperating.

Did learners disrupt the production of their marginalization through their opposition to standard vocabulary and lexical distinctions? Although both the Catalan and focal French instructor persisted in situating students as non-normative, marginalized speakers in light of their refusal to adopt accepted vocabulary, it is noteworthy that learners did not accept this representation of themselves. As Leeman (2012) reminds us, "with their emphasis on inflexible

grammar 'rules' and 'correct' usage, schools explicitly inculcate the notion that there is a single acceptable way to speak, and they mete out punishment to those who do not conform to the idealized norm. Students are routinely taught that nonstandard language is indicative of illogical or unintelligent thinking" (p. 49). If speakers of stigmatized varieties (e.g., the Catalan variety that students refer to as Gitan) recognize the 'standard' as legitimate, they can "become complicit in its propagation against themselves, their own interests and identities" (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 68). Standard language ideologies can lead marginalized individuals to adopt feelings of inferiority not only about their language practices but also about themselves (see Schieffelin, 2000; Kroskrity, 2004). The realization of symbolic power over learners is dependent, however, upon their acceptance of the superiority of 'normative' language (Bourdieu, 1991). Since most of the Gitan students (Maria being a rare exception) persisted in challenging the acceptability of normative Catalan, they can be seen as defending their own norms and resisting their marginalization. While such opposition cannot overturn the superiority of the standard—which "rests not on its structural properties or its communicative efficiency but rather on its association with the political-economic influence of affluent social classes who benefit from a social stratification which consolidates and continues their privileged position" (Kroskrity, 2004, pp. 502-503)—it serves as an important reminder that, although they may be viewed as illegitimate within certain social contexts, other norms exist in other speech communities (see Auger, 2013 on the need to recognize plurinormalism, i.e., the existence of multiple norms, within schools in France). Just as Mònica's discourse constructed Gitan students as 'bad subjects,' these learners, using their own linguistic norm as a reference, simultaneously qualified her as a 'bad subject.' As the Gitan learners made clear, Mònica was unable to teach them to speak Gitan "com cal" [*the right way*]; they self-identified as authorities on linguistic correctness and asserted the superiority of their L1 variety over 'standard' Catalan.

4.4.2 Challenging Linguistic and Cultural Hierarchies

Gitan students' opposition to specific vocabulary words was symptomatic of a larger rejection of a language ideology that situated their speech as an inferior, illegitimate variation on standard Catalan. As illustrated by the following two exchanges, students were observed to contest their status as speakers of deficient Catalan and to reverse linguistic hierarchies, asserting the superiority of their L1 variety over institutionally sanctioned Catalan. The first illustration of this discursive move is taken from a game that centered on the acquisition of animal vocabulary. The word for monkey proposed by learners and their instructor did not coincide, prompting one student not to simply insist on the correctness of 'mona' (i.e., students' term) but to inform Mònica of the superiority of students' L1 variety.

Example 10. "C'est mieux le gitan" [Gitan is better]

Mònica:	A què correspon el mot simi?	*What does the word simi mean?*
Student1:	Nous on appelle (.) mona.	We call it (.) mona.
Student2:	Mona.	Mona.
Mònica:	Non. ((à l'enseignante)) Una mona ça serait une variété. Simi c'est le singe en général (2.0) le singe.	Non. ((to the focal instructor)) A *mona* would be a variety (of monkey). *Simi* is monkey in general (2.0) monkey.
Student3:	C'est mieux le gitan.	*Gitan is better.*
Student4:	En gitan on dit ça.	*In Gitan we say that.*

Mònica:	Comment ?	Come again?
Student?:	En gitan on dit ça (.) plus que ça.	In Gitan we say this (.) instead than that.
FrInstructor:	Pourquoi c'est mieux ?	Why is it better?
Student?:	En gitan ça s'appelle	In Gitan it's called
Student3:	Pourquoi[76] ( )	Why [Because] ( )
FrInstructor:	Parce que	Because ( )
Student3:	Parce que ( )	Because ( )
FrInstructor:	Personne ne comprend ? Ah. C'est chouette de parler une langue que personne ne comprend ?	No one understands? Ah. It's great to speak a language that nobody understands?
Student3:	Il faut apprendre hein ? Le gitan.	It has to be learned you know? Gitan.
FrInstructor:	(5.0) Mais comme toutes les langues il faut les apprendre.	(5.0) But just like all languages- They have to be learned.

(2019.03.20.am1)

Mònica's initial question called on students to provide a French equivalent to the standard Catalan word for monkey. However, instead of offering a translation, Student1 drew attention to a linguistic discrepancy between the word in students' L1 variety and that employed by their instructor. The students' response enacted distance between linguistic varieties and speakers: First, as previously observed, French could serve as a means to symbolically signal a lack of alignment with Mònica (see Example 3). Further, while Mònica habitually employed the first-person plural pronoun in an effort to fold students into a collective of Catalan speakers (see Section 4.3.1), the student here employed the same subject pronoun to exclude the instructor. Student3 then remained in French to assert the superiority of Gitan over Catalan ("C'est mieux le gitan"), and peers confirmed appropriate usage in Gitan ("En gitan on dit ça (.) plus que ça"; "En gitan ça s'appelle"). Although the student's explanation for the superiority of Gitan was inaudible from my position in the room, the focal instructor, seated next to him, revealed the content of his statement through her reply: Gitan's superiority is based on its linguistic opaqueness. Student3 subsequently adopted an authoritative stance (i.e., *Il faut*) to communicate the need to learn Gitan. This student's comment that "Il faut apprendre hein? Le gitan" seems to index the feeling of superiority of Gitan speakers who assert the symbolic power to force others to learn their language if they wish to understand them (cf. Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008: not unlike the emblematic Don Francisco in the Mission District of San Francisco, who forces the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean merchants with whom he interacts to learn his language, Maya, if they want to keep his business). While the French instructor's response, after an extended pause, positioned Gitan as no different from other languages, which must be studied, the student suggested challenges to acquisition. Given students' close association of language with identity (Chapter 3), the paramount obstacle to the study of students' L1 variety likely lies in identity (i.e., not being Gitan, as in Mònica's case).

In the second example, taken from another review session focused on animal vocabulary, it became clear that all students in the class pronounced the Catalan word *girafa* [*giraffe*] with an additional /l/: /ʒiˈʁafl**ə**/. Mònica corrected this usage ("=Mais non.") as an impossible variation, a move that reinforced learners' representation among instructors as deficient Catalan speakers. In response, Student1 defended her status as a linguistic authority by mobilizing her identity; evoking

[76] The students overwhelmingly employed *pourquoi* [*why*] both to ask and answer questions in French, although instructors repeatedly prompted them to use *parce que* [*because*] to offer an explanation. This is possibly a consequence of external influence from their L1, in which the equivalents overlap: per què [*why*] and perquè [*because*].

her mixed French-Gitan identity, she declared herself to possess greater linguistic knowledge than her Catalan instructor.

Example 11. "**Jo soc gitana i paya. Sé més que tu**" [I am Gitan and Paya. I know more than you]

Mònica:	Girafa. Molt be.=	*Girafa. Very good.=*
Student1:	=Eh és pas com ho diem. És en payo. (.) Giraffe.	*=Hey that's not how we say it. That's in Payo language*. (.) Giraffe.
Student2:	Giraffe.	Giraffe.
Mònica:	Com és en payo? I I en català com- I en en eh gitano com ho dius?	*What do you mean it's in Payo? And and in Catalan how- And in in uh Gitan how do you (s.) say it?*
Students1&2:	(2.0) Uh un girafle.	(2.0) *Uh a girafle*.
Student2:	Girafle.	*Girafle*.
Mònica:	Per què hi poseu una L?	*Why do you (pl.) put an L in there?*
Student1:	Perquè és així.=	*Because that's how it is.=*
Mònica:	=Mais non. (.) És girafa.	=No it isn't. (.) *It's girafa.*
Student1:	((visiblement indignée)) Mais là tu dis ( ) ((petits rires)) en gitano és així. Jo soc gitana i paya. Sé més que tu.	((visibly indignant)) But now you're saying ( ) ((giggling)) *in Gitan it's this way. I am Gitan and Paya. I know more than you.*
Mònica:	((visiblement surprise)) Saps més que jo?	((with apparent surprise)) *You know more than I do?*
Student1:	Sí perquè sóc gitana i paya.	*Yes because I'm Gitan and Paya.*
Mònica:	Eh beh quina sort que tens. (.) els dos.	*Well how lucky you are. (.) (with) both.*
Student1:	Perquè. La meua mare és paya. (.) El meu pare és gitano (.) Ça veut dire ça se mélange els dos. Sé més que tu. Tu saps uhm català ( ) català.	*Because. My mom is paya. (.) My dad is Gitan (.) That means that it's a mix of both. I know more than you do. You know uh catalan ( ) catalan.*

(2018.03.13.am3)

Students' adoption or rejection of unfamiliar Catalan vocabulary communicated a stance not only towards certain linguistic practices but also towards the particular identity indexed by the 'standard' language of instruction. The students distanced themselves from the word *girafa*, which they perceived as "Payo," that is, something French people would say. The standard Catalan pronunciation of *girafa* /ʒiˈɾa.fə/ coincides with students' pronunciation of the French equivalent, giraffe /ʒiˈɾa.fə/ (i.e., versus /ʒiˈɾa.f/ in standard French; students' L1 variety was characterized by the realization of word-final schwa /ə/). Therefore, it is ironic that students here rejected Mònica's term on the grounds that it was "French" and defended the existence of a different term in their L1 variety, *girafle*. When questioned about the insertion of an 'l,' Student1 responded with the resolute linguistic authority that Mònica had often displayed ("Perquè és així"). Mònica's contestation of the children's word was again rejected by another student's retort. The student in question ridiculed Mònica, responding to the instructor's defense in a mockery. She expressed her mixed identity as *Gitana* and *Paya* three times during this brief exchange, and she indirectly reinforced her mixed background through her code-switched utterance: "[French] Ça veut dire ça se mélange / [Catalan] els dos." While the instructor's attempts to position the children as fellow Catalans and Catalan speakers could be seen as a threat to students' Gitan identity, students exercised their sociolinguistic agency. When they found themselves folded into Catalanizing

discourse that positioned them as not fully assimilated (in language as in culture), they responded by claiming a unique identity with norms of its own.

4.4.3 Too Close for Comfort?

Despite students' efforts to assert a Gitan identity that defied the norms of standard Catalan, they continued to be regarded as deficient Catalan speakers, as illustrated by the following exchange:

Example 12. "Parles català però ho parles malament." [You speak Catalan but you speak it badly]

Mònica:	El pugnet? **No**. El canell en català.	*Pugnet? **No**. It's canell [wrist] in Catalan.*
Student:	**J'suis gitano**.	**I'm *Gitan***.
Mònica	Et alors? Què parles? (.) Parles català però ho parles malament. Ho cal parlar bé.	*And? What do you speak? (.) You speak Catalan but you speak it badly. It must be spoken well.*

(2018.02.06.am1)

Their claim to an identity characterized by language contact (as captured by the student's comment: [French] J'suis / [Catalan] gitano), and the slippery nomenclature used to refer to Gitan *as* (poor) Catalan or Gitan *versus* Catalan in classroom discussions caused weekly language lessons to be the source of frustration for students and instructors alike.

In reflecting on these lessons, we may wonder whether the institutionalized variety of Catalan to which the CE-level students were exposed in class and their own Gitan Catalan were too close for comfort. One would expect the students' linguistic development to be aided by the linguistic proximity between their L1 variety and the standard of instruction. Indeed, the intercomprehension paradigm is based on the premise that linguistic similarities between languages and linguistic varieties facilitate comprehension (Escudé & Janin, 2010a, p. 9). In many cases, this is indisputable: it is unsurprising, for instance, that a speaker of Spanish experiences greater ease learning another Romance language than Japanese. Without diminishing the benefits that can be afforded, in some contexts, by a pedagogic approach that builds on intercomprehension, it is important to recognize how the concept of intercomprehension, as theorized to date, reinforces the conduit metaphor (Reddy, 1993). In other words, by focusing on linguistic similarities between related varieties, language comes to be regarded as a transparent and neutral conduit for information, with content encoded and interpreted in predictable ways. However, as students receiving instruction in the standard of their L1 can attest, it is one thing to understand the general sense of discourse in a related linguistic variety, but it is quite another to grasp its linguistic, emotional, and sociocultural specificities. As evidenced in the CE Catalan lessons, tensions may arise when speakers are presumed to be speaking the same language but do not fully understand one another, or when they understand but at the same time notice differences. At the regional branch of the Department of Education, an official charged with Gitan schooling suggested that students might be more receptive to instruction in an additional language other than Catalan. In imagining students' reaction to the English language, for instance, he hypothesized, "Dans l'anglais on ne perd pas son âme" [In English you do not lose your soul] (Interview, September 2017).

Efforts to bring students' L1 into the classroom have the potential to empower them, but only to the extent that their linguistic variety finds validation in classroom instruction. This validation will depend, to a large extent, on the cultivation of reflexivity among instructors and an

awareness of "stigmatizing language ideologies that orient [their] ears [as] listening subjects" (Rosa & Flores, 2015, p. 78). An examination of the ways in which language ideologies manifest themselves in the classroom, as highlighted above, and their potentially detrimental effects for students' sense of identity can help to sensitize instructors to their unconscious, habitual modes of language instruction and evaluation. Although instructors may intend to impart institutional legitimacy through the inculcation of normative practices, their efforts may ultimately "[frame students] as incapable of producing any legitimate language" (Rosa, 2016, p. 163).

4.5 (DIS)EMPOWERMENT THROUGH SOCIALIZATION TO 'STANDARD' LANGUAGE

The analysis of classroom exchanges is not intended to serve as a criticism but to instead offer insights for the development of "a more socially responsive pedagogy" (Leeman, 2012, p. 44). The data presented in this chapter respond to the need for more ethnographic classroom-based research that informs our understanding of standard ideologies (Leeman, 2012). Specifically, it draws attention to the production of marginalized subjectivities (García-Sánchez, 2016) through socialization to a standard norm. Although the French instructors and the guest Catalan instructor intended to engage with students' L1 variety, essentially positioned as *almost* the same as standard Catalan, "another" language in quotation marks, they effectively invalidated students' linguistic identity in the process. When instructors communicated that 'Gitan' and 'Catalan' constituted interchangeable terms for the same language (as in Example 4), they seemingly aimed to appease students and decrease their resistance to the lessons. Their efforts, however, had the opposite effect, by erasing the distinctiveness of Gitan identity and confronting the students with linguistic features that were foreign to them, yet on which they were expected to be authorities. The children found themselves folded into a collective with which they did not associate (see Section 4.3.1) and called upon to act as authorities on a linguistic variety that was not their own. We are reminded of instructors' power to define students' language and identity for them (García-Sánchez, 2016). However, in this case, the symbolic power exercised by instructors during the Catalan lessons was not fully realized due to learners' refusal to recognize the superiority of the 'standard.'

Alim (2016) asks what we can learn from marginalized youth's resistance to ideologies that frame their language and identity as non-normative. As the data from this chapter have reinforced, learners are not helpless agents; they can act back on practices, subverting the dominant classroom habitus. In 'the *underlife* of the classroom' (Sterponi, 2007), Gitan students surreptitiously resisted dominant socialization (e.g., when they quietly offered one another support in their L1 to complete French assignments), and they openly opposed standard Catalan. Students' 'failure' (from an instructional perspective) to reproduce Catalan vocabulary week after week was perceived as a cognitive limitation (with Mònica concluding "Són limitats" [*They are limited*]); Gitan learners, like their language variety, were characterized as deficient when measured against instructional expectations. While an understanding informed by intercomprehension would support such a conclusion (i.e., language learners should acquire related language varieties with greater ease), the decision to practice standard Catalan or Gitan Catalan is implicated in negotiations of difference and belonging. As Podesva (2016) remarks, language is not merely transactional: "Speakers draw on a variety of linguistic resources not only to communicate a linguistic message but also to position themselves socially" (p. 203). Gitan students' persistence in adhering to the norms of their L1 variety can be understood as an assertion of their identity.

Mònica attributed the complexity of Catalan instruction to Gitan learners, situating them as a special case ("les Gitans c'est particulier"). She observed that it had proven easier to teach Catalan to students with no background in the language at other schools where she had worked.

(12)

Mònica:	Dans les autres écoles ça ça passe. Ils retiennent euh (.) et chez les Gitans c'est particulier (.) parce que ils disent 'Mais moi je sais déjà parler.' (2.0) Après quand tu leur dis 'Mais non ça (.) tu le dis pas bien'- T'as t'as remarqué qu'ils me disent des mots en français ? (2.0) dans leur	In other schools, it it works. They retain um (.) and with the Gitans it's different (.) because they say 'But I already know how to speak.' (2.0) And then when you tell them 'But actually no (.) you don't say that well'- Have you have you noticed when they tell me French words? (2.0) in their
EL:	((hôche la tête))	((nods))
Mònica:	Et oui ils sont persuadés que c'est le bon mot. Ils mettent un accent catalan. Alors la grosse difficulté c'est ça c'est que eux ils sont persuadés que:: c'est le bon mot.	And yes they are convinced that it's the right word. They put a Catalan accent on it. So that's the biggest difficulty it's that they are convinced tha::t it's the right word.
EL:	Mhm. /ʒonə/. [jaune]	Mhm. /ʒonə/. [*jaune*, yellow]
Mònica:	(2.0) Voilà. Mais de-depuis l'année dernière je leur dis ça.	(2.0) Yes. But si-since last year I've been telling them that.
EL:	Mais c'est les mêmes élèves ?	Are these the same students?
Mònica:	Beh:	Beh:
EL:	Ça a toujours été les CE ?	You've always worked with CE students?
Mònica:	Ouais ouais. C'est les mêmes élèves. Il y en a- pas tous- mais il y en a que j'avais déjà eus l'année dernière. (2.0) C'est compliqué parce que:: tu penses mais: je leur ai dit cent fois ça déjà. (.) Ça va il faut le **retenir** à un moment ((petit rire)) J'ai l'impression que- tu sais- ça (.) les choses ne font que passer ((elle fait un geste comme si quelque chose lui passait par la tête)) (3.0) Ils retiennent pas. (.) Après. Il y a des choses qui sont plus compliquées (.) comme par exemple (2.0) voilà les références que je prenais l'autre fois pour le repas (.) quand on a parlé du salé du sucré (.) Moi (.) logiquement (.) Je leur dis 'Quand on commence on commence avec du salé et puis on finit avec du sucré.' Mais eux ils mangent n'importent comment. (2.0) Alors. C'est pas logique pour eux ce que je dis. (2.0) Donc pour moi- C'est pour ça que [l'autre enseignante de CE] avait raison quand elle disait 'Oui mais on part d'une base et eux ils n'ont pas la même base.' (2.0) Alors c'est **beaucoup plus difficile** pour moi de faire la classe là (.) que dans n'importe quelle autre école (.) où pourtant ça devrait être	Yeah yeah. It's the same students. There are some- not all [of the same]- but there are some that I already had last year. (2.0) It's tricky becau::se you think bu:t I have already told them that one hundred times. (.) Come on it has to be **retained** at some point ((chuckles)) I have the feeling that- you know- it (.) things aren't going to get through ((gestures as if something passed through her head)) (3.0) They don't retain. (.) Then. There are things that are more complicated (.) like for example (.) yeah the references that I used the other day for meals (.) when we talked about salty and sweet food (.) I (.) logically (.) I say to them 'When we start we start with salty food and then we finish with some sweet.' But they eat any which way. (2.0) So. What I say is not logical for them. (2.0) So for me- That's why [the other CE instructor] was right when she said 'Yes but we are building on a foundation and they don't have the same foundation.' (2.0) So it's **much more difficult** for me to give lessons here (.) than [it would be] in any other school (.) where you'd expect it to be more difficult (.) since the kids don't know the language at all.

plus difficile (.) puisque ils connaissent pas
du tout la langue.

(Interview, February 2018)

Just as Gitan students were described as skilled at mixing up their languages, they were here characterized as mixing up flavors, eating carelessly with no observance of a distinction between sweet and savory. This example serves to reinforce the instructor's impression of Gitan learners as disregarding the logic, from her perspective, of expected norms. Mònica's observation that the children did not retain the words that she presented even after one hundred reiterations seems to stem from a view that overlooks the indexical dimension of language, "the semiotic operation of juxtaposition, whereby one entity or event points to another" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 378)—in this case, identity. Certain linguistic features come to be associated with particular identities through repeated juxtaposition. In the same way that Doran (2007) observes how *le français des jeunes de banlieue* is mobilized to index (or, indeed, construct) identities "in ways that challenge traditional republican conceptions of what it means to speak, and to be, French" (p. 498), particular ways of speaking Catalan (i.e., with French influences) index an in-group identity that is reinforced through expressions of opposition to standard Catalan. Language works to offer a 'third space' for Gitan learners, allowing them to define themselves in their own terms—quite literally.

Although the Catalan instructor did not consider the children's linguistic practices legitimate, she described her practice of occasionally adopting select words from the students' L1 variety as a means of establishing rapport and a sense of relatability. As she explains:

(13) Quelques fois pour leur faire plaisir ça m'arrive de dire euh 'Allez posem el jaq.' (3.0) Parce qu'en français c'est la jaquette (2.0) Mais eux ils disent el jaq. Alors je leur dis 'Allez posem el jaq.' Mais (.) c'est (.) une manière de dire allez je suis comme vous. On (.) on est ensemble. (.) C'est un peu comme quand je leur dis le nous (.) Ben de temps en temps utiliser des mots que eux ils utilisent c'est aussi pour dire (.) Allez. (.) On est ensemble. (.) C'est des petits clins d'œil ça. (2.0) ((petits rires)) Des petits messages.

[Sometimes to please them I'll say uh 'Come on *let's put on our jaq*.' (3.0) Because in French it's jaquette [jacket] (2.0) But they say *jaq*. So I say to them 'Come on *let's put on our jaq*.' But (.) it's (.) a way of saying come on I'm like you. We (.) we're in it together. (.) It's a little like when I use 'nous' [we] with them. Well from time to time using words that they use is a way of saying (.) Come on. (.) We're in it together. (.) These are little winks of the eye. ((chuckles)) Little messages.]

(Interview, February 2018)

Such well-intentioned gestures may only serve to build confusion in interactions that continually reinforced the fact that students and their instructor were not speakers of the same linguistic variety. Although Mònica promoted the notion of a shared linguistic and cultural identity, her incessant correction and negative evaluation of the children's speech underscored their failure to conform to the Catalan prototype that she upheld. Overall, the Catalan lessons highlighted the challenge of teaching an L1 normative standard to children who do not recognize it as their variety,

when linguistic varieties and the names used to refer to them index an *unshared* identity. If we understand identity as discursively negotiated through "the social positioning of self and other" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586), the decision among Gitan students to adopt català terminology represents far more than the adoption of a handful of unfamiliar words; it entails a process of self-translation whereby learners may become linguistically and culturally foreign to themselves.

CHAPTER 5

"C'EST LE COUSIN DU GITAN": DEVELOPING LANGUAGE AWARENESS THROUGH TRANSLATION

Some researchers have recognized that translation constitutes a valuable resource for language development that has been overlooked in some contexts and should be strategically incorporated into instruction (e.g., Cook, 2010; Kramsch & Huffmaster, 2008, 2015; Laviosa, 2014a, 2014b; Leonardi, 2010; McLaughlin, 2012; Tsagari & Floros, 2013; Witte, Harden, & Harden, 2009). These scholars are not encouraging the realization of translation's reputation as "a punitive exercise, a means to fill an hour of classroom time, a means of showing superior teacher knowledge, or a chance to reduce languages to mere equivalents of each other" (Pennycook, 2008, p. 36). Such negative associations "may be true of some teaching that uses translation," yet "it is also true of some teaching that does not, and they are certainly not inherent in the pedagogic use of translation itself (Duff, 1989)" (Cook, 2007, p. 397). We are witnessing renewed enthusiasm for translation, and the obstacle to its readoption "in second language acquisition does not seem to be a lack of research in terms of necessary theoretical back-up" (Zojer, 2009, p. 48). There remains a need for empirical data on the use of translation activities in language learning (Carreres, 2014; Källkvist, 2013). In particular, as this chapter illustrates, implementation of translation presents opportunities in language instruction for minority students who already "operate between languages" (MLA, 2007, p. 237) in their daily lives but whose multilingualism is often overlooked in the classroom. In calling on researchers and instructors alike to "[question] total immersion in total immersion" as traditionally promoted by communicative approaches, McLaughlin (2012) advances a vision of translation as a window that enables instructors to ascertain aspects of learners' linguistic and cultural experience that may otherwise be difficult to perceive. In particular, she argues, the process and product of translation can inform understandings of languages, culture, peoples, texts, as well as the ways in which people conceptualize relations to language, meaning, and authorship.

The act of translation involves more than the transformation of a text from one code into another; it requires an understanding of the linguistic and cultural specificities of the source text and the planned translation. Such an approach to translation aligns with Gitan students' perception of language as intimately connected with cultural identity (Chapter 3). As the present chapter illustrates, the proposition of translation compels Gitan learners to interpret and manipulate languages with which they may identify to varying extents, a process that promotes critical language awareness. Gnutzmann (2009) previously outlined advantages of classroom translation from a language awareness perspective in foreign language study, however the present analysis is grounded in ethnographic data and centers on a case study involving minority learners' L1. Drawing on classroom-based observations, this chapter offers a response to the third research question: How can the practice of translation in language learning support the development of language awareness and offer Gitan students an opportunity to position themselves vis-à-vis classroom norms? The analysis focuses on a translation-based activity that was implemented, beginning in February 2018, in a French language course exclusively attended by Gitan students,

specifically in the GES Class 4.[77] Two co-instructors of French who worked with Class 4 students on Monday afternoons, Coralie and Sabine, informed me that they had decided to experiment with an activity that deviated from their habitual emphasis on worksheets for grammar and vocabulary development. Students would be presented with a comic book that was based in the region of Roussillon and written in Roussillon Catalan, *El Viatge d'en Llobató* [Llobato's Trip], and they would be instructed to translate the text into French. The planned activity evoked a series of questions for me: Would students be able to read in Catalan, a language that they were not formally studying? How would they react to the presence of another language in their French language class? What reactions would students' first encounter with the text elicit? Would they recognize the language of the text as their own? Would they resist *written* Catalan as a text produced by and for non-Gitans?[78] I chose not to voice these questions so as not to influence the design and implementation of the activity. Over the coming weeks of class, the translation of the text raised these and more questions, which I explored with the instructors in an interview toward the end of my fieldwork, and which ultimately offered important insights for language instruction and, in particular, the potential of translation as a resource for more than strictly linguistic development. Although instructors emphasized their aim of improving students' writing in French, and orthography in particular, the translation activity presented unforeseen opportunities for students to reflect critically on language. As the data illustrate, translation tasks need not be solitary endeavors but instead "may have particularly good potential to foster interaction in L2 learning contexts" (Källkvist, 2013, p. 115; also see Allford, 1999; Cook, 2007, 2010; Cunico, 2004; Klapper, 2006; Witte, Harden & Harden, 2009). Källkvist (2013) posits, "If interaction is in the L2 and there are high levels of student initiative and engagement (Tudor, 2001; van Leer, 2008) during task completion, there is thus reason to believe that translation tasks can facilitate learning" (p. 115). As Cook (2007) contends, "The dismissal of translation in 20th century academic writing […] reflects […] a monolingualism which is rightly deplored in the political spheres, but somehow strangely tolerated in SLA research and language pedagogy" (pp. 399-400). This chapter contributes to a lack of empirical research on translation tasks in L2 learning (Carreres, 2014; Källkvist, 2013) and highlights the awareness-raising potential of pedagogical translation.

The chapter first documents students' reception of the source text as they defined the relationship between the Catalan variety of the comic book (Section 1). Students related the language variety of the text to their L1, experiencing familiarity with some aspects of the text and proposing an additional translation into their L1 variety in light of observed differences. The second section of the chapter turns attention to difference—between reading in French versus Catalan and between the lexicon of the text and their L1 variety—as identified by the students. The chapter culminates in a discussion of the potential of translation-based activities to support

[77] As explained in the Project Design chapter (Chapter 2), the Groupe d'enseignement spécifique (GES) program is designed for students performing below grade level. At the focal middle school, the program is exclusively attended by Gitan students, with only a handful of exceptions. The Class 4 constitutes the highest level in the GES program, which does not follow the traditional middle school grade level sequence.

[78] An anecdote of a previous such attempt suggested students' likely rejection of the comic. Baptiste et al. (2003) recount that, in 1988, a group of school instructors in Perpignan decided to write down the words of a song originating from a Gitan family from the Saint Jacques neighborhood and to distribute the text to Gitan students. The reception was not nearly as positive as the well-intentioned instructors had hoped: "Après en avoir distribué le texte aux élèves, une mère gitane déclara que la langue en question était du catalan et non du gitan. Un texte écrit par des Payos ne pouvait pas être qualifié de gitan! La division culturelle entre les deux sociétés n'autorisait pas cette ingérence linguistique" (p. 54). [After having distributed the text to the students, a Gitan mother declared that the language in question was Catalan and not Gitan. A text written by Payos could not be labeled as Gitan! The cultural division between the two societies did not authorize this linguistic intervention.]

learners' development of language awareness (Section 3). In particular, the analysis illustrates how the translation of the text, though not expressly intended to realize this pedagogical objective, could facilitate an attitudinal shift among learners, promoting reflections on language, culture, and identity. That this activity unfolded in a French language course is significant and highlights the potential to increase students' critical reflection not only on French, but on language as broadly conceived, by drawing on their linguistic resources as multilinguals.

5.1 ENCOUNTERING A RELATED LANGUAGE VARIETY

The implementation of this activity first raised the question of whether the comic was written in students' L1. From a linguistic perspective, students' L1, which they habitually refer to as Gitan, is a dialect of Catalan. From a sociopolitical perspective, however, "Gitan" and "Catalan" are not the same due to strong associations between "Gitan" language as a form of Gitan identity (see Chapter 3). Additionally, it is important to recognize that students' L1 variety is almost exclusively oral, with text messaging representing one emerging exception. The introduction of Catalan, in the form of the *Llobató* comic book, into the French language classroom therefore confronted students at once with familiarity and alterity: the Roussillon Catalan variety of the text approximated students' L1 albeit with differences, particularly with regard to the lexicon and the written medium. Considering Gitan learners' frequent conflation of language with identity (Chapter 3), their first contact with the Catalan text unsurprisingly elicited claims to identity. For instance, in examining the language of the comic, one student reacted against the text by foregrounding her identity: "**ça c'est catalan, c'est pas moi**" [that there is Catalan, it's not me]. Yet the language was also startlingly familiar, prompting the very same student at another moment to insist that the comic was written in Gitan, not Catalan. Moreover, her comprehension was visible during the first session dedicated to the activity when she was observed flipping through subsequent pages and laughing at subtle humor in one of the comic frames. Students' discussion of the source language's relatability in their first encounter with the text is the topic of Section 5.1.1. Section 5.1.2 centers on students' ability to identify culturally and linguistically familiar aspects of the comic. Having encountered some unfamiliar vocabulary in the text, they proposed producing an additional translation in Gitan. This venture, presented in Section 5.1.3, raised questions about authorship and written expression in their L1 variety.

5.1.1 Gitan's Linguistic Cousin in the French Classroom

Low attendance among Gitan students was not unusual, particularly during the second semester of instruction and, with only three students in attendance during the first class session dedicated to the translation activity, my anticipation quickly turned to disappointment. The instructors consulted with one another and, since it was the final week before a two-week school recess, they deemed it appropriate to postpone the planned activity. They preferred to initiate the translation with a larger group present and felt it more sensible to begin a multi-session lesson sequence following the school recess to avoid a two-week interruption. As they began to instead distribute French language worksheets (i.e., a word search and another language-related worksheet), I prepared to observe elsewhere in the school. As I reached the door, however, it suddenly swung

open and four students burst into the classroom. Their arrival prompted the resumption of the translation activity.[79]

This particular activity was designed as part of a cultural unit on Roussillon, the region in which Perpignan is located. In organizing the thematic cultural unit, the instructors had asked one of the Catalan instructors if he knew of simple texts set in this context, and he had proposed the *Llobató* comic book. The co-instructors' decision to contact a Catalan instructor was predicated on an unspoken assumption that the students would be able to read a text in Catalan. As they explained during a semi-structured interview in April 2018, however, their focus on the cultural content of the comic, not language, had been their primary concern in selecting the text:

(1) En fait on pensait que cette BD elle était faite sur la culture voilà de la Catalogne française et un petit bout de la Catalogne espagnole voilà. Et en fait elle est écrite en catalan tout simplement. Voilà. Il y avait pas de BD en français où on avait trouvé la même chose. Donc en fait on est parties **du côté culturel sans trop penser à la langue.**

[Well we thought that this comic was on the culture you know of French Catalonia and a little bit of Spanish Catalonia yeah. And it just so happens that it's written in Catalan. That's it. We hadn't found the same content in any French comics. So we really set out focusing on **the cultural aspect without thinking about language so much.**]

(Interview, April 2018)

Although the instructors, Coralie and Sabine,[80] had not considered language in the activity design, language was a primary preoccupation for the students in the class. In their first encounter with the text, students attempted to identify the linguistic form of the comic. As evidenced by Excerpt 1, taken from the first few minutes following the distribution of the text, their linguistic hypotheses were varied. Catalan was mentioned early on as a possibility (l. 3) and Gitan was later suggested. Two female students in the class became adamant that the comic was written in Gitan, not Catalan, basing this assertion on their insistence that they did not speak Catalan.

Excerpt 1. "**Ça parle pas catalan ça**" [This thing doesn't speak Catalan]

*Sabine:	1	Et là la bande dessinée (2.0)	And the comic strip there (2.0)
Éva:		Ça parle espagnol non ?	It speaks Spanish right?
Student:		Catalan.	Catalan.
*Sabine:		Alors. Justement.	Yes. Exactly.
		((une discussion sans rapport s'ensuit: les étudiants sont priés d'enlever leur manteau et de préparer leur matériel))	((unrelated discussion ensues: the students are asked to take off their coats and prepare their supplies for class))
*Sabine:	5	Alors tu disais Dorothy: Qu'est-ce que c'est ce document ? Je disais c'est une ?	So Dorothy you were saying: What is this document? I was saying it's a ?
Samantha:		Nous on est gitanes.	We are Gitans (f.).

[79] The implementation of activities was not infrequently modified, postponed, or abandoned due to low and unpredictable attendance.

[80] Since there are two co-instructors in this classroom, an asterisk is used in all data excerpts in this chapter to more clearly differentiate the focal instructors (i.e., Coralie and Sabine) from the students.

*Sabine:		BD (.) **Bande dessinée.** D'accord. Et qui est-ce qui a dit ? C'est écrit (.) en espagnol.	Comic (.) **Comic strip.** OK. And who was it that said? It's written (.) in Spanish.
Éva:	10	Moi j'ai dit.	Me I said that.
*Sabine:		C'est toi Éva eh? (2.0) C'est pas tout à fait de l'espagnol (2.0) Qu'est-ce que c'est cette langue ?	It's you Éva yeah? (2.0) It's not exactly Spanish (2.0) What is this language here?
Tony:		[Du mexicain.	[Mexican.
Student:	15	[De l'Italie.	[From Italy.
*Sabine:		Du mexicain. Non.	No. Not Mexican.
*Coralie:		((en riant)) De l'Italie.	((laughing)) From Italy.
*Sabine:		De l'italien. Non. (2.0) Une langue [qu'on parle ici	Italian. No. (2.0) It's a language [that's spoken here
Dorothy:	20	[gitan	[Gitan
*Coralie:		[Ah:::::	[Ah:::::
Amatsia:		catalan	Catalan
*Sabine:		Le catalan. Très bien Amatsia.	Catalan. Very good Amatsia.
Dorothy:		Mais on ne parle pas catalan.	But we don't speak Catalan.
		((de la conversation indistincte parmi les élèves))	((indistinct conversation among students))
*Sabine:	25	Est-ce qu'il y en a dans la classe qui parle catalan ?	Are there students in the class who speak Catalan?
Student:		[Eh non.	[Uh no.
Student:		[Moi non.	[Not me.
Student:		[Beh non.	[Uhm no.
		(2.0)	(2.0)
Éva:	30	((très doucement, à mi-voix)) Eh tous.	((very quietly, under breath)) Well everyone.
*Sabine:		**Tous** ?	**Everyone**?
Samantha:		((en pointant le doigt sur la BD)) **Ça parle pas catalan ça.** (2.0) C'est pas catalan ça.=	((pointing to the comic)) **This thing doesn't speak Catalan.** (2.0) This thing isn't Catalan.=
*Sabine:		=Si=	=Yes it is=
Samantha:	35	=Non	=No
Dorothy:		C'est **gitan.**	It's **Gitan.**
Samantha:		Nous on parle gitan. Mais ça c'est pas catalan.	We speak Gitan. But that's not Catalan.
*Sabine:		Ça ?	That?
Samantha:		((apparemment indignée)) Oui.	((seemingly indignant)) Oui.

The first indication of opposition between Catalan and Gitan can be seen in Samantha's response (l. 7) to a classmate's assertion and instructor's affirmation that the text in question is written in Catalan. Rather than explicitly dispute the language of the comic, Samantha foregrounded the students' collective identity: "Nous on est gitanes" [We are Gitans (f.)]. The discussion concerning the linguistic form of the text ensued, with students proposing a range of possibilities in Romance. Their propositions indexed *identities* and *origins*, this time on a national scale (e.g., du mexicain, de l'Italie). The localization suggested by one instructor in her comment that the language in question was spoken "here" prompted Dorothy to propose Gitan. As the instructor hesitated, signaling that Dorothy was almost correct, the student's classmate again suggested Catalan. Following the instructor's validation, Dorothy objected that the students did not speak Catalan. Éva's assertion that all students spoke Catalan was voiced under her breath, possibly in an effort to minimize her challenge to her peers' claim. Whereas Dorothy had previously asserted that *the students* did not speak Catalan, Samantha shifted the perspective to comment on *the comic*, which,

she argued, does not *speak* and *is not* Catalan (ll. 32, 37). The latter mobilized the students' collective linguistic and cultural identity as Gitan (l. 7) and her identification as a speaker of Gitan (l. 37) as evidence that the text could not be Catalan. This alignment suggests that, while she positioned the signifier 'Catalan' as unfamiliar, the student was able to understand and identify with the language of the comic, which was not entirely foreign, to some extent.

The instructors prompted the students to more closely examine the text and determine the relationship between its linguistic form and their L1. To this end, Coralie strategically called attention to a feature of the students' speech that she had just heard (i.e., a past tense verb form with imperfect aspect, *haviem*). In this way, she mobilized students' own production and aligned it with the language of the comic in order to substantiate their identity as Catalan speakers capable of understanding the text.

Excerpt 2. "C'est le cousin du gitan" [It's Gitan's cousin]

*Sabine:	40	Si on le lit si on-	What if we read if we-
*Coralie:		Eh regarde. Eh. ((en haussant la voix pour se faire entendre)) Tu viens de dire 'haviem.' Déjà '*haviem*' c'est du catalan.	Hey look. Hey. ((raising her voice to be heard over students)) You just said '*haviem*.' '*Haviem*' that's already Catalan.
Samantha:		C'est pas catalan. C'est gitan.	It's not Catalan. It's Gitan.
*Coralie:	45	Mais si. Bien sûr que si. *Haviem* c'est du catalan.	Oh yes it is. Of course it is. *Haviem* is Catalan.
Student:		Et qu'est-ce que ça veut dire ?	And what does it mean then?
*Sabine:		Elle vient de dire en catalan.	She just said it in Catalan.
*Coralie:		Regarde. Moi je parle catalan.	Look. I speak Catalan.
Students:		((de la conversation vague))	((indistinct conversation))
*Coralie:	50	Quand vous parlez je vous comprends. Je vous comprends parce que je comprends le catalan.	When you (pl.) speak I understand you. I understand you because I understand Catalan.
Dorothy:		Ah non.	Uh no.
Samantha:		C'est pas catalan.	It's not Catalan.
*Coralie:	55	Oui:: Quand tu- Bon parfois vous dites des mots que je comprends pas parce que vous allez trop vite (.) ou que je comprends pas parce que je les connais pas (.) Mais. Le gros de ce que vous dites (.) je le comprends.	Yes:: When you (s.)- OK look sometimes you (pl.) say words that I don't understand because you go too fast (.) or I don't understand them because I don't know them (.) But. The bulk of what you say (.) I can understand it.
Dorothy:	60	((se montrant de plus en plus vexée et indignée)) Mais c'est pas catalan. Catalan et gitan c'est différent.	((appearing increasingly vexed and indignant)) But it's not Catalan. Catalan and Gitan are different.
Samantha:		Ouais.	Yeah.
*Coralie:		C'est quand même très proche [parce que moi	It's still very close [because I understand Gitan
	65	je comprends le gitan alors que je	even though I
Dorothy:		[C'est proche mais c'est pas le même	[It's close but it's not the same thing
*Coralie:		Ah c'est pas pareil. On est d'accord. Mais [c'est très proche.	Oh it's not the same. We agree on that. But [it's very close.
*Sabine:		[C'est pas la même langue. Mais par contre ça	[It's not the same language. But on the other
	70	veut dire que si ((en se dirigeant à Dorothy)) toi (.) toi tu parles le gitan (.) d'ici (.) D'accord ? Le gitan à Saint Jacques (.) le gitan de Perpignan (.) eh ben ça veut dire que (.) tu	hand that doesn't mean that if ((speaking directly to Dorothy)) you (.) you speak Gitan (.) here (.) OK? The Gitan of Saint Jacques (.) the Gitan of Perpignan (.) Well that means that (.)

		peux comprendre le catalan (.) Tu peux peut-	you can understand Catalan (.) Maybe you can't
	75	être pas le comprendre **écrit** (.) encore que	understand it **written** (.) though
*Coralie:		Quand tu vas- si tu vas à Figueres (.) ou si tu vas de l'autre côté de la frontière=	When you (s.) go- if you go to Figueres[81] (.) or if you go to the other side of the border=
Samantha:		=Mais je comprends pas ce qu'ils disent.	=But I don't understand what they say.
Dorothy:		Non. À Figueres ils parlent espagnol.	No. In Figueres they speak Spanish.
*Coralie:	80	Y en a qui parlent espagnol. Mais si on te parle en catalan **tu comprends pas ?!**	There are people who speak Spanish. But if someone speaks to you in Catalan **you don't understand?!**
Samantha:		Non.	No.
Dorothy:		Ils parlent pas (.) **Je sais pas comment dire.**	They don't speak (.) **I don't know how to explain.**
Samantha:		**OUI. C'est vrai on comprend**	**YES. It's true we understand**
*Coralie:	85	**Ah.**	**Ah.**
Samantha:		**Mais c'est pas la même langue.**	**But it's not the same language.**
*Coralie:		On est [d'accord	We [agree on that
*Sabine:		[**Oh mais on n'a pas dit que c'était la même langue. C'est une langue différente.**	[**Oh but we didn't say that it was the same language. It's a different language.**
*Coralie:	90	Ouais. Ouais. (.) Ouais.	Yeah. Yeah. (.) Yeah.
*Sabine:		Mais **par contre vous pouvez comprendre.**	But **on the other hand you can understand.**
Samantha:		C'est le cousin du gitan=	It's Gitan's cousin=
*Coralie:		=**Voilà.**	=**That's it.**
Students:		((riant))	((laughing))
*Sabine:		C'est le cousin germain (.) Cousin germain	It's the first cousin (.) First cousin yeah that's it.
	95	ouais voilà. Cousin germain.	First cousin.
*Coralie:		((à Samantha)) Mais l'autre va te comprendre.	((to Samantha)) But the other person will understand you.

Students and their instructors negotiated the formers' linguistic identity in a discussion provoked by the introduction of the Catalan-language comic. Continued resistance was evident, as signaled when Samantha reiterated her assertion that the language in question was Gitan, not Catalan (l. 44), a conviction that she later reaffirmed (l. 54) with support from a classmate (l. 60). The students insisted that Gitan and Catalan were not the same (ll. 66, 86) but different (l. 63). The instructors accepted this contention, conceding that the students spoke Gitan while underscoring linguistic proximity (ll. 91, 96) and comprehension, at least in oral modes of communication, between Gitan speakers of Saint Jacques and other Catalan speakers (including one of the instructors herself, ll. 64-65) within and outside of France. Although Samantha at first declared that she would not understand a Catalan speaker from the other side of the border (l. 82), she eventually acknowledged that she and her peers would in fact understand (l. 84), while maintaining the existence of, from an identitary perspective, two distinct languages—linguistic 'cousins.' This comment provoked laughter from the other students in the class, and one instructor voiced a common expression of kinship among students ("C'est mon cousin germain" [He's my first cousin]), this time applying their comment to language. Students were apprehending Gitan's cousin, a linguistically related and relatable variety.

[81] Figueres is a town in Spanish Catalonia, located roughly 30 miles south of Perpignan.

5.1.2 Cultural and Linguistic Familiarity

There were early indications that the students in the class found some of the form and content of the text recognizable. When one of the instructors played a YouTube video of a song included in the opening of the comic, "Jean Petit" [Little John], female students spontaneously began to clap and sing along. In this instance, Coralie labelled them "de petites Catalanes" [little Catalans] and concluded that they knew the language in question, commenting, "C'est pareil alors" [So it's the same]. Although one student objected, "Mais madame tu ne parles pas" [But ma'am you don't speak it], Coralie reduced linguistic difference to accent: "**J'ai pas** le même accent que **vous**" [**I don't have** the same accent as **you**].

Despite outward displays of comprehension (e.g., students' reaction to the song, the laughter provoked by a comic frame, etc.), students did not always voice their understanding. The instructors endeavored to reassure the students of their understanding of the original and capability of producing a French translation through an insistence on comprehension. Due to the way in which the first session dedicated to the activity unfolded, instructors proceeded to only implement the translation exercise in a piecemeal way; it was employed thereafter as a warm-up activity (e.g., the translation of a single frame of the comic) or a time filler (e.g., something for a student to work on upon completion of daily assignments). During our interview, Coralie and Sabine reflected on students' initial reaction to the text and their pedagogical response:

(2)

Sabine:	Je crois qu'il y a quelque chose qui les dérangeait. En tout cas, au début. Et de fait aussi la première- le premier cours a tellement été ((rires)) enfin ils étaient tellement butés en groupe que après moi j'ai vraiment insisté sur le fait qu'ils comprenaient, que ils y arrivaient, que 'ben ah vous savez !' Je pense que j'ai beaucoup plus insisté là-dessus pour les rassurer. Parce que je me suis dit : comme ça ils vont davantage se mettre dans l'activité. Voilà. Il n'y a plus de problème ; on est sûres que vous comprenez. Parce qu'au début je les ai sentis très hostiles et là j'avais même un peu peur pendant la première heure.	I think that there was something that bothered them. At least, in the beginning. And also the first- the first class was so ((laughter)) well they were so stubborn as a group that after that I really insisted on the fact that they understood, that they could manage, that 'oh yeah you know how!' I think that I really drove that home in order to reassure them. Because I said to myself: that way they will immerse themselves in the activity more. That's it. It's no problem; we are positive that you understand. Because in the beginning I found them to be very hostile and I was even a little scared during the first hour.
Coralie:	Moi aussi je ne pensais pas qu'on arriverait. Je me suis dit : Ça y est. Je ne sais pas si on relance. ((rires)) C'est pas grave on va faire autre chose. ((rire)) Mais ça rejoint aussi ce qu'on disait au départ que toute expérience de pédagogie un peu un tout petit peu différente à quoi ils sont habitués, ça peut être un problème. Après comme je disais tout à l'heure, je pense que ça marchait aussi parce qu'on est revenues sur du scolaire, français, écrire au tableau. Alors là alors ils se sont dit : Bon. Ils ont envie de nous	I also had my doubts that we would succeed. I said to myself: This is it. I'm not sure we will pick this up again. ((laughter)) It's no big deal if we do something else instead. ((laughter)) But that also goes back to what we were saying in the beginning about how any teaching experience that is a little just a tiny bit different from what they're used to, it can be problematic. Later on as I was saying just now, I think that it also worked out because we returned to school stuff, French, writing on the board. So then so they said to themselves: OK.

	apprendre le français. Ils sont pas en train de nous- je sais pas, de nous attraper avec le catalan, je sais pas.	They want to teach us French. They aren't trying to- I don't know, to pull a fast one on us with Catalan, I don't know.
Sabine:	C'était vraiment pour du travail d'orthographe tel que- pour le coup- tu pourrais faire avec des classes[82] [enfin de sixième. Du collège en gros.]	It was really for some work on spelling which- it so happens- you would be able to do with [eighth grade classes. Middle school classes in general.]
Coralie:	C'était beaucoup plus difficile de ce qu'on aurait pu leur donner si on n'était pas commencé par là.	It was much more difficult than what we could have given them if we hadn't used the comic as a starting point.
Sabine:	Ah oui.	Oh yes.
Coralie:	Hein ? Jamais on ne se serait amusés ( )	You know? We would have never had fun ( )
Sabine:	((en imaginant une question qui aurait été posée lors d'une activité plus traditionnelle)) Accent, pas d'accent ?	((in imagining a question that would have been asked during a more traditional activity)) Is there an accent, no accent?

(Interview excerpt, April 2018)

As the instructors communicated and as I observed first-hand, they were visibly disconcerted by the students' initial reaction to the activity. Sabine further expressed a sense of fear when faced with what she interpreted as possible hostility on the part of the students. The instructors seemed unsure how to respond to questions of language and identity, previously unexpressed, that were voiced during the first encounter with written Catalan in the context of a French class. They attributed the continued viability of the activity to the fact that they had framed it as a structured academic exercise, with emphasis on the importance of attention to orthography in the French translation. Additionally, the instructors' strategy was to reassure the students of their competence, even if they were not equipped to evaluate students' understanding, as was the case for Sabine, who did not possess any prior background in Catalan.

Coralie's knowledge of Catalan and certainty that the students could comprehend the text served as a source of support for Sabine. Coralie had no doubt that the students understood the comic, as she explained:

(3) Je pense qu'il y avait cette position [de la part des étudiants] un peu- de principe on va dire qu'ils comprenaient pas. Mais moi j'étais **sûre** qu'ils comprenaient- Moi le catalan que je parle il est beaucoup plus proche **d'eux** que du catalan normé de Barcelone. Le catalan de Perpignan il est beaucoup plus proche du gitan. Le roussillonnais voilà le catalan français francisé est **beaucoup plus proche de ce qu'ils parlent eux** que finalement le catalan de Barcelone. Et moi je comprenais le soi-disant le catalan normé donc c'était **obligé** qu'ils- que le sens général ils le comprennent.

[I think that there was this- a little bit of an automatic reaction [among the students] let's say that they didn't understand. But I was **sure** that they understood. In my case the Catalan that I speak is much closer **to them** than the standard Catalan from Barcelona. The Catalan from Perpignan is much closer to Gitan. The Roussillon you know the French Catalan, the Frenchified one is **much closer to what they speak** than

[82] Sabine's thought was interrupted here, but she later supplied the missing semantic information, indicated in brackets.

the Catalan from Barcelona after all. And since I understood so-called standard Catalan it was a **given** that they- that they understood the overall meaning.]

(Interview, April 2018)

As a Catalan speaker, Coralie's linguistic background and consequent understanding of students' speech, convinced her of their comprehension of the language variety of the text. Her own assurance in turn supported Sabine's confidence to pursue a translation activity involving a source language that she herself had never learned. Sabine explained that she would not have considered such an activity a possibility without a Catalan-speaking co-instructor:

(4) Mais je me serais jamais lancée dans l'activité sans quelqu'un qui comprend ce qui se passe. Et la réaction aussi. Parce que là t'es rassurée aussi quand tu les entends parler. Alors parfois je comprends, je commence à comprendre des choses. Mais ça rassure aussi, tu vois ? D'être sûr que quelqu'un va comprendre. Ça aide, vraiment ça libère beaucoup […] Et du coup quand Coralie me disait : 'Ils **comprennent**' je me suis dit ben c'est évident, ils **comprennent.** Donc on va leur dire : '**Non.**' Quand on les entendait à l'oral, on voyait bien qu'ils comprenaient. Ou quand on a vu Samantha lire, elle tournait la page **lire** les vignettes d'après, se mettre à rigoler parce qu'il y avait une blague. On s'est dit : 'Bon. Elle **comprend.**' **Mais** ils faisaient comme si ils comprenaient pas. Comme l'enfant qui va te dire qu'il sait pas **écrire** ou qu'il sait pas faire alors qu'il sait faire.

[But I would have never thrown myself into the activity without someone who understands what's going on. And the reaction also [helps]. Because then it's also reassuring for you when you hear them speak. And sometimes I understand, I started to understand things. But that's reassuring, you know? Being sure that someone [i.e., Coralie] is going to understand. It helps, it's really very liberating […] And so when Coralie would say: 'They **understand**' I said to myself well it's obvious, they **understand.** So we will tell them: '**No.**' When we heard them read aloud, we could easily see that they understood. Or when we saw Samantha read, she was turning the page **to read** the upcoming vignettes, and started to laugh because there was a joke. We said to each other: 'OK. She **understands.**' **But** they were acting as if they didn't understand. Like the kid who will tell you that he doesn't know how **to write** or that he doesn't know how to do things when he does.]

(Interview, April 2018)

Sabine's comments underscore the reassurance inspired by a co-instructor possessing knowledge of the additional language, her own increasing understanding of Catalan as a Romance speaker in contact with Gitan students, and her observation of students' visible manifestations of comprehension. In this case, the instructors' collective knowledge of Catalan provided them with the confidence necessary to incorporate a language other than French in the classroom as a resource for *French* instruction. In other cases, however, as when instructors lack background in students' home language or a related variety, the presence of an unfamiliar language can become a source of tension and anxiety. Even when instructors do not design formal activities involving languages

other than French, the presence of other languages in the classroom (e.g., in students' side conversations) may be perceived as a threat, as Coralie mentioned during the interview:

(5) C'est exceptionnel quand [un commentaire en Gitan] c'est dirigé contre l'enseignant. [Les élèves] discutent de leur centre d'intérêt à eux. Mais c'est vrai que quand on comprend pas la langue, on prendra ça pour- ((rires))

[It's highly unusual when [a comment in Gitan] is directed toward the instructor. [Students] talk about their own concerns. But it's true that when you don't understand the language, you can take it as- ((laughter))]

(Interview, April 2018)

Indeed, students' use of Gitan causes some instructors to experience feelings of exclusion and a loss of authority, as highlighted by some of the middle school instructors' responses to the survey question "Est-ce que vos élèves utilisent des langues autres que le français dans la salle de classe? Si vous avez répondu 'oui,' comment réagissez-vous quand ils le font et qu'en pensez-vous?" [Do your students use languages other than French in the classroom? If you answered 'yes,' how do you react when they do so and what are your thoughts?]:

- Pour les Gitans, j'insiste souvent pour qu'ils parlent français car je ne comprends pas ce qu'ils disent et ce n'est souvent pas lié au travail que l'on est en train de faire.
  [For the Gitans, I often insist that they speak French because I do not understand what they say and it is often unrelated to the work at hand.]

- Je leur demande de parler exclusivement français en classe afin que je puisse aussi comprendre la teneur de leurs conversations (même si en vérité, je comprends presque toutes leurs conversations). Cependant, lorsqu'ils parlent entre eux en gitan, les autres personnes semblent devenir complètement « transparentes » ...
  [I ask them to speak exclusively in French in class so that I am able to understand the content of their conversations (even if I can in fact understand almost all of their conversations). However, when they speak among themselves in Gitan, other people seem to become completely 'invisible'…]

- Je leur demande de s'exprimer en français car les entendre parler dans une langue que je ne connais pas engendre un sentiment d'exclusion et une perte de l'autorité du professeur.
  [I ask them to express themselves in French because hearing them speak a language that I do not know engenders a feeling of exclusion and a loss of authority as the instructor.]

- Je ne comprends pas tout en catalan. Je me sens donc exclue de la communication quand ils le font.
  [I don't understand anything in Catalan. I therefore feel excluded from the communication when they speak it.]

- Je leur demande de parler français et n'apprévie [sic: apprécie] pas de ne pas comprendre ce qui est dit.

[I ask them to speak French and don't appreciate not understanding what is said.]

Other instructors work to make students aware that their language practices can compromise a sense of community in the classroom, as illustrated by the following survey responses:

- Je leur rappelle que si je leur parlais en anglais ce serait alors difficile pour eux de me comprendre et qu'il y aurait alors aucun intérêt commun à le faire puisque nous sommes alors ensemble pour partager.
  [I remind them that if I spoke English it would be difficult for them to understand and there would be no common interest in doing so since we are together to exchange after all.]

- Je leur demande ce qu'ils penseraient si nous parlions entre nous dans une langue qu'ils ne pratiquent pas. Je pense que c'est le naturel qui revient ils ne font pas cela pour que nous ne comprenions pas.
  [I ask them what they would think if we spoke a language amongst ourselves that they did not practice. I think that it's a natural instinct [to speak in their L1] and they do not do it so that we do not understand.]

- Je les reprends en leur disant qu'au collège et en salle de classe nous devons tous nous comprendre.
  [I correct them in telling them that at middle school and in class we all need to be able to understand each other.]

In light of these comments and the frequently expressed sentiment among instructors and administrators that Gitan students were in need of extensive (and exclusive) language instruction in French, the focal instructors' pedagogical decision to introduce a Catalan-language text into the French classroom was unconventional. Their efforts were supported by collective familiarity with Catalan and a courageous willingness to experiment with new pedagogical materials and approaches that capitalized on the proximity between students' L1 variety and the Catalan of the selected text. Aside from a focus on orthographic development, the instructors' decision to implement this activity seemed to stem from a desire to familiarize Gitan students with the cultural history of Saint Jacques and the larger context of Catalonia. The comic book, which takes readers through Catalonia, offered a starting point for this initiative.

5.1.3 Towards a Gitan Translation

Sabine asked her co-instructor, Coralie, to read the beginning of the text aloud in order to initiate engagement with the comic and assess students' comprehension. Before beginning, Coralie informed the students that she was more experienced with Catalan reception than production. After reading the first lines aloud, she paused to confirm students' comprehension: "**Vous comprenez quand même**" [You must understand]. When Kaïna responded negatively, Coralie replied that incomprehension was impossible: "**Ah oui.** C'est pas possible" [**But you must.** It's not possible]. Samantha remarked on the difficulty of the task: "C'est dur madame" [It's hard ma'am]. This comment did not hinder the implementation of the translation assignment, however; instructors restated the instructions (i.e., the students were to produce a French translation) and students began work on the translation. Soon thereafter, Coralie approached my seat at the back of the room to

inform me of one student's comment to her, which had highlighted associations between language and identity: "Ah il faut traduire en payo" [Ah we need to translate into Payo (i.e., French people's language)].

This student's statement reinforced the centrality of language and identity to the process of translation. In light of Gitan students' understanding of language as intimately tied to identity (Chapter 3), translation involved more than the reformulation of a text in another language; rather, it stimulated a heightened awareness of and engagement with linguistic and cultural difference. The Catalan source text contained recognizable aspects but also confronted learners with some unfamiliar cultural references and linguistic forms (i.e., vocabulary and syntactic constructions). In turn, the production of a text in "Payo" represented a process of rewriting the source text in a language other than students' L1 variety, negotiating with their L1-French instructors to develop a version of the narrative that would be linguistically and culturally understandable for Payos. Some students displayed resistance to engage with a text that contained foreign aspects, maintaining that the original text was written in a language that was "not them," and further argued that they did not speak "Payo" [French]. Gitan students' incomplete identification with Catalan and Payo language and culture led them to voice their desire for a second variation—in Gitan—on the original narrative, a version of the comic with which they could more fully identify. Instructors accepted students' proposal to compose a Gitan translation, working to reassure them of their competence to work in Catalan, French, and Gitan. They clarified, however, that the Gitan translation would complement, not replace, the French version. In this way, the modification of the planned activity encouraged learners to draw on their full linguistic repertoire, compelling them to read and write in languages with which they identified to varying extents.

Excerpt 3. "**ça c'est catalan c'est pas moi**" [That there's Catalan it's not me]

Samantha:	Mais moi je parle pas payo. C'est pour ça il faut me donner une liste **gitane. Madame XX ça c'est catalan c'est pas moi.** (.) Et si c'est gitan euh on on trouve de suite. Mais là on comprend pas tout.	But I don't speak Payo. That's why I need a **Gitan** list. **Madame XX that there's Catalan it's not me.** (.) And if it's [in] Gitan uh we we can figure it out right away. But we don't understand anything in this text.
*Sabine:	Et c'est bien. On cherche.	OK well. Let's look.
Samantha:	((en gémissant)) Ah ben non. C'est bien une autre langue ( )=	((whining)) Uh no way. It's really a different language ( )=
*Coralie:	=**Eh oui ben regarde. On n'a pas trouvé.**	=**Uh yes well look. We didn't find [one].**
*Sabine:	Tu sais que ça- on n'a pas trouvé **écrit** ?	Well you see- we didn't find a **written** one?
*Coralie:	Ça n'ex- on n'a pas trouvé-	It doesn't ex- we didn't find-
*Sabine:	Tu connais toi un livre écrit ? Tu connais un livre écrit en gitan ? (.) qui pourrait être traduit en **français** ? (.) Tu en connais toi ?	Do you know of a written book? Do you know of a book written in Gitan? (.) that could be translated into **French**? (.) Do you know of one?
Dorothy:	((sur un ton vexé)) Tu peux l'écrire toi.	((in a huffy tone)) You can write it.
*Coralie:	Mais on parle pas [gitan	But we don't speak [Gitan
*Sabine:	[Et moi je ne parle pas moi	[And I don't speak it
Samantha:	**Ben on écrit.** Tu- on peut imprimer après.	**Well we will write [one].** You- we can print [it] afterwards.
Dorothy:	**C'est ça.** Nous on écrit une histoire en gitan.	**Exactly.** We will write a story in Gitan.
*Sabine:	Et mais. Ça là. Ce même texte. L'histoire. Tu la mets en français là.	OK but. What's written. This same text. The story. You'll turn it into French.
Dorothy:	Oui.	Yes.

*Sabine:	Tu peux très bien. **Toi.** le faire- on peut le copier (.) en gitan (.) On peut faire. On a la version gitane. La version française. Et catalane.	You're very capable. **You.** (s.) of doing it- we can copy it (.) in Gitan (.) We can make. We'll have the Gitan version. The French version. And the Catalan one.
Samantha:	Ah mais je peux pas faire la version en gitane.	Oh but I can't do the Gitan version.
*Sabine:	Mais si. Parce que tu comprends le français. Tu sais très bien le dire en gitan.	Sure you can. Since you understand French. You know perfectly well how to say it in Gitan.

The strong association between language as identity was apparent in Samantha's comment that the Catalan text *was not her* and her reiteration that Catalan effectively constituted a different language. This comment likely stems both from the fact that students' L1 is exclusively oral and that the text contained unfamiliar linguistic features. The instructors prompted the students to examine the text more closely at moments of incomprehension rather than abandoning the task at hand. Despite this student's expressed objection, it soon became evident that she was capable of understanding some of the subtler language within the text: when she proceeded to flip through the comic, she laughed upon reading a joke. And still, the students voiced a desire for a version of the text that reflected the story as recounted in their L1. That the instructors hedged in responding to the request for a Gitan version suggested an effort to avoid asserting that books in Gitan did not exist. Dorothy's comment to the non-Catalan-speaking instructor that the latter could produce such a version of the narrative herself ("Tu peux l'écrire toi") seemingly underscored the instructors' identity as Payas and, by extension, capable authors of written texts, such as the Catalan original and planned French translation.[83] Although Samantha initiated a Gitan translation, she soon relinquished responsibility, declaring her inability to produce this version. The instructor insisted, however, that the student in question was capable of the task. Rather than framing the exercise around writing, she inquired as to how Samantha would *say* the content in Gitan. When Sabine later suggested that Dorothy would likely be able to complete the translation, this student too protested: "Ah pas tout. (2.0) Je sais pas moi en catalan" [Oh no way. I don't know how in Catalan]. "**Gitan. Gitan.**," Sabine emphasized.

The instructors situated French as a shared language enabling intercomprehension within the classroom while underscoring the multilingual composition of the class. French was positioned as an intermediary language, understandable to all present and, consequently, a means to verify comprehension in preparation for a second Gitan translation.

Excerpt 4. "Il faut passer par le français" [We must go through French]

Amatsia:	Mais c'est écrit- c'est mieux en français et nous- on le (.) traduit en gitan.	But it's written- it's better in French and then we- we can (.) translate it into Gitan.
*Sabine:	Il faut passer par le français. T'as vu (.) Amatsia- on **passe** par le français (.) pour trouver ce que ça veut dire (.) pour s'entendre **nous tous** (.) et après **vous** (.) vous nous dites le gitan.	We must go through French. You've seen (.) Amatsia- we **go through** French (.) to figure out what it means (.) so we can **all understand** (.) and then after **you** (pl.) (.) you can tell us the Gitan version.

[83] During an observation in the focal CM class (2017.11.09), a student called on me for assistance tracing cursive letters for a *geste d'écriture* [handwriting] assignment. Having not produced a text in cursive since middle school and having never been trained in the style of cursive taught in French schools, I informed the student that even if I were to attempt to assist, I would not be helpful since I had not learned to write in this way. The student next to her exclaimed in apparent shock: "Sait pas écrire *aquesta paia*!" [*This Paia* doesn't know how to write!] This comment reinforced the assumed link between literacy practices and identity among students in this context.

Amatsia:	Après ?	After?
*Sabine:	Par contre ça je- on peut vous en refaire **une** (.) vite comme celle-ci ((indiquant une copie du texte dont les bulles sont vides)) et qui pourrait être écrite (.) euh::: en gitan.	But for that one I- we can make you **one** (.) quickly like this ((indicating a clean copy of the comic with empty speech bubbles)) which could be written (.) uh::: in Gitan.
Dorothy:	Eh ben fais-le.	OK well do it.
*Sabine:	Non mais pas maintenant. 'Fais-le maintenant' je fais comment ? La photocopieuse- t'as une photocopieuse là Dorothy ? (.) Mais par contre je peux t'en faire. Si si on fait. ((Sabine essaie de trouver des copies supplémentaires ou un transparent de rétroprojection))	Well not right now. How could I 'do it right now'? The photocopier- do you have a photocopier over there Dorothy? I can make you one though. If if we do it. ((Sabine tries to find extra copies or an overhead projector sheet))
*Coralie:	Et Tony il est Espagne. Comment on va faire ? On est foutu. Ça va Tony.	And Tony he is Spain. How are we going to manage? We're screwed. It's OK Tony.
*Sabine:	((En continuant à chercher des supports)) Voyons (.) dans le cours on parle **français** (.) **catalan** (.) **gitan.**	((Continuing to look for sheets)) Let's see (.) in class we speak **French** (.) **Catalan** (.) **Gitan.**
Tony:	Espagnol.	Spanish.
*Sabine:	Espagnol.	Spanish.
Dorothy:	((riant))	((laughing))
*Sabine:	Quatre langues. On se comprend.	Four languages. We understand each other.

Coralie remarked on the multilingual composition of the class, noting that Tony *is Spain* in a playful adoption of phrasing previously employed by students when discussing languages (for a discussion of students' conflation of language and identity, see Chapter 3). When Sabine listed out the languages present in the classroom, Tony added his L1,[84] and Sabine emphasized the co-existence of languages and intercomprehension among the members of the classroom community: "Quatre langues. On se comprend." Intercomprehension was attributed to the presence of a common language, the dominant language of instruction (i.e., French), which served as an intermediary between the Catalan of the original text and planned translations. Although students seemed to resist being or speaking too much "Payo" (i.e., French; see Chapter 3), as a language in which they had developed literacy practices, French was significantly seen as more familiar than written Catalan. The same student who observed that she and her peers were to produce a translation in Payo expressed a preference for a source text in French (as opposed to the Catalan original), which would facilitate the production of the Gitan translation: "c'est mieux en français et nous- on le (.) traduit en gitan."

Although students appeared enthusiastic about the prospect of a Gitan translation, they hesitated when prompted to produce this translation in writing. The instructors consequently proposed that the Gitan version be produced in speech, as evidenced by their comments and inquiries concerning how the students would *say* part of the text in Gitan (e.g., "Tu sais très bien

[84] Instructors in this and other classes appeared unaware that Tony spoke Spanish, not Catalan, as his L1. I witnessed another instructor's surprise when, during a different French language class, she prompted Sharon to explain, *in Catalan*, the graphic difference (i.e., grave accent) between the third-person singular verbal form of avoir, "a," and the preposition "à" (2017.11.23.am1). Sharon hesitated but began to offer an explanation. After she had said only two words, Tony signaled that he did not speak Catalan: "=Quoi? Je comprends pas moi" [What? I don't understand]. The instructor subsequently realized, for the first time, that Tony could more easily understand explanations in French than Catalan.

le dire en gitan" [you know very well how to say it in Gitan]; "vous nous dites le gitan" [you'll say the translation in Gitan for us]. Students strongly declined the instructors' suggestion that a spoken translation be audiorecorded. Sensitive to students' reaction to being audiorecorded, the instructors again encouraged students to produce the Gitan translation in writing.

Excerpt 5. "Nous on sait le dire mais (.) c'est **dur** à écrire" [We know how to say it but (.) it's **hard** to write]

*Sabine:	((à Dorothy)) Tu commences. Tu peux faire une phrase ? Toi ? En- et tu l'écris en gitan comme tu le dirais toi.	((to Dorothy)) You (s.) start. Can you (s.) write a sentence? You (s.)? In- and write it in Gitan as you would say it.
Dorothy:	Je sais pas l'écrire moi.	I don't know how to write it.
*Coralie:	Pourquoi tu sais pas l'écrire ?	Why don't you know how to write it?
*Sabine:	((visiblement surprise)) Ah:: il y en a qui savent écrire en gitan?	((visibly surprised)) Ah:: Do some of you know how to write in Gitan?
Samantha:	Costa un poc.	*It's a little tough*.
*Coralie:	Non mais là regarde tu sais écrire ( ) là. ((indiquant la BD)) C'est la même chose ça. C'est pareil.	No but look there you know how to write ( ) there. ((pointing at the comic)) That there is the same thing. It's the same.
*Sabine:	Vas-y essaie. (6.0)	Go on try. (6.0)
Samantha:	Non nous on n'écrit pas comme ça quand on écrit en gitan. On écrit (.) 'què fas ?' ((en riant avec les autres élèves (f.)))	No we don't write like that when we write in Gitan. We write (.) '*what's up*?' ((laughing with her female classmates))
*Coralie:	Mais pas des phrases vous n'écrivez pas de grands textes donc. C'est ça ?	But not sentences so you don't write big texts then. That's what you mean?
Amatsia:	Ah mais non.	Oh no.
Samantha:	Ah mais non. ( )	Oh no. ( )
*Sabine:	Donc ça veut dire que (.) tu ne- tu ne vas pas l'écrire comme tu le dis. À l'oreille. C'est ça que tu veux dire ?	So that means that (.) you won't- you won't write it like you say it. Aloud. That's what you're saying?
Dorothy:	Nous on sait le dire mais (.) c'est **dur** à écrire. C'est-	We know how to say it but (.) it's **hard** to write. It's-
*Coralie:	Non. Ce qu'ils te disent c'est qu'ils n'écrivent pas.	No. What they're telling you is that they don't write it.
*Sabine:	Vous n'écrivez-	You don't write-
*Coralie:	**Ils écrivent que de petites phrases 'Comment tu vas:::: ?' 'Ça va:::: ?' Hein ?**	**They only write little phrases like 'How are you::::?' 'All goo::::d?' You know?**
Samantha:	((riant))	((laughing))
*Coralie:	**'D'accord.' 'Et toi:: ?' (.) Voilà. (.) Mais ils vont pas écrire des textes euh.**	**'OK.' 'and you::?' (.) That's it. (.) But they won't write uh texts.**
*Sabine:	((sur un ton surpris)) **Et là et là ça veut dire qu'il n'y a aucune de vous qui est capable de l'écrire ? Tu penses ça coûte beaucoup ?**	((with surprise)) **So then that means that not one of you is capable of writing it? You think it's really hard?**
*Coralie:	Et oui parce que c'est des sons (.) par exemple 'companys' il faut écrire le catalan. T'as le 'n- y.' C'est en vrai catalan.	Oh yes because these are sounds (.) for instance '*companys*' has to be written in Catalan. You have the 'n- y.' That's in real Catalan.
*Sabine:	Essaie Dorothy. On va voir.	Go on Dorothy. Let's see.
*Coralie:	Voilà. C'est **d'autres sons** que les sons français par exemple.	That's right. There are **different sounds** than in French for example.

	[…] ((Dorothy écrit))	[…] ((Dorothy writes))
*Coralie:	Oui mais t'as pas appris le catalan **à l'écrit**. ((en regardant l'essai de Dorothy, elle exclame)) **O:h là là. Ouais. D'accord.**	Yes but you didn't learn **written** Catalan. ((looking at Dorothy's attempt, she exclaims)) **O:h dear. Yeah. OK.**
*Sabine:	Ah c'est vraiment	Ah its really
*Coralie:	**Ah là là c'est en phonétique**	**Ay ay ay it's phonetic**
*Sabine:	Et en fait elle fait des sons français.	And so she really makes French sounds.
*Coralie:	Ouais.	Yeah.
*Sabine:	Elle écrit- t'as écrit le ( ) comme des sons français.	She writes- you wrote the ( ) as if they were French sounds.

When prompted to attempt a translation into Gitan, Dorothy objected that she did not know how to write. Coralie suggested that she model her text on the original comic, written in Catalan, which presumably coincided with the Gitan translation that the students would produce ("Non mais là regarde tu sais écrire ( ) là. C'est la même chose ça. C'est pareil."). Samantha countered, however, that the students did not write in Gitan in the same way, seemingly gesturing towards the pragmatic function of Gitan in writing, namely, the establishment of rapport in text messaging (see Excerpt 6 below). Dorothy defended the students' linguistic competence when she asserted "Nous on sait le dire mais (.) c'est **dur** à écrire." Although the instructors seemed to generally recognize students' variety as legitimate in its own right, the notion of *real* Catalan resurfaced at times, as when Coralie referenced orthography in the standard and later commented that the students had not learned written Catalan. In this way, the instructor suggested that standard written Catalan constituted real Catalan and, although likely unintentional, effectively situated the students' L1 as less than real, or unauthorized.[85] The Catalan-speaking instructor adopted the role of linguistic authority in this exchange, interpreting the students' comments on their writing practices for the co-instructor in a lengthy back-and-forth that did not invite input from the students themselves. As the instructors continued to emphasize the exclusively oral quality of the students' L1, one student interjected to reassert the students' competence. Following this exchange, instructors concluded that French constituted students' language for written production.

Excerpt 6. "votre langue pour écrire c'est le français" [French is your language for writing]

*Sabine:	**Donc [Gitan] c'est QUE parlé en fait.**	**So [Gitan] it's actually ONLY spoken.**
*Coralie:	Voilà.	That's right.
*Sabine:	C'est **que** parlé.	It's **only** spoken.
*Coralie:	Ouais.	Yeah.
*Sabine:	Et et-	And and-
Dorothy:	((apparemment indignée)) **On sait écrire mais dans un téléphone.**	((seemingly indignant)) **We know how to write but on a phone.**
*Sabine:	((un peu docilement)) Oui. J'ai compris. (.) Mais ça veut dire que par exemple euh tu fais une affiche tu fais une carte (.) tu l'écris pas en gitan ?	((somewhat meekly)) Yes. I get it. (.) But that means that for example uh if you (s.) make a poster or you write a card (.) you won't write it in Gitan?
Amatsia:	Ah non. En français.	Uh no. In French.
*Sabine:	En français. (2.0) D'accord.	In French. (2.0) OK.
*Coralie:	Parce qu'ils ont appris à écrire en français.	Because they learned to write in French.

[85] The standard language ideology here expressed, though less salient in this context, recalls the posture of the CE Catalan instructor (Chapter 4).

*Sabine:	Et oui donc c'est votre langue pour écrire c'est le français.	I see so French is your language for writing.
Dorothy:	Des fois non (.) c'est le gitan.	Sometimes it isn't (.) and it's Gitan.
*Coralie:	Ouais.	Yeah.
*Sabine:	Oui.	Yes.
EL:	Seulement sur un téléphone.	Only on a phone.
Dorothy:	Voi::là.	Tha::t's it.

Instructors proceeded to discuss the students' language practices without their direct involvement until one student interjected a clarification: she and her peers *do* know how to write in Gitan, however they do so on a telephone. With this comment, Dorothy signaled that writing in another language is not merely a question of changing codes; rather, writing practices are shaped by their contexts of use. During an extended interview, a parent confirmed the practice of initiating a conversation in Gitan via text messaging, commenting that he easily transitioned into French following greetings. In pulling out his phone, he opened a conversation and pointed at the top message: "Kefas" (i.e., Què fas? [*What are you doing?*]). He observed that text messages were primarily written in French and were periodically peppered with Gitan words: "C'est vrai que la plupart [des textos] comme tu vois c'est en français. Mais moi je dis souvent des mots en catalan. Souvent quoi" [It's true that most [of the messages] as you see are in French. But I often say words in Catalan. Pretty often]. Students from the CM classes and middle school GES cohorts with whom I spoke also reiterated this pattern of language use when producing text messages, sometimes showing me portions of their phone conversations to illustrate the way in which they employed their L1 (graphically rendered according to French orthographic-phonetic correspondences) and French in combination.

This exchange increased the instructors' understanding of students' literacy practices, sensitizing them to the way in which students draw on French and their L1 for different purposes in writing. The instructors expressed genuine surprise upon learning that French served as students' primary language for writing outside of school. In this way, the activity underscored how translation can simultaneously support students' language awareness while also increasing instructors' insights into their students' language practices, which may otherwise be difficult to ascertain (McLaughlin, 2012). The instructors' stance toward students' attempts at writing in Gitan was prescriptive (i.e., they did not recognize writing as a sociocultural practice shaped by particular contexts of language use, and Dorothy quickly erased her written attempt, which the instructors had invalidated).[86] However, the discussions elicited by the translation activity highlighted the potential for interaction between learners and their instructors (Källkvist, 2013) with increased reflection on language, identity, and culture.

5.2 NEGOTIATING DIFFERENCE THROUGH TRANSLATION

Translating into French first required interpreting written Catalan, a task whose difficulty was further compounded by the presence of unfamiliar Catalan vocabulary and cultural references. The process of translation reveals that, as Leonardi (2010) asserts, "Translation is cultural mediation as it allows communication across cultures" (p. 83). By recognizing the students' L1 as different

[86] I had observed Dorothy erasing her translation following Coralie's evaluation of her written production in Gitan. The instructors only realized that Dorothy had erased her writing when they attempted to show it to me after class. In searching through the students' papers, the instructors located the piece of paper on which Dorothy had written a sentence in Gitan, but they were surprised to see that it had been erased and was only faintly visible.

from but related to the Catalan of the text, the instructors perceived students' linguistic competence as a resource for the completion of this task. In addition to being rendered in writing, the comic featured unfamiliar cultural references and vocabulary. With some support from instructors in the form of explanations, students were able to *sound* their way into comprehension. The status of French as a common language further facilitated the translation exercise by allowing instructors to verify comprehension and engage students in metalinguistic reflections.

5.2.1 Reading in French versus Catalan

Sabine positioned Coralie, her Catalan-speaking colleague, as the legitimate Catalan reader in the classroom. Although Sabine possessed no prior knowledge of Catalan, she disqualified herself to read as a potential reader *not* because she lacked competence in the language but because she did not possess a 'correct' accent, a statement that suggested her ability to interpret the text silently. Students were asked to note what they had understood, if anything, and comprehension was instantaneous; even before Coralie began to read the text, a student interjected a translation of the opening passage, a move that elicited surprise from both instructors. When the students encountered unfamiliar vocabulary in the lines that followed, the Catalan-speaking instructor offered semantic explanations and the students proceeded to propose French translations.

Excerpt 7. "Hoh que c'est énorme" [Woah how great is this]

*Sabine:	On va **li:re** (2.0) Madame XX va vous le lire parce que c'est la seule qui sait lire correctement ça comme j'ai pas l'accent	We are going to **re::ad** (2.0) Madame XX is going to read it to you because she's the only one who knows how to read it correctly since I don't have the right accent
*Coralie:	Ça y est mais=	That's it but=
*Sabine:	=Et vous allez me dire ce que vous **comprenez.** (.) Si vous comprenez quelque chose.=	=And you will tell me what you **understand.** (.) If you understand something.=
Dorothy:	=Il dit 'À moi ça me plaît pas l'herbe tendre. Je préfère (.) la mel'- le miel?	=He says 'I don't like tender grass. I prefer (.) *the mel'* [Catalan word for honey]- the honey?
*Coralie:	Oui. Oui.	Yes. Yes.
*Sabine:	Hoh que c'est énorme. (2.0) Est-ce que tu comprends la phrase qui est au-dessus de l'image ? (6.0)	Woah how great is this. (2.0) Do you understand the phrase above the image? (6.0)
Dorothy:	Mais.	But.
*Coralie:	Ouais. Très bien. Oui.	Yeah. Very good. Yes.
Dorothy:	(3.0) Qu'est-ce qui est écrit là?	(3.0) What's written there?
*Coralie:	((lisant)) La llebre	((reading)) *The hare*
Dorothy:	Ah je sais pas	Ah I don't know
*Coralie:	C'est le lièvre	It's the hare
Dorothy:	C'est le lièvre [té fam	It's the hare [*is hungry*
*Sabine:	[té fam	[*is hungry*
Dorothy:	Mais le lièvre de- s'est commencé	But the hare has- started to
*Coralie:	Non. Té **fam**. (.) Té **fam**.	No. *Is **hungry***. (.) *is **hungry***.
Samantha:	Té /fɛmə/	*Is hungry* [/fɛmə/]
Dorothy:	Il a faim	He's hungry
*Coralie:	**Voilà.** Il a gana. Ça fait gana.	**That's it.** He is *hungry*. It makes him *hungry*.
Samantha:	Mais le lièvre il commence à manger l'herbe tendre.	But the hare starts to eat tender grass.

*Coralie:	Voilà. Il a **faim.** (.) **fam.** Hein? (.) Il a faim. (.) Et il commence à manger l'herbe tendre. Voilà. Hein? (2.0) Le lièvre a faim. Il commence à manger l'herbe tendre. Et qu'est-ce qu'il dit l'ours ? (.) 'A **moi** ça ne me plaît pas l'herbe tendre (.) je préfère'	That's it. He's **hungry.** (.) ***hungry.*** Yeah? (.) He's hungry (.) And he starts to eat tender grass. That's it. Yeah? (2.0) The hare is hungry. He starts to eat tender grass. And what does the bear say? '**I** don't like tender grass (.) I prefer'
Samantha:	'manger du miel'	'to eat honey'
*Coralie:	Le miel. Voilà.	Honey. That's it.
*Sabine:	Je préfère le miel.	I prefer honey.
*Coralie:	Très bien. Très bien.	That's it. That's it.

Instead of allowing Dorothy to abandon the translation at the first sign of incomprehension, Coralie provided a translation of the unfamiliar lexical item for 'hare' and read the accompanying verb phrase in Catalan until the student successfully produced a French translation. This exchange evidences the collaboration in both reception and production that characterized translation in the focal classroom. Through the dialogues around the comic vignettes, instructors worked to strengthen students' sense of linguistic competence, prompting them to draw on their linguistic resources and exposing them to a related yet different linguistic variety.

While her initial reaction to the students' writing in Gitan reflected a prescriptive stance, Coralie seemed nevertheless aware of how students' linguistic background could facilitate their reading development in Catalan. Specifically, she was cognizant that their reading abilities in French and their competence in an oral Catalan L1 could support their understanding of differences in phonetic-orthographic correspondences between written French and Catalan. She drew students' attention to some of these primary differences, later explaining her motivation in doing so during an interview:

(6) …il y a très peu de sons (.) y a très peu de sons (.) qui sont différents (.) à l'écrit (.) entre le catalan et le::: le français. Il y a le 'x' (.) et les deux 'l' (.) y en a très peu. C'est pas euh::: En fait quand tu sais euh lire en français tu sais quasi- tu sais lire en catalan.

[…there are very few sounds (.) are very few sounds (.) that are different (.) in writing (.) between Catalan a:::nd French. There is the 'x' (.) and the double 'l' (.) there're very few of them. It's not uh::: Actually when you know uh how to read in French you almost know- you know how to read in Catalan.]

(Interview, April 2018)

By means of contrastive analysis, the instructor highlighted minimal linguistic differences between reading in French and Catalan, arguing that the ability to read in French implied the ability to do so in Catalan as well. In this way, she evidenced an approach to translation that was informed by attention to intercomprehension as a resource for language development.

The Catalan instructors at the middle school also reiterated the fact that linguistic proximity between French and Catalan supported language and literacy development globally. They consequently lamented the elimination of Catalan from the GES program, with one of these instructors, Gerard, commenting on what he perceived as a shortsighted, exclusive emphasis at the school on French as the language of schooling:

(7) …En fait on dit aujourd'hui qu'il faut qu'ils [les élèves gitans] fassent du français du français du français. **Mais** (.) On faisait le lien **nous** entre leurs langues et le français. Parce que (.) écrire en catalan ou écrire en français c'est pareil, c'est écrire (.) Quand un élève il ne sait pas former des lettres (.) qu'il faut lui apprendre à écrire (.) Le 'a' en catalan ou le 'a' en français, c'est le même (.) Exactement pareil (.) En plus on faisait des allers-retours entre des langues, ce qu'on fait toujours avec les filières bilingues. Quand euh::: on passe en français parfois pour expliquer certaines choses, ou alors il y a des mots qui ressemblent au français. Donc euh le mot est comme ça en catalan, on dit, 'En français vous dites comment?' Comme ça. Et des fois espagnol (.) On fait un peu de philologie. Un tout petit peu de philologie. Des fois l'anglais même. Quand on trouve le mot 'el mapa' (.) pour dire 'une carte' (.) on dit, 'Comment vous dites en anglais?' A map. Beh vous voyez que c'est le même mot. Et en espagnol, 'el mapa.'

[…Well these days we say that they [the Gitan students] need to do French French French. **But** (.) **We** used to make the connection between their languages and French. Because (.) writing in Catalan or writing in French is the same thing, it's writing (.) When a student does not know how to form letters (.) when he has to be taught to write (.) The Catalan 'a' or the French 'a,' it's the same thing (.) Exactly the same (.) Moreover, we would go back and forth between languages, which is what we still do in the bilingual tracks. When um::: we switch into French sometimes to explain certain things, or when there are words that resemble French. So uh the word is this way in Catalan, we say, 'How do you say it in French?' This way. And sometimes in Spanish (.) We do a little philology. A little bit of philology. Sometimes even in English. When we find the word 'el mapa' (.) to mean 'une carte' (.) we say, 'How do you say that in English?' A map. Well you see that it's the same word. And in Spanish, 'el mapa.']

(Interview, January 2018)

This middle school Catalan instructor, like his colleague, was attuned to the potential for the development of intercomprehension as a pedagogical strategy (i.e., increasing students' awareness of predictable correspondences between language varieties, such as the orthographic distinctions that Coralie mentioned), which continues to be recognized in the bilingual French-Catalan language track available to students outside of the GES program. He compared the translingual pedagogy that he employed with all of his students to juggling: "On jongle avec les langues" [We juggle with languages].

The Catalan instructors expressed an understanding of the benefit of incorporating rather than disregarding students' linguistic competence in their L1 and identities in the classroom. This was further illustrated by the notebooks from their former GES students stacked on a shelf in one of their classrooms. Students had written the course title as "Català" but more often as "Català gitano" on the notebook covers. When I inquired about this title, the instructor explained that the course could be a class in "Gitan," if the students so desired, and he vehemently defended the validity of students' linguistic variety, commenting, "La norme est quand même assez assez élastique hein? (.) **Heureusement**" [The norm is really fairly fairly elastic you know? **Thankfully so**]. The instructor noted benefits of a multilingually-oriented pedagogy that does not impose a standard but instead aims to increase students' metalinguistic awareness through exposure to language variation. Reflecting on the potential benefit of such a pedagogical approach for students' identity, he remarked:

(8) Ça c'est **très très** dommage que ça [le bienfait] n'ait pas été compris. Parce que::: au contraire je trouve que c'est un **bon renvoi** (.) Ça fait le lien, c'est **la charnière** (.) entre **leur monde** (.) et **le nôtre** (.) ces deux mondes différents.

[It's **really really** a shame that it [the benefit] wasn't understood. Becau:::se to the contrary I feel that it was a **good bridge** (.) It makes the connection, it's **the hinge** (.) between **their word** (.) and **ours** (.) these two different worlds.]

(Interview, January 2018)

Following the elimination of Catalan from the GES program, Gitan students found themselves immersed in French and only French, the language of Payos.

5.2.2 Navigating Lexical Differences

In research on the incorporation of translation into the L2 classroom, T.-Y. Lee (2013) found that translation aided reading comprehension "because it requires students to understand more details in the paragraphs they are translating and to simultaneously apply their mother tongue" (p. 16; also see Gnutzmann, 2009). Similarly, Waddington (2020) observed how elementary school learners undertook the translation of entire pages of an L3 storybook into their L1 in order to verify their full comprehension of the source text. The comic book employed in the GES French class confronted students with other words and other worlds, with translation similarly serving to verify reading comprehension. The French instructors' awareness of lexical variation led them to view incomprehension stemming from unfamiliar words and cultural references as unremarkable; students were understood as speakers of a different linguistic variety and of a different culture. The Catalan-speaking instructor provided French glosses of unfamiliar aspects of the text, as illustrated by the following example. When Coralie worked one-on-one with a student in the class who had completed her daily assignments, the student, Éva, hesitated upon encountering the verb *pugeu* (the second-person plural, present tense form of *pujar*, to climb).

Excerpt 8. "Pugeu ? (3.0) Pugeu. Montez" [Pugeu? (3.0) Pugeu. Climb up]

*Coralie:	((lisant)) *Aquí és el camí de Sant Jaume*.	((reading)) *Here is the Saint James Path*.
Éva:	Ici c'est le chemin de Saint Jaume.	Here is the Saint James Path.
*Coralie:	Voilà. ((lisant)) Pugeu a Cerdanya amb el Tren Groc.	That's it. ((reading)) *Climb up to Cerdanya on the Yellow Train.*
Éva:	Euh	Uh
*Coralie:	Pugeu ? (3.0) Pugeu. Montez.	*Pugeu?* (3.0) *Pugeu*. Climb up.
Éva:	(2.0) Ah::: D'accord.	(2.0) Ah::: OK.
*Coralie:	Pugeu. (3.0) Montez en Espagne avec le petit train (2.0) jaune. D'accord ? Eh ? Il dit montez.	*Pugeu*. (3.0) Climb up to Spain with the little (2.0) yellow train. OK? Yeah? He says climb up.
Éva:	(4.0) C'est compliqué.	(4.0) It's complicated.

In this exchange, the instructor attributed the student's hesitation to the presence of an unfamiliar verb. After providing an explanation in French, she proceeded to translate the entire phrase, possibly in light of the students' continued hesitation and an understanding that she may have been

unfamiliar with the cultural references in the remainder of the sentence (i.e., *Cerdanya*; *el Tren Groc*).

In addition to elucidating unfamiliar vocabulary, the instructors were observed asking students how they would formulate passages from the comic in their L1. By inviting *oral* translations into Gitan, the instructors signaled the existence of different ways of recounting the comic in the Catalan of the text as opposed to students' L1. Their efforts to operate between languages gave space to linguistic differences and sensitized students to variation, as illustrated in the following exchange:

Excerpt 9. "Comment vous auriez dit" [How would you (pl.) have said]

*Coralie:	Comment vous auriez dit	How would you (pl.) have said
*Sabine:	Comment vous auriez dit **vous** ((les élèves commencent à faire du bruit)) le commencement de l'histoire ? Comment tu le dis toi en gitan?	How would you (pl.) **you** have said ((students starting to make noise)) the beginning of the story? How do you (s.) say it in Gitan?
Samantha:	Sinon vous auriez fait un [sic] liste en **français** (.) et nous on traduit en gitan.	But if you'd made a list in **French** (.) and we translated into Gitan.
*Coralie:	**Et ben vous l'avez écrit en français.** (.) Ce que vous avez là écrit en français comment vous diriez en gitan ?	**OK well you have it written in French.** (.) How would you say in Gitan what you (pl.) have written there in French?
*Sabine:	Amatsia. Amatsia. Dis-moi toi. Les quatre amis sont contents.	Amatsia. Amatsia. You tell me. The four friends are happy.
Amatsia:	Els quatre companyes són contents.	*The four friends are happy.*
Tony:	C'est quoi ?[87]	What's that?
*Coralie:	Ouais.	Yeah.
*Sabine:	D'accord:: Le loup chante devant sa grotte.	OK:: The wolf sings in front of his cave.
Dorothy et Amatsia:	El lloup canta davant seua grotta.	*The wolf sings in front of his cave.*
Dorothy:	Davant seua casa.	*In front of his house*.
Amatsia:	No. Seua grotta.	*No. His cave.*
*Sabine:	D'accord. Et devant ? C'est maison ça casa.	OK and in front of? *Casa* means house.
*Coralie:	Ouais. Ouais mais ouais ils [les élèves] auraient pas dit grotte.	Yeah. Yeah but yeah they [the students] wouldn't have come up with the word for cave.
*Sabine:	Et et comment vous dites euh::: le loup (.) le renard (.) et le lièvre- et le lapin en gros. Le loup le renard et le lapin euh dansent ?	And and how do you (pl.) say uh::: the wolf (.) the fox (.) and the hare- or the rabbit generally speaking. The wolf the fox and the rabbit uh dance?
All female students:	El lloup el renard i el llapín ballen.	*The wolf the fox and the rabbit dance*.
*Coralie:	Donc ce qu'il y a c'est que là elles parlent en roussillonnais. En catalan.	So what we have here is that they're (f. pl.) speaking in Roussillon. In Catalan.
Dorothy:	((manifestant de la surprise et de la confusion)) Uy:: ?	((with a mixture of surprise and confusion)) Wa::?
All female students:	((riant))	((laughing))

[87] Although Tony, a Gitan L1 Spanish speaker, requests clarification here, instructors appear unaware of the linguistic heterogeneity (i.e., gitan catalan *and* gitan espagnol) among students in the class and focus their attention on the translation into "Gitan," exclusively understood as a Catalan variety in this space.

*Coralie:	C'est le roussillonnais le catalan francisé alors que là ((indiquant le texte)) c'est du catalan normé (2.0) euh::	That's Roussillon Frenchified Catalan while here ((pointing to the text)) we have uh:: (2.0) standard Catalan.
*Sabine:	D'accord.	OK.
*Coralie:	Ça c'est du catalan (.) plutôt (.) euh du côté espagnol. Du côté de Barcelone.	That there is Catalan (.) pretty much (.) uh from the Spanish side of the border. From Barcelona.
Dorothy:	Voi:::là.	Tha:::t's it.
*Sabine:	C'est ça ?	Yeah?
*Coralie:	**Vous** vous parlez le catalan que moi je comprends (2.0)	**You guys** speak the Catalan variety that I understand (2.0)
Dorothy:	De Marseille[88]	From Marseille
All girls:	((riant))	((laughing))
*Coralie:	**Non.** Le catalan d'**ici.** Le roussillonnais. Enfin le catalan d'ici. Parce qu'en France on dit un llapín alors qu'en catalan on dit plutôt conill par exemple.	**No.** The Catalan from **here.** Well Roussillon. Because in France we say a *llapín* while in Catalan people say *conill* instead for example.
Dorothy:	C'est quoi conill ?	What's *conill*?
*Coralie:	À Barcelone ils vont dire un conill.	In Barcelona they'll say a *conill*.

Students again appeared more comfortable working from a French source, as opposed to the Catalan text, in order to produce a Gitan translation. While this is surprising from a linguistic point of view due to the close proximity between students' L1 variety and the Catalan variety of the text, it can be explained by the fact that they had developed literacy in French and were not formally studying Catalan. It is from the instructor's spoken French prompts that the students here translate in speech particular lines of the comic into Gitan.

This brief exchange highlights the potential to incorporate translation as a means to increase students' awareness of linguistic variation—highlighted through attention to examples within the text, from students' L1 variety, and from other sources (e.g., observations on variation in other regions, such as Central Catalonia). The invitation for students' production in their L1 illustrated how translation can support negotiation between students as they propose and consider linguistic possibilities (e.g., Dorothy proposed *casa* instead of *grotta*, a suggestion that her peer rejected). Although the instructors validated the students' propositions, they seemed to anticipate reduced lexical specificity in students' Gitan translation, as signaled by the Catalan-speaking instructor's comment to her colleague that the students would not have employed a term for *grotte* (even after one of them had) and her use of a more generic French term in the request for a translation (i.e., "le lièvre- et le lapin en gros"). This could indicate a perception among instructors of students' L1 as less lexically complex.[89] Following the students' translation of 'rabbit' (French:

[88] The students in the class were frequently amused by Coralie's accent. Although she was born and raised in Roussillon, they characterized her as a speaker from Marseille.

[89] This perception was expressed not only among instructors with varying knowledge of Catalan but was shared by some Gitans with whom I spoke. In my longitudinal exchanges with Thomas (see Chapter 3), he described the implications of limited L1 vocabulary: "Ma mère par exemple a du mal à comprendre le catalan central, peut-être à cause de l'accent mais aussi à cause du vocabulaire qu'elle n'a pas. Quand moi je vais expliquer certaines choses à mes amis gitans ou à ma mère, je suis obligé d'emprunter des mots au français car ils ne l'ont pas dans leur langue" [For example my mother has difficulty understanding Central Catalan, possibly because of the accent but also because of the vocabulary that she does not have. When I go to explain some things to my Gitan friends or my mother, I have to borrow words from French because they do not have them in their language] (personal communication, February 2018). An avid language learner, who had just left the library where he had been working on translations from Ancient

lapin) as *llapín*, this instructor commented that the students spoke Roussillon Catalan. This nomenclature appeared unfamiliar to students, as signaled by Dorothy's reaction: "Uy::?" However, by associating the students' L1 with a recognized local variety, the instructor effectively normalized the reception of their lexical choices as unremarkable and even *standard* within France (i.e., en France on dit un 'llapín').[90]

In relating students' language to Roussillon Catalan, Coralie also appeared sensitive to linguistic variation, as suggested by her invitation for student to supply alternative Catalan vocabulary. For example, having explained unfamiliar vocabulary, the Catalan-speaking instructor asked how students would substitute unfamiliar vocabulary with synonyms from their L1. In this way, students were not constructed as deficient speakers with limited vocabularies; instead their own linguistic knowledge was validated as different but correct in its own right, as illustrated by the following exchange in which one student, Éva, struggled to comprehend the meaning of *riu* [river] in the Catalan comic:

Excerpt 10. "Comment tu dirais toi ?" [How would you (s.) say?]

Éva:	((lisant)) Sí. Seguiu [text reads segueix] el riu que se diu la Roma.	((reading)) *Yes. Follow* [text reads *segueix*, the second-person singular, not plural, form] *the river that is called the Roma*.
*Coralie:	Voilà. Oui. Alors. Segueix el riu que se diu la Roma.	That's it. Yes. So. *Follow the river that is called the Roma.*
Éva:	(2.0) Seguiu.	(2.0) *Seguiu*.
*Coralie:	Alors qu'est-ce que c'est qu'un riu ?	So what is a *riu*?
Éva:	(2.0) C'est un mot hein ? Sérieux ?	(2.0) It's a word yeah? Serious?
*Coralie:	Non. Un riu (.)	No. *A river* (.)
Éva:	Un chemin ?	A path?
*Coralie:	Voi- euh non. Un ruisseau.	Righ- uh no. A stream.
Éva:	Ah:: ruisseau.	Ah:: stream.
*Coralie:	M:.	M:.
Éva:	D'accord.	OK.
*Coralie:	Comment tu dirais toi (.) ruisseau ? (.) ou rivière ou euh ?	How would *you* (s.) say (.) stream? (.) or river or uh?
Éva:	(2.0) Je sais pas. Point d'interrogation.	(2.0) I don't know. Question mark.
*Coralie:	D'accord. On sait pas. Voilà.	All right. We don't know. OK.

Pellatt (2009) observes that, in contrast to alternative assessment tools (e.g., multiple choice or short answer questions) that "may tell us *whether* a reader has understood, translation may show

Greek when I first met him, Thomas had acquired more specialized vocabulary in Catalan and did not align with "their" language. Catalanophone linguist Jean-Paul Escudero also commented on the changing pragmatic function of French in Saint Jacques, anticipating the disappearance of Gitan Catalan resulting from language shift: "Quand je faisais ma thèse je sentais déjà [un changement]. Et là je vois des signes de rupture- des Gitans qui se croisent dans la rue et qui se disent comme ça : « Bonjour. Comment allez-vous. » **Jamai :::s jamai :::s** on entendait ça entre deux Gitans" [When I was working on my thesis I already sensed [a shift]. And now I see signs of a breaking point- Gitans who run into each other in the street and who spontaneously say to one another ((in French)) 'Hello. How are you?' Before you'd **Ne:::ver e:::ver** hear that between two Gitans].

[90] The standard Roussillon word for rabbit is *llapí*, not *llapin*. It is unclear whether the instructor was aware of this discrepancy and still consciously chose to validate *llapin* as an acceptable variant or believed the standard Roussillon term to be *llapin.* During Catalan lessons implemented in the CE1/2 classes, the Catalan instructor insisted that *llapin* was incorrect (Chapter 4).

us *how* a reader has understood" (p. 343). By having students produce translations, instructors gain "rich evidence of cognitive processes, from orthographical miscues at the lowest level to syntactic and pragmatic miscues and misapplication of schemata at the highest levels of reading" (Pellatt, 2002, p. 244). Éva misread the second-person singular imperative form of *seguir* [to follow] and, although Coralie recast her utterance with the second-person plural form, the student did not notice this modification. This was possibly a consequence of her focus on the semantic content of the passage and translation task. When Éva repeated the verb following a pause, Coralie did not insist on the verb number and instead shifted her attention to the vocabulary of the passage. Seeming to sense that Éva was unfamiliar with the word that followed, the instructor accordingly asked, "Alors qu'est-ce que c'est qu'un *riu* ?" Éva's uncertainty concerning the semantic content of the word in question was confirmed in her response. Although she was able to identify the general grammatical function of *riu* as a substantive or adjective ("C'est un mot hein?"), as opposed to a verb (*riu* being the third-person singular present form of the verb *riure*, to laugh), she mistook it for the Catalan *seriu* [serious]. Once Coralie provided a French translation, she proceeded to ask Éva how she would refer to a stream [ruisseau] or river [rivière] in her L1: "Comment tu dirais toi?" Although the student was unable to provide an equivalent, this inquiry on the part of the instructor remains significant as an effort to situate Gitan as a language in its own right (in contrast to discourses that Gitan words are invalid or invented by the children, e.g., le gitan n'existe pas, see Chapter 4) and to position the student as a legitimate speaker of the said variety. The form of questioning modeled by Coralie also illustrates how discussions around translation can help students to operate between languages, drawing on the primary language of the classroom (i.e., French in this case) to increase their awareness of a related linguistic variety and to simultaneously give space to their L1.

5.2.3 Defining the Value of the Activity: An Exercise in Writing or Awareness?

It must be reiterated that this activity occurred in the context not of a Catalan but of a *French* language class. The activity differed from routine coursework both in terms of language use (i.e., through the involvement of a language other than French) and content. Based on my observations and conversations with instructors, French language coursework for students in the highest level of the GES program typically involved, among other activities: reading passages accompanied by comprehension questions; vocabulary worksheets requiring students to look up new words using a dictionary and copy down associated definitions or employ the words appropriately; sentence completion exercises involving new vocabulary; crossword puzzles or matching activities involving new vocabulary; color-by-numbers exercises based on parts of speech, etc. Writing development habitually focused on orthography drills, written responses to reading comprehension exercises, short free-writes about personal experiences, and, to a limited extent, dictations, often focused on single words. For this reason, the translation activity constituted a significant divergence from standard pedagogical approaches within the program. It was designed, as previously mentioned, with attention to its cultural content; had a level-appropriate French-language text with a similar focus on Northern Catalonia been procured, the instructors would have likely selected it over the Catalan-language comic.

Although the instructors had largely disregarded the linguistic form of the comic when designing the activity, in retrospect, they emphasized the linguistic value of the translation exercise. Most notably, they contended that students' L1 could serve as a resource for more advanced writing exercises in the language of schooling, French. This view was also expressed by the two Catalan instructors at the school who had previously worked with GES cohorts. One of

these Catalan instructors described the incorporation of students' L1 as a clear investment in L2 development:

(9) …[C]e que tu fais en catalan (.) finalement (.) euh::: est réinvesti en français. Bon ben voilà. Parce que:: je veux dire l'a- l'alphabétisation eh:: je veux dire (.) avec des élèves qui parlent très peu de français qui comprennent très peu eh ben c'est:: je veux dire c'est un **plus** de pouvoir passer par leur langue 1. Et je veux dire n'importe quel pédagogue te dira ça quoi.

[…What you do in Catalan is (.) ultimately (.) uh::: a reinvestment in French. Yeah well that's it. Becau::se I mean literacy uh:: I mean (.) with students who speak very little French who understand very little uh well it's :: I mean it's a **plus** to be able to go through their L1. And I mean like any teacher would tell you that.]

(Interview, February 2018)

However not all instructors in France would share this instructor's enthusiasm for a plurilingual approach to language instruction. The pedagogical approaches of FLE (*français langue étrangère*; French as a foreign language) and as well as that of FLM (*français langue maternelle*; French as an L1) have advanced a monoglossic stance towards language instruction: "[L]es contacts avec les autres langues ne sont jamais évoqués, et s'ils le sont, c'est dans l'objectif de les maîtriser. De fait, le cloisonnement strict de l'enseignement des langues étrangères favorise ce traitement du contact" [Contact with other languages is never mentioned, and if it is, it is with the aim of mastering separations. Indeed, the strict compartmentalization of foreign language instruction favors this approach to contact] (Spaëth, 2010, p. 6; cited in Auger, 2017, p. 145; for an example of this stance, see Chapter 4, this project). Within such a framework, other languages and identities are disregarded as tangential and even detrimental to French instruction.

With regard to the focal GES classroom described in the present chapter, the French instructors' inclination had been to abandon the translation activity after only one class session, in large part due to the discussions on language and identity that became a focal point of the lesson. Following the first class in which the translation activity was presented to students, I sensed that instructors, visibly uncomfortable with the discussions of language and identity that had been elicited, were keen on abandoning the lesson plan. At the same time, however, they seemed to perceive my interest in the activity design and students' reception of it, with one of them, aware of my own research focus, commenting that I had material for an entire dissertation chapter. Later, when I found Coralie in the staff room during recess, she again commented that the lesson seemed to have been a revelation for my project. The instructors, for their part, expressed their sense that the introduction of Catalan in the classroom had led the students to feel as though they were in a non-academic environment, when, in fact, they were in need of the structure provided by more traditional activities for French language instruction, such as dictations and grammar worksheets. Although this was never explicitly stated, I wondered if they did not feel as though they were fulfilling their duty as French instructors invested with the responsibility of imparting *la langue de la République* by engaging with other languages and entertaining discussions of identity that departed from a nationalist, homogeneous model. The instructors rationalized their maintenance of the activity, albeit in a reduced format, by evoking the benefits that they perceived for students' linguistic development.

(10)

Sabine:	Et en fait on s'est dit : Oh là là. Si on les laisse seuls c'est pas la peine. Fonctionnement de groupe. Et ça ça ressemble à ce qu'on fait- moi ça me fait penser aux dictées négociées.	And we actually said to each other: Oh dear. If we leave them [to work] alone it's not worth trying this. [With the] group dynamic. But it it looks like what we do- it makes me think of negotiated dictations.[91]
Coralie:	Ouais.	Yeah.
Sabine:	Enfin de sixième. Du collège en gros. Tu peux fonctionner sur : 'Alors ça pourquoi je l'écris comme ça ? Quelle est la règle ? Ah oui ! C'est ça.'	Well in 8th grade. In the middle school in general. You can work off of: 'So why do I write it that way? What is the rule? Ah yes! That's it.'
EL:	Et c'était spontané. Comme c'était toute une phrase, ce n'était pas une liste de mots.	And it was spontaneous. Since it was a whole phrase, it was not just a list of words.
Sabine:	Parce que c'était pas une liste voilà tu étais dans un ensemble. Et c'est ce qu'on peut pratiquer en tout cas dans un niveau de 6ème, cycle trois. C'est ce qu'on pratique régulièrement.	Because it wasn't a list that's right you were working with the whole thing. And it's something that can be done in 8th grade, in the higher levels. It's what we typically do.
Coralie:	Et vraiment ils étaient **étonnants.** Ils étaient **étonnants.**	And they were truly **impressive.** They were **impressive.**
Sabine:	**Ah oui.**	**Oh yes.**
Coralie:	Ils sont toujours étonnants moi je trouve sur leur capacité à retenir l'orthographe des mots.	I find that they are always impressive in their ability to retain spellings.
Sabine:	Oui.	Yes.
Coralie:	Pour **ceux qui vont à l'école.** Par rapport à des élèves de 6ème je trouve eh ben ( ) Par contre pas quand ils écrivent spontanément, mais ça c'est le cas de beaucoup, pas qu'eux. Mais comme ça quand on les interroge sur l'orthographe, ces réflexions, ils sont quand même étonnants. Sur leur capacité à mémoriser. Moi je m'attendais à ce que ce soit- oui. Beaucoup plus problématique.	**Those who go to school.** Compared to 8th graders I find that uh well ( ) On the other hand not when they work spontaneously, but that's the case for many students, not just them. But well when we ask them about spelling, in these reflections, they actually are impressive. In their capacity to memorize. I was anticipating that it would be- well. Much more problematic.
Sabine:	Oui. Que les mots ressemblent à rien.	Yes. That words wouldn't resemble anything.
Coralie:	Oui oui oui. Beaucoup plus chaotique.	Yes yes yes. Much more chaotic.
Sabine:	Beaucoup plus phonétique. Tu te rends compte en fait qu'ils ont vu pas mal de choses.	Much more phonetic. You realize that they have actually seen a good deal of things.

(Interview, April 2018)

The instructors perceived a pedagogical risk in deviating from traditional French literacy exercises in the GES program, and they expected an outcome that would be much more 'problematic,' 'chaotic,' and 'phonetic,' in which 'words would not resemble anything.' They justified the activity as an exercise in orthographic development, emphasizing their perception of the Gitan students' impressive ability to retain and discuss spellings.

[91] As the name suggests, 'dictées négotiées' represent a French pedagogical activity whereby students, working under the guidance of their instructor, propose and negotiate their written production of a dictation. The process is intended to develop students' metalinguistic reflection and autocorrection.

In other words, the instructors foregrounded what they perceived as outcomes for linguistic development, outcomes that align with *alphabétisation* as understood within France as a process of decoding and encoding meaning in textual form. It is difficult to assess the extent to which students' orthography, or writing in French more generally, improved as a result of the French translation activity. It is more likely that, by means of the translation activity, instructors became aware of students' ability to reflect on language and employ language in more complex ways, as suggested by their reference to negotiated dictations (e.g., operating between languages to produce a French translation of a text, as opposed to completing a worksheet-based vocabulary task). From a perspective that understands literacy as a repertoire of sociocultural practices, the translation activity highlighted more than an alternative approach to linguistic development; the interactions around the comic were more striking for their potential to confront students with linguistic and cultural difference and to increase their awareness of language, identity, and culture in the process.[92] In encountering, in *written* form, a dialect of Catalan that approximated yet differed from their L1, students discussed questions of language and identity with their instructors, while endeavoring to produce a translation in a language with which they did not fully identify, French, and entertaining the possibility of a second Gitan version (envisioned as feasible only in a language-specific medium, namely, in speech or via writing on a mobile phone).[93] Although instructors did not emphasize these outcomes, and even appeared somewhat destabilized and discouraged by students' initial reaction to the text, their interactions revealed how translation can offer them a window into their students' language practices while increasing students' own language awareness in the process.

5.3 BUILDING ON TRANSLATION PRACTICES TO PROMOTE LANGUAGE AWARENESS

There has been limited use of translation-based activities with younger learners due to the perceived complexity of translation and the fact that it can be easily avoided (Bratož & Kocbek, 2013, pp. 146-147). However, Cameron (2001) argues that children enjoy comparing languages (e.g., identifying similar and different words). Through comparisons, students can become aware of sociolinguistic differences between their L1 and L2 (e.g., politeness distinctions in pronominal use, Bratož & Kocbek, 2013, p. 147). Moreover, "the very fact that they are unrestrained in their spontaneity allows them to be open and frank about what they learn, which can be effectively used in making the most of the discussions about differences between languages and cultures involved" (p. 147). The data from the Catalan translation exercise reinforced the awareness-raising potential for translation among younger learners.

Some researchers consider language learners as natural translators (Carreres, 2014; Carreres, Muñoz-Calvo, & Noriega-Sánchez, 2017), with the understanding that "[l]earning to translate is not a special purpose or an add-on to general learning, but should be an integral part of

[92] During the initial presentation of the Catalan text, the language and identity of all members of the classroom community was more explicitly discussed than ever previously or subsequently observed. In our interview, the instructors commented that students had taken an interest in me and integrated me into their classroom community during the initial session dedicated to the comic.

[93] Bratož and Kocbek (2013) argue that a functionalist approach could help students to recognize that "the speaker does not only need to choose the most adequate verbal elements in L2, but also take into account the behavioremes" (p. 138). Understood within the context of this activity, students could be encouraged to reflect on how both the linguistic form of a message and its medium of transmission (e.g., on paper or via cellphone) are shaped by cultural norms.

a major aim of language learning—to operate bilingually as well as monolingually" (Cook, 2010, p. 55). Indeed, activities that require Gitan students to operate between languages constitute a formal extension of practices that they spontaneously employ. These practices were observed, for example, when students frequently participated in covert collaboration with peers. Students were observed translating instructions into Gitan for their peers, explaining to their classmates why their work required modifications, and supplying one another with answers. The following examples illustrate how learners moved between French and their L1 in assisting one another. On one occasion (2017.09.18.am1), students were taking a diagnostic math exam when a student, Ivana, struggled to complete an addition problem (i.e., 4 + ___ = 20). The classroom assistant, Sandrine, prompted her to subtract 4 from 20, however Ivana did not appear to comprehend the explanations that she received and continued to suggest solutions at random. As Ivana appeared increasingly frustrated, both visibly and audibly, she capitalized on Sandrine's brief absence to solicit assistance from a peer—negotiated in their L1. Sandrine appeared genuinely surprised when Ivana subsequently proposed the correct solution.

Excerpt 11. "Mais què és aquest?" [But *what is this*?]

Ivana:	((commence à gémir d'une voix forte, visiblement frustrée))	((begins moaning loudly, visibly frustrated))
Sandrine:	Bon Ivana je sais pas plus comment [t'expliquer	OK Ivana I don't have any more ideas about how to [explain (it) to you
Ivana:	[**Quatre.** ((en gémissant encore plus fortement)) **Qua::::tre.** Mais comment ? ((en s'approchant d'un camarade de classe)) Què és aquest?	[**Four.** ((wailing even more loudly)) **Fou::::r.** But how? ((approaching another student)) *What's this?*
Sandrine:	((s'éloignant pour aider un autre élève))	((walking away to help another student))
Ivana:	((à un camarade de classe)) Mais què és aquest?	((to a classmate)) But *what is this?*
Student:	((regardant l'addition)) Hi ha quatre (.) Set-	((looking over the addition problem)) *There are four* (.) *Seven-*
Ivana:	((en soufflant, apparemment stupéfaite)) ºÇa y est **se::pt.**	((gasping, seemingly in awe)) ºI've got it it's **se::ven.**
Student:	( ) manca setze (.) Setze perquè amb quatre és això (.) Até quatre (.) amb setze vint ( )	( ) *seventeen*[94] *is missing* (.) *Seventeen because with four it makes that* (.) *We've got four* (.) *and seventeen* [to make] *twenty-one* ( )
Ivana:	((en s'approchant de l'assistante)) Sandrine ? (.) Sandrine ? (.) C'est sept. ( ) C'est sept? C'est sept?	((approaching the assistant)) Sandrine? (.) Sandrine? (.) It's seven. ( ) It's seven? It's seven?
Sandrine:	((se retournant vers l'élève)) Non c'est toujours pas sept.	((turning around towards the student)) No that's still not right.
Ivana:	((chuchotant au même camarade à travers la salle)) ºSet / Sept ?	((whispering to the same classmate across the room)) º*Seven*?
Student:	ºSetze. Setze.	º*Seventeen*. *Seventeen*.

[94] Setze is sixteen, not seventeen, in Catalan, however, it was translated as seventeen for the purposes of this translation to reinforce the phonetic semblance between sept /sɛt/ (French) and setze /ˈsɛ.d͡zə/.

Ivana:	((à l'assistante, qui s'occupe d'un autre élève)) C'est seize. C'est seize.	((to the assistant, who is busy attending to another student)) It's seventeen. It's seventeen.
Sandrine:	((qui semble sincèrement surprise)) Oh:::: comment t'as trouvé seize ? Merci. Oui c'est ça.	((with seemingly genuine surprise)) Oh:::: How'd you come up with seventeen? Thanks. Yes that's it.
Instructor:	Allez on se range pour aller en récréation.	OK time to pack up for recess.

While the student in question here strategically employed her L1 and French to complete an assigned problem through clandestine, unsanctioned, and *bilingual* collaboration, which appears to have remained undetected, at other times instructors authorized or requested that students translate instructional materials into their L1 for a peer in need of assistance.

Gitan classroom assistants additionally facilitated students' understanding of course material by means of translation. Their assistance primarily took the form of L1 explanations of expectations for an assignment; however, they were also observed to translate relationships to language. An example of the latter form of collaboration was exemplified by conversations during dictations in the CM focal class. For instance, during a dictation of graphemes [une dictée de lettres] (2017.12.01.am1), a Gitan assistant, Léa, read a series of alphabetic letters for the two students in her group to copy down for accuracy. When one of the students, Dorine, struggled, the assistant first offered cues through references to classroom objects (e.g., 'c' as in 'cahier' [notebook]). When this effort proved unsuccessful, the assistant reframed the activity to involve a more personalized relationship to language: she used the names of the student's friends as cues. The other group member, Gisèle, proceeded to spontaneously model the assistant's approach, which had proven effective.

Excerpt 12. B like Briana

Léa:	En neuf (.) le B (.) [le B	For number nine (.) B (.) [B
Gisèle:	[Ah oui comme Bouzies [un nom de famille].	[Ah yes like Bouzies [a last name].
Léa:	Voilà comme Bouzies. Comme eu::h bébé (.) et comme Briana.	That's right like Bouzies. Like um:: baby (.) and like Briana.
Dorine:	Bri-an-a.	Bri-an-a.
Léa:	Voilà (.) ((à EL)) Quand on lui dit le nom d'une copine ? Ou d'une fille ? Hop elle se rappelle.	That's right (.) ((to EL)) When you tell her the name of a (female) friend? Or of a girl? Bam she remembers.

Lahire (2008) comments on a difficulty posed by socialization to writing at school, as experienced by the student in the above exchange: the expectation for students to cultivate a *reflexive* relationship to language as opposed to a purely *practical* one. As he recognizes:

> Pour les élèves qui ont appris à parler dans des formes de vie sociales impliquant le plus souvent une maîtrise du langage en pratique, en situation, en interaction, en réaction, c'est-à-dire dans des formes de vie sociales au sein desquelles les actes de parole n'impliquent pas nécessairement que la parole devienne en elle-même un objet de conscience, le passage à l'école modifie radicalement les règles des jeux de langage et, du même coup, le rapport au langage. (p. 74)

> [For students who learned to speak in social situations that mostly require the mastery of a practical approach to language, in context, in interaction, in reaction, in other words, in forms of social life in which speech acts do not necessarily involve the transformation of speech into an object of conscious analysis, the transition to schooling radically alters the rules of the game in terms of language and, at the same time, the relationship to language.]

Gitan students may have a very limited to no relationship—whether practical or reflexive in nature—to French at the time they begin formal schooling. Schooling in French is further complicated by the need for students to cultivate a reflexive relationship to language more generally. Consequently, both the medium (i.e., the language of schooling) and the mode of expression (i.e., the expected relationship to language) will be foreign. In other words:

> Alors que, dans des productions orales de sens en situation l'enfant prononce des sons 'sans le savoir', sans en être conscient, parce qu'il est pris dans une situation d'interaction, dans son sens en action, qu'il contribue lui-même à produire, on lui demande désormais de se centrer non plus sur le tout complexe d'une situation interactive, mais d'être comme hors-jeu par rapport à ses jeux de langage et de considérer uniquement la chaîne sonore à partir de ce que l'écriture opère sur le langage oral. (p. 81)
>
> [While, in practical speech situations the child pronounces sounds 'without realizing it', without being conscious of it, because he is engaged in an interactional situation, in meaning in action, the production of which he contributes to himself, he is now asked to focus on the entire complex interactive situation but to be as if outside of the game, exterior to language games, and to only consider the chain of sounds through the framework that writing imposes on oral language.]

In this way, the Gitan assistants not only serve as translators of the language of schooling but as literacy mediators of students' relationships to text. They translate decontextualized language in a less familiar language into recognizable linguistic and semantic forms. Both of these examples highlight the informal translation practices that spontaneously occur in the classroom, both among students, and between students and assistants. There is a potential to recognize and build on these practices in the classroom through the implementation of translation-based activities such as the one carried out with students in the Class 4 GES cohort with the aim of increasing students' language awareness and reflections on identity.

5.3.1 Translation as a Window into Identity and Language

In a collective reflection on the comic book translation activity, both focal co-instructors noted how identities in the classroom community became more salient. Indeed, the initial presentation of the translation activity brought questions of language and identity, or rather language *as* identity (e.g., evident in one student's comment that I *was* New York: "toi t'es New York"), to the fore in this course. This was seen in the following exchange, initiated by students during the presentation of the translation activity.

Excerpt 13. "vous êtes quoi comme origine ?" [what's your origin?]

Samantha:	Mais **eh** vous êtes quoi comme origine ?	But **hey** what's your origin?

*Coralie:	Moi je suis d'ici. Moi je suis née ici.	Well I'm from here. I was born here.
*Sabine:	Moi je suis pas d'ici.	But I'm not from here.
Samantha:	Et oui ?	Oh yeah?
*Coralie:	Moi ma grand-mère	As for me my grandmother
*Sabine:	Je suis de France mais je suis-	I am from France but I am-
Dorothy:	Mais t'as une origine ?	But you have an origin?
*Coralie & *Sabine:	Beh:::	We:::ll
Dorothy:	De Marseille	From Marseille
*Sabine:	Moi je suis de- ce que vous allez peut-être connaître- de Bordeaux.	Well I'm from- maybe you'll know it- from Bordeaux
Students:	((ils répondent que oui))	((respond affirmatively))
*Sabine:	À côté de Bordeaux.	Next to Bordeaux.
Dorothy:	(2.0) Et toi ? T'es d'où ?	(2.0) And you? Where are you from?
*Coralie:	D'ici.	From here.
Samantha:	((à EL)) Et toi t'es New York.	((to EL)) And you you're New York.
EL:	San Francisco.	San Francisco.
*Coralie:	Ouais ((petits rires))	Yeah ((chuckles))
Female students:	((réagissant avec de la surprise et de l'émerveillement))	((reacting with apparent surprise and awe))
Dorothy:	Elle vous pète.	She's got you beat.
*Coralie:	Elle nous pète ? ((en riant avec Sabine)) Oh là là.	She's got us beat? ((laughing with Sabine)) Oh là là.
Samantha:	C'est plus.	It's better.

Reflections on linguistic and cultural identity were invoked by the translation activity, and the co-instructors expressed an awareness of the complexity inherent to French instruction (as opposed to other course subjects) in this contact zone. They possessed an understanding of language as reflective of world view and the transition from students' L1 into French as consequently necessitating more than the use of another language but also a shift in perspective. The instructors explained that Gitan learners navigated two linguistic and cultural worlds, a perception also shared by Mònica, reflected in her characterization of the focal elementary classroom as a different world (Chapter 4). As one of the middle school French instructors who had led the translation activity asserted:

(11) Et la langue de toute façon c'est ça, on dit le monde à travers une langue, t'as une vision du monde que tu donnes à travers ta langue. […] Eh ben là c'est la même chose, c'est-à-dire les oiseaux il va y avoir oiseau. Et **il y aura pas la précision** parce qu'en fait ça appartient pas à leur monde. **C'est presque comme s'ils le voyaient pas** finalement. Tu vois les saisons, le fait de noter la date et tout- C'est pas pour rien aussi- enfin l'étalement du temps ils le voient pas. Enfin il y a plein de choses qui leur passent complètement à côté.

[And language in any case is just that, we speak the world through language, you have a vision of the world that you give through your language. […] And well it's the same thing in this case, I mean for birds there will be bird [for the students]. And **there won't be precision** because it actually doesn't belong to their world. **It's almost as though they didn't see it** even. Take seasons, the act of noting the date and all- It's not for

nothing either- well the span of time they don't see that. There are really lots of things that go right past them.]

(Interview, April 2018)

In other words, the instructors considered the difficulty posed by French instruction as more than a strictly linguistic challenge; Gitan students were confronted with new ways of apprehending and attending to reality. For instance, Coralie stated that this difference in perspective explains the students' difficulty understanding directionality as formally taught in the classroom. They say 'ça là' [that there] rather than employ decontextualized directionality (e.g., saying left and right without pointing) because such distinctions are not valuable in the immediacy of their speech production: "Parce qu'en fait ça sert à rien. Parce qu'ils touchent, ils montrent" [Because that actually isn't useful for anything. Because they touch, they show things]. This particular example recalls an observation during a CE Catalan lesson in which the instructors spent 1.5 hours attempting to teach students to respond to (i.e., through their displacement in physical space) and reproduce (i.e., by means of instructions for their classmates) directionality cues. The instructors in this instance could not understand how such seemingly simple notions as right and left appeared persistently foreign after endless attempts at socialization. The misunderstanding, it seemed, resulted from the fact that these directions were not inherent to students' language but to a standard variety of Catalan.[95] Similarly, the students may employ lexical items with (from the perspective of their instructors) insufficient specificity signaling a limited vocabulary. For instance, during a recess session at the focal elementary school a CM student approached me to express her boredom: a man was visiting their class and had spent the entire morning talking about nothing but pigeons. In inquiring about her comment with the focal CM instructor, I learned that the man in question was an ornithologist who had come to present on bird varieties. While *pigeon* was sufficient to describe the flocks of birds that frequented students' neighborhood, it could be deemed overly simplistic by instructors socialized in different contexts and expected to attend to distinctions between bird species. Reflecting on the relationship between students' context and language, the French instructors who had implemented the translation activity commented:

(12)

Sabine:	Ils sont dans le présent, on dit 'l'ici et maintenant' qui est **très très fort**. Et leur monde est circonscrit à peu. Peu de choses.	They are in the present, we say 'the here and now' which is **very very strong**. And their world is limited to little. Few things.
Coralie:	D'où peu de mots.	And consequently few words.
Sabine:	D'où peu de mots ouais je pense.	Yeah I think consequently few words.
Coralie:	Voilà. Et d'où une grande difficulté à élaborer des concepts et à imaginer d'autres choses que ce qu'ils vivent eux. En fait si tu n'as pas des mots pour imaginer d'autres choses comment tu vas penser d'autres concepts. Déjà **tu le vis pas**, personne ne le vit chez eux. Et **en**	That's right. And consequently a difficulty in elaborating concepts and in imagining other things than what they live. In reality if you don't have words to imagine other things how are you going to think about other concepts? And **you don't live it**, no one lives it in their

[95] Instead of employing the directions modeled by the Catalan instructor (e.g. a la dreta [*to the right*], a l'esquerra [*to the left*], the students persisted in using French when giving specific directions (e.g., à gauche [left], à droite [right]) and in using more vague references in Catalan (e.g., allà [over there]) (2018.01.16).

plus on n'a pas les mots donc comment tu veux ?	community. And **to top it off** there aren't the words so how could it be otherwise?

(Interview, April 2018)

Rather than view the Gitan students' language as deficient, language instructors can be guided to understand it as adapted to its contexts of use. The claim that students have a very limited vocabulary should also be qualified by the realization that this assessment is often based on students' knowledge of French, which is not their L1. Consequently, it should not be surprising that they have a limited vocabulary in a language that they are formally exposed to for the first time upon entry into the school system. As Lahire (2008) suggests, socialization to an L2 through schooling is doubly foreign, as language is no longer solely the medium of communication but the object of reflection—and the language under study does not coincide with the dominant home language.

Although Sabine had never previously organized a Catalan-based activity with students and was consequently unsure what reaction to anticipate from the students, Coralie expected some resistance based on her previous observations of Catalan language use by colleagues: "[J]e les avais déjà vu réagir comme ça sur le catalan, rejeter un peu" [I had already seen them react that way to Catalan, reject it a little]. In describing her prior collaborations with colleagues who spoke Catalan much more than she, Coralie expressed her perception that Gitan students did not appreciate instructors' efforts to speak their language:

(13) [E]n fait ça leur plaît pas quand on leur parle catalan. Ça leur plaît pas vraiment. Même en roussillonnais, je veux dire même dans la langue d'ici. C'est pas notre- À mon avis, dans leur tête c'est pas notre rôle, notre place de- Un peu comme ça, **oui.** Voilà ils peuvent se sentir plus proches de nous parce que du coup ils comprennent. Mais pour un enseignement, je crois que ça leur pose problème.

[Actually they don't like it when they're spoken to in Catalan. They don't really like it. Even in Roussillon, I mean even in the language from here. It's not our- In my view, in their head it's not our role, our place to- That's sort of how it is, **yes.** It's like they can feel close to us because then they understand. But for instruction, I think they find it problematic.]

(Interview, April 2018)

Given the close association that Gitan students uphold between language and identity, they may seek to maintain linguistic and cultural distance from instructors whom they consider Payos. That the Catalan instructors did not encounter resistance can be explained by their eventual acceptance by Gitan students. One of the instructors, for instance, commented that Gitan students had come to refer to him affectionately as *l'Oncle* [Uncle]. Moreover, it is perhaps not the presence of students' language that they find problematic but the way in which a standard variety of Catalan is imposed in some classroom contexts at the expense of their linguistic legitimacy (see, for example, Chapter 4).

Within the context of our exchanges, these instructors noted a clear divide between the domains of school and home life, and associated languages. As Sabine explained, "Pour eux ils mélangent pas les deux mondes dans lesquels ils vivent quoi. Parce qu'en gros ils vivent dans deux

mondes, hein ? Ils vivent chez eux dans un monde. Et ici on a d'autres règles, d'autres façons de parler, d'autres attentes" [For them they like don't mix the two worlds in which they live. Because they really live in two worlds, ya know? They live at home in a world. And here we have different rules, different ways of talking, different expectations]. This observation reflects the foundational notions of language socialization: that learners are socialized to and through language as a means of developing local forms of knowledge and acquiring contextually sanctioned practices. And yet, while the instructors displayed sensitivity to the relationship between language, identity, and perspective during our conversations, they were not observed to communicate such reflections with students within the context of the translation activity nor during their French classes more generally. Instead, following the initial class session in which it was introduced, the translation activity was reframed as a scholarly exercise that involved writing in French, with attention to spelling and vocabulary. Sabine expressed her perception that students' resistance had decreased due to this pedagogic focus:

(14) Après le premier cours qu'on a fait avec *Llobató*, **justement** leur réaction a été assez forte, en disant 'On comprend pas de toute façon, c'est une autre langue le catalan', alors qu'en fait ils comprenaient. Et la deuxième fois 'Pouf !' c'est passé tranquillement.

[After the first class that we did with *Llobató*, their reaction was **actually** pretty strong, with them saying 'We don't understand in any case, Catalan is another language', when they truly understood. And the second time 'Ta-da!' it went over easily.]

(Interview, April 2018)

The change in students' behavior was interpreted by the French instructors as a sign of resolution, evidence that students' commentary on their relationship to the language of the text that they were to read and produce had subsided. From another perspective, however, this change could also be understood as the result of avoidance, as modeled by instructors, of continued engagement in discussions on language, identity, and culture provoked by the exercise in translation in favor of focused attention on language mechanics in French.

The *Llobató* translation activity revealed a potential for the development of language awareness that the instructors had not intended. The instructors' response in framing the purpose of the translation activity as an exercise in L2 writing worked to minimize its possible function as a resource to heighten students' critical language awareness. Such awareness could be realized through exposure to linguistic variation (e.g., between their L1 variety, Roussillon Catalan, and other Catalan varieties), the process of interpreting and conveying the text's semantic content in French, and the opportunity to imagine an alternative version of the comic in Gitan—as well as the considerations for both language use and medium of expression posed by such a venture. In other words, "translation can be studied and practiced as a locus of difference" (Venuti, 1995, pp. 41-42), a pedagogical practice that encourages students to critically reflect on language and their relationship to it. This activity highlights how language pedagogy can contribute to the *visibility* of students as translators in the classroom—by placing emphasis not only on the production of a translation in the language of schooling but by understanding translation as an opportunity to recognize and cultivate an awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity.

That instructors did not recognize the same potential that I found in the process of translation is unsurprising when contextualized in light of our differing conceptions of literacy and

the role of language instruction more generally. Instructors' emphasis on orthographic development reflects an understanding of *alphabétisation* [literacy] as an act of decoding and encoding of meaning. This focus was reflected in their pedagogical materials, which consisted of structured worksheet exercises. In contrast, my socialization as a researcher from the United States had sensitized me to literacy as an ensemble of contextually specific practices of engaging with texts. Such a perception afforded me an understanding of the potential of literacy activities to confront students with (and increase their instructors' awareness of) linguistic and cultural difference while developing their critical reflection on language, identity, and culture.

In order for instructors to reframe the translation activity as more than an exercise in orthography, it would be necessary to sensitize them to alternative understandings of literacy and translation. Literacy could come to be resignified within both French research circles and the classroom as a collection of practices, as opposed to an ability. Translation, in turn, could come to be conceptualized as more than an act of *alphabétisation* involving two languages but as a process of linguistic and cultural engagement with and expression of difference. One step towards a shift in instructors' approach to translation and language instruction more generally could involve their critical examination of students' perspective on language and identity—in this case, through the review of the presentation of the translation activity and students' reaction to the text. While instructors approached the exercise with a dichotomous mindset (i.e., the students could understand or they could not; languages were or were not the same), students evidenced an ability to carve out a third place, situating themselves in-between the Catalan and French versions of the text. In positioning the Catalan of the text as Gitan's linguistic cousin, they worked to maintain a linguistic identity in their own terms, that is, as they themselves defined it (as opposed to a pre-established identity imposed from outside). As Kramsch (1993) argues, the development of a third place involves "the creation, in and through the classroom, of a social, linguistic reality that is born from the L1 speech environment of the learners and the social environment of the L2 native speakers" (p. 9). A third place offers learners an escape from proscriptive ideologies that situate them as inferior to native speakers of standard varieties. Through a recognition of students' claim to in-betweenness, their refusal to be pigeonholed into established categories such as "French" or "Catalan," instructors can come to validate students' multilingual repertoire. In line with the heterogeneity that defined Gitan language and culture more broadly (Escudero, 2004), this repertoire defies the observance of linguistic boundaries that delineate "standard" varieties. Auger (2017) notes that, within France, instructors' fear of linguistic contact and potential mixture often overpowers their recognition of the effectiveness of recognizing students' languages for multilingual development (p. 146). While one out of two students in metropolitan French cities speaks a language other than French at home (Auger, 2013), educators in France, a country with a particularly strong historical association between the unified nation-state and monolingualism (Calvet, 1987; Cerquiglini, 1999), have appeared reticent to account for additional languages or alternative linguistic norms (Auger, 2013). An awareness and validation of students' language practices requires a shift in the perspective of instructors who will otherwise continue to hear Gitan students as non-normative, as speakers of less than "real" varieties. In this difficult shift lies the promise of multilingualism.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Drawing on the analyses in the previous chapters and the ethnographic fieldwork for this project more broadly, this chapter offers a reflection on the complexity of Gitan learners' sociolinguistic context. In light of the insights from Chapter 3, the discussion opens with attention to the need to better understand students' claims to language as identity. It then considers the politics of language instruction in this context, as evidenced in the elementary school Catalan lessons (Chapter 4), and, in particular, unequal access to Catalan instruction for Gitan and non-Gitan learners. Chapter 5 highlighted the pedagogical promise of translation in Gitan students' language study. This chapter closes with ethnographically informed recommendations, including but not limited to the use of translation, aimed at promoting multilingual, multicultural language pedagogies that avoid a caricature of diversity (e.g., as in what Auger (2008a, p. 191) has termed a "pédagogie couscous") in favor of a more critical engagement with difference. Although the discussion centers on the sociopolitical situation of Gitan learners in Perpignan specifically, the implications raised are applicable to the schooling of minority language learners more broadly.

6.1 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES: GITAN IDENTITY AS MULTILINGUAL AGILITY?

As the previous chapters have illustrated, Gitan students and their instructors differ in their conception of language and its relationship to identity. What does students' perspective suggest about their experience of multilingualism? Does multilingualism seem to represent a repertoire of linguistic resources or a collection of discrete languages? The ethnographic observations presented in this study do not yield an unequivocal response. On the one hand, speaking and being Gitan does appear to entail the activation of "une mosaïque d'influences" [a mosaic of [linguistic] influences] (Escudero, 2004, p. 251) as students claim French borrowings as Gitan language. At the same time, Gitan learners navigate a context in which a strict Gitan versus Payo dichotomy reminds them of the existence of discrete languages and identities. In this sense, the boundaries between being Gitan and speaking Gitan versus being French and speaking French find themselves reinforced; languages, and their speakers, are distinguishable from one another, defined through their opposition. While multilingualism in the first sense underscores the many and diverse linguistic resources at Gitan speakers' disposal and the promise of intercomprehension, in the second sense it poses a risk to their identity, which is predicated upon differentiation from a non-Gitan French Other.

What barriers precluded instructors from developing a nuanced understanding of Gitan students' views on language and identity? As previously described (Chapter 3), my identity as an American outsider, a non-French and non-Gitan arrival, afforded me a unique subject position that facilitated my interactions with students and instructors. My sustained observations in multiple classrooms at the two focal schools simultaneously sharpened my awareness of the unpredictability and complexity of instruction. Instructors had irregular and minimal contact with Gitan students enrolled in their courses. They had never met some students on their enrollment lists, and they expressed a sense that a particular student might disappear at any moment for an indeterminate period of time. This uncertainty necessarily complicated any efforts on the part of instructors to think beyond their limited contact with students, which was utilized for the

completion of a specific task (e.g., the completion of a worksheet, a grammar lesson, etc.), and to understand students' perspectives on language and identity. Furthermore, instructors held heterogeneous understandings of the nature of students' L1 (ranging from a piecemeal jargon enabling basic communication to a local variety of Catalan), and they seemed largely unaware of students' diverse linguistic knowledge. When faced with inconsistent attendance, consequent fluctuations in class size from hour to hour, and below-grade level performance, one can comprehend the increasing resignation displayed and articulated by some instructors, who come to see themselves, in the words of one teacher, as civil servants who fulfill their duty by remaining in their classrooms from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., even if no students appear. Rather than attempt to ascribe a sociolinguistic identity to students, it was far easier to understand them as learners at the margins of the schools, a good number of whom had attained the status of "élèves fantômes" [ghost students] due to their extreme absenteeism.

The English language lessons that I organized with students from the CM sections afforded greater insight into students' perception of their language and identity. Our interactions through these lessons simultaneously increased my awareness of the potential for—as well as the curtailment of—multilingualism. Students were hesitant to begin English lessons. During the first official lesson, one student, Stéphanie, asked how she was supposed to learn English if she still had difficulty with French. Stéphanie's classmate, Vincent, echoed her comments, pointing out unfamiliar French words on the posters behind me as evidence that he possessed limited knowledge of French (2018.02.06). While it is possible that students were playing one dominant language off another in my presence, they seemed to genuinely question their ability to learn the language. This same concern voiced by some students was found in administrators' and instructors' arguments on the importance of providing Gitan students with French, and only French, language instruction. As recess ended and I prepared to resume the first English lessons with students, across the noisy buzz of classroom activity, I overheard an instructor scolding Stéphanie for her disrespectful behavior. As Stéphanie complained, in Gitan, about Payos to her peers, a classroom aide rushed to scold her: "Arrête de parler d'autres langues! Ici tu parles français. C'est ça le manque de respect aussi, Stéphanie" [Stop speaking other languages! You speak French here. That's also disrespectful, Stéphanie]. This comment was particularly ironic given that I was about to initiate English lessons with the students. Additionally, while it suggested that the aide viewed English as on par with French, Gitan language did not have a place in the classroom. The juxtaposition of my encouragement of language learning as a multilingual exchange and this aide's rebuke reinforced how easily efforts to give space to multilingualism—at least in certain languages—could be stunted within classrooms in France.

In the lessons that I organized, more than teaching English, my goal was to foster students' reflections on their diverse linguistic resources and capacity to develop additional languages. During one session, I asked students to visually represent their languages on "their body," distributing photocopies of a human silhouette (Krumm & Jenkins, 2001; also see Busch, 2012, 2016, 2018). Students initially appeared unsure how to begin, likely in part because this activity differed so significantly from typical language-learning exercises (e.g., Catalan lessons at the school emphasized the acquisition of discrete vocabulary) in their classroom. The profiles that students produced revealed a salient theme: the use of flags as a semiotic resource for representation.[96] The prevalence of flags recalled instructors' frequent definition of identity as tied

[96] After noting this trend in the portraits produced by the first group of students, I intentionally concealed completed portraits when the next group of students arrived so as not to inspire replications. To my surprise, the trend continued. It was, of course, possible that some students had discussed the activity and their approach to representation with their

to the nation-state. That the tricolor was used for the head in 13 of the 19 portraits could conceivably index ideologies of rationality attributed to the French language for centuries (e.g., in French grammarian Claude Favre de Vaugelas's (1647) *Remarques sur la langue françoise*), while the body is Gitan/Catalan. The portrayal of Gitan, however, left students with a conundrum, which became a topic of discussion among groups: Was there a Gitan flag? If so, what did it look like? On a few occasions, students commented that a "drapeau gitan" [Gitan flag] did not exist, while a peer countered that this was untrue, attesting to the flag's existence and describing it as featuring yellow and red stripes. It was soon apparent that the flag being evoked was that of Catalonia, an observation suggesting that there was some awareness among students of their shared Catalan heritage.

In other cases, the colors of the Catalan (and the Spanish) flag were present, while Gitan was visually situated in the heart, chest, or elsewhere (e.g., in the wrestling belt pictured in the left drawing below) on the body.[97]

peers during the minutes in which they had transitioned between activity stations. This was, however, an unlikely explanation for the high frequency of flag-based representations.

[97] The Gitan students were not instructed about how to employ colors within their silhouette. By contrast, in Krumm and Jenkins (2001), German-speaking immigrant students gave each color the name of a language in a list next to their silhouette.

In this lesson, and through our weekly conversations, in the guise of English lessons, the potential for students to recognize and identify as multilinguals was evident. Multilingualism, though rarely ascribed to Gitan speakers (see Rosa & Flores (2015) on "Hearing Language Gaps and Reproducing Social Inequality"), already characterizes the practices that I observed and that were reported to me. Gitanness, I would argue, can be taught to encompass both the core of the body and the entire silhouette, the embodiment of multilingualism. Yet we should also problematize these silhouettes for their limitation: they favor essentialized representations of self through the use of colors, highlighting the heterogeneity of learners' linguistic resources but failing to capture their linguistic practices. In other words, the strict compartmentalization of languages in various body parts as reflected in the silhouettes does not capture the interlinguistic influences in Gitan students' speech, nor the ways in which they adapt their language as a function of their interlocutor. Gitans' knowledge of different languages affords them the linguistic agility to adapt their speech to that of their interlocutors when necessary. When asked how L1 Catalan and L1 Spanish Gitan speakers communicate with one another, a parent from Saint Jacques explained:

(1) Celui qui est Gitan espagnol, si l'autre sait parler espagnol, il va parler en espagnol. Ou sinon c'est- Ils s'adaptent en fait. Il y aura le Catalan et l'Espagnol. Le Catalan s'il sait parler espagnol, il va lui parler espagnol et l'Espagnol si il sait parler catalan il va lui parler catalan si l'autre il comprend pas l'espagnol. **Mais** par contre si le Catalan il comprend pas l'espagnol et si l'Espagnol ne parle pas catalan, ils vont parler français.

[The Spanish Gitan, if the other person knows Spanish, he will talk to him in Spanish. Or otherwise it's- Well they will adapt actually. There will be the Catalan and the Spanish Gitan. And if he knows how to speak Spanish, the Catalan will speak in Spanish and the Spanish Gitan if he knows how to speak Catalan he will speak Catalan if the other one does not understand Spanish. **But** on the other hand if the Catalan doesn't understand Spanish and the Spanish does not speak Catalan, they will speak French.]

(Interview, May 2018)

This linguistic accommodation to another speaker was experienced by linguist Jean-Paul Escudero, who recounted a memorable conversation with a Gitan woman from Valencia:

(2) Et je parle avec elle. Elle me parlait- pour moi c'était un valencien, un certain valencien. Et j'ai parlé pendant très longtemps avec elle. C'était un **grand** plaisir, une personne très- ((en espagnol)) muy educada, muy atenta, muy- elle était vraiment très agréable cette femme. Et puis à la fin, quand on s'est dit au revoir, j'ai dit : 'Excusez-moi. Vous parlez- Ça c'est la langue- ce que vous m'avez parlé c'est la langue que vous parlez chez vous ? C'est votre langue ?' Elle me dit : 'Non. Mais pas du tout ! Pas du tout. Là je vous ai parlé en tortosí' elle me dit. C'est fou ça ! C'est fou quoi ! C'est que- elle en tant que valencienne elle parlait en catalan. Mais elle a pris un intermédiaire à me parler- le tortosí c'est un catalan occidental qui est à cheval entre le- schématiquement- entre le catalan de Lleida et le valencien. Dans sa vision du tortosí qu'elle avait. Et c'est ça qui est fou quoi. C'est qu'on va parler avec des Gitans. On peut parler longtemps.

Et en même temps on peut ne pas savoir **du tout** comment ça se passe à la maison réellement.

[And I'm talking with her. She was talking to me- in what for me was a kind of Valencian. And I spoke for a very long time with her. It was **most** enjoyable, she was ((in Spanish)) very polite, very thoughtful- ((in French)) she was really most agreeable that woman. And then, at the end, when it was time to say goodbye, I said: 'Excuse me. You speak- That is the language- the language you just spoke is the one that you speak at home ? It's your language ?' And she said : 'Oh non. Not at all ! Not at all. I just spoke to you in Tortosa dialect' she says to me. That's crazy ! It's insane ! I mean- As a Valencian she was speaking to me in Catalan. But she used an intermediary code to speak to me- Tortosa is a western Catalan dialect that straddles- schematically- Catalan from Lleida and Valencian. In the vision of Tortosa that she had. And that's completely insane. It goes to show that you can talk to Gitans. You can talk to them for a long time. And at the same time you can't be sure **at all** what it's really like inside their homes.]

(Interview, May 2018)

Born in Portugal and raised in the Saint Jacques neighborhood beginning in elementary school, a Gitan assistant at the Ludothèque afterschool program reflected on her ability to translanguage. With knowledge of French, Portuguese, and Gitan Catalan, she regularly "[shuttles] between languages, treating the diverse languages that form [her] linguistic repertoire as an integrated system" (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 401), a practice that she was only made aware of by her non-Gitan French colleagues.

(3) Je parle tellement de langues en même temps que parfois quand je parle à des collègues je dis 'Je ne sais pas ce que j'ai dit.' Parce que des fois je me dis 'J'ai dit quoi là ?! J'ai rien compris de ce que je me suis- que je vous ai dit.' Et 'Ah nous on n'a pas compris ce que t'as dit.' […] Je parle tellement de langues que je mélange tout.

[I speak so many languages at once that sometimes I will be talking to [French] colleagues and I will say 'I don't know what I said.' Because sometimes I'll say to myself 'What did I just say?! I have no idea what I just said to myself- what I just said to you.' And (they'll say) 'Oh well we didn't understand a thing you said.' Because I mix everything. I speak so many languages that I mix everything together.]

(Interview, May 2018)

In light of the above accounts, what obstacles stand in the way of Gitan students' identification and self-identification as multilinguals? While they were observed to self-identify in terms of multiple languages (e.g., "Je suis trois langues"), Gitan learners did not speak of themselves as multilinguals and were not termed as such by their instructors, who implicitly or explicitly framed them as semilinguals with underdeveloped languages and insisted upon the exclusive use of French in the classroom with few exceptions. The complex linguistic footwork that Escudero experienced, the accommodation that the Gitan parent describes, and the

translanguaing that the Gitan assistant evokes are likely to be devalued in an institutional setting in which students are trained to keep their languages separate, unaffected by external influences, and secondary to French. Although instructors can undertake concrete steps to recognize linguistic diversity within the classroom, they may be wary of highlighting difference in an educational system that emphasizes monolingualism as a foundation for national unity.

6.2 THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION FOR GITAN STUDENTS IN PERPIGNAN

6.2.1 Barriers to Catalan Instruction

At the focal middle school, there is potential for Gitan students to participate in Catalan instruction alongside non-Gitan students, some of whom are heritage speakers of the language. However, a seemingly insurmountable divide separates Gitan and non-Gitan students at the school, and in the city at large. This divide is sustained by intercultural dynamics and institutional structures. The existence of the GES program, exclusively attended by Gitan students with only a handful of exceptions, has comforted Gitan families while it has simultaneously increased the reticence of non-Gitan parents to enroll their children at the school. In order to increase or at least maintain enrollment, the middle school administrators described their efforts to render the school more attractive to families who might have otherwise withdrawn their children from the school (personal communication). To this end, school administrators designed a Chinese language emphasis, which enables exchanges with middle schoolers from China, and a music program, which fosters collaborations with university students from the local conservatory. The school also proposes a bilingual French-Catalan track, enabling students to study Catalan throughout middle school and preparing them to continue their dual-language studies at a local high school. Bilingual French-Catalan education is available within the city from elementary through high school (at a public bilingual French-Catalan elementary school and through dual-language tracks offered at the focal middle school and a local high school).

Gitan students in "Perpignan, la Catalane," as the city is officially termed, currently constitute the majority of L1 Catalan speakers in the city yet receive limited formal exposure to the language at school. At the middle school, Catalan courses were previously offered to students in the GES program with the two-fold aim of (a) ensuring sufficient instructional hours for Catalan instructors and (b) increasing school attendance among Gitan learners. In the words of one of the Catalan instructors at the middle school:

(4) Donc l'idée c'était que le catalan pouvait les inciter à venir au collège (2.0). Parce qu'évidemment pour eux le collège c'est pas important, l'éducation c'est pas important, ça sert à rien, ou presque. Donc c'était une manière de les attirer vers le collège mais peut-être aussi de les (.) de les honorer un peu dans leur langue, de dire 'ta langue'- Euh souvent ils disent pas catalan ils disent gitan, ils disent qu'ils parlent gitan.

[So the idea was that Catalan had the potential to encourage them to come to the middle school (2.0). Because clearly middle school isn't important to them- education isn't important, it's not useful for anything, or almost nothing. So it was a way of drawing them towards the middle school but maybe also of (.) of honoring them a little in their language, of saying 'your language'- Uh often they don't say Catalan they say Gitan, they say that they speak Gitan.]

(Interview, January 2018)

However, Catalan instruction was eliminated from the GES program at the end of the 2016-2017 school year, prior to the initiation of the fieldwork for this dissertation project. Although the administration presented this decision as a matter of practicality (i.e., attendance did not appear to have increased as a result of Catalan language courses), some instructors expressed their suspicion that a political motive was also at play (i.e., a lack of institutional recognition of students' language as a legitimate Catalan variety).

6.2.2 Whose Catalan?

During a weekly Catalan lesson at the focal elementary school, a Gitan student voiced a contribution to the discussion "Jo voldri…" [*I would like*]. In an aside to the focal French instructor, the Catalan instructor commented, "Je parle le catalan **normatif**. Mais il a le droit de dire voldri" [I speak normative Catalan. But he has the right to say *voldri*]. As she proceeded to explain, *voldri* is a form attested in Northern Catalan. This exchange highlighted the debate over linguistic legitimacy that permeated Catalan instruction at the school. Central Catalan, as spoken in Barcelona remained the ideal, but students were accorded the right to speak Northern Catalan, due to its documentation. The same hierarchy articulated in the elementary school language lessons is upheld at the focal middle school: Central Catalan maintains more institutional prestige than the Northern Catalan (i.e., "le roussillonnais" or "*el català septentrional o rossellonès*") of the region, which is regarded as still superior to Catalan as spoken by Gitan families in Perpignan. Gitan students' L1 variety, which has not been formally standardized, was deemed unacceptable within the classroom. One of the middle school Catalan instructors suggested that the notion of "standard" Catalan and the institutional emphasis on Barcelona Catalan had delegitimized and endangered Northern Catalan:

(5) [Le roussillonnais] est pratiquement **éteint** (.) Parce que (.) on a- quand on a enseigné le catalan- quand on a décidé d'enseigner le catalan mais:: pratiquement il était entendu qu'on enseignait le catalan de Barcelone. (2.0) Donc ça a créé quand même beaucoup de problèmes- enfin. Euh: (.) Ça s'est fait comme ça parce qu'on a dit 'Il faut enseigner le catalan **correct**.' Oui d'accord. Mais le roussillonnais était aussi correcte que l'autre.

[[Roussillon Catalan] is practically **extinct** (.) Because (.) we have- when we taught Catalan- when we decided to teach Catalan we::ll it was basically assumed that we would teach the Barcelona (Central) variety of Catalan. (2.0) And that actually created a lot of problems- well. Uh: (.) That's how it happened because people said '**Correct** Catalan must be taught.' Yes sure. But Roussillon is just as correct as the next [variety].]

(Interview, January 2018)

In Perpignan, where French is the dominant language both inside and outside of the classroom, students are encouraged to prioritize French language development over the study of other

languages. Although Catalan instruction may be at first perceived as contributing to language maintenance, it may in fact hasten the obsolescence of local varieties. In light of the institutional emphasis on a non-regional variety, we may ask, as Jones (1995) does in his work on neo-Breton: "[W]hen do learners stop being of benefit to an obsolescent language [or variety] and actually start hastening its death?" (p. 437).[98]

Importantly, as suggested by the previous interview except, not all Catalan instructors working within this context uphold the superiority of a Central Catalan linguistic standard. Students, however, may still attribute greater legitimacy to an institutionally recognized variety, even at the expense of their heritage or L1 variety. Although one of the middle school Catalan instructors—himself a heritage speaker of Northern Catalan—described his endeavors to expose the non-Gitan students in his Catalan language courses to internal linguistic variation, he noted that they had at times adopted a stance of linguistic prescriptivism vis-à-vis older generations of Northern Catalan speakers within their family:

(6) Qu'on dise *canti* ou *canto* (.) Bon c'est rien du tout. Euh ::: donc il y a de toutes petites choses (.) Voilà. Et c'est **rien** c'est absolument rien. Et donc euh ::: donc je fais aussi le roussillonnais parce que euh même si aujourd'hui c'est en grande partie perdu et se perdra (.) Il se perdra. Le catalan ne se perdra pas mais le roussillonnais se perdra. Euh ::: je veux que quand même s'ils trouvent un texte ou s'ils parlent avec une personne âgée, ou leur voisin, ou leur papi (.) Et ça je l'ai entendu dire souvent (.) Malheureusement hein ? Des fois quelques élèves (.) eh bien (.) Le papi ou la mamie leur dit deux ou trois mots de catalan (.) roussillonnais évidemment- eux ils ont appris que ça. Et leurs petits-enfants leur disent, 'Ah mais non. Tu parles pas bien. C'est pas comme ça qu'il faut dire.' (3.0) Alors évidemment alors évidemment alors les grands-parents prudents disent, 'Ah mais excuse-moi je te parlerai plus catalan comme ça au moins-'

[Whether one says ((in Northern Catalan)) *canti* or ((in Central Catalan)) *canto* (.) Well that's no difference at all. Uh::: So there are tiny little things [that are different] (.) That's it. And it's **nothing** it's absolutely nothing. And so uh::: so I also do some Northern Catalan because uh even if it's largely lost by now and will be lost (.) It will be lost. Catalan won't be lost but Northern Catalan will be lost (.) Uh::: At least if they encounter a text or if they speak with an elderly person, or with their grandpa I want (.) And I've heard this said a lot (.) Sadly you know? Sometimes some students (.) uh well (.) The grandpa or grandma says two or three words of Catalan to them (.) in Northern Catalan obviously- the only variety they have learned. And their grandchildren tell them, 'Oh come on. You don't speak well. That's not how it's supposed to be said.' (3.0) So obviously so obviously so cautious grandparents say, 'Ah well excuse me I will not speak Catalan to you anymore so at least that way-']

(Interview, January 2018)

[98] Following the establishment of CODOFIL (Council for the Development of French in Louisiana) in 1968, instructors originally recruited from Europe—France or Belgium, specifically (Valdman, 2010, p. 120). Consequently, students experienced sociolinguistic pressures of language shift towards English and towards standard European varieties of French. However, whereas Neo-Breton has become incomprehensible for older generations of native Breton speakers, efforts were subsequently undertaken in Louisiana to promote local varieties of French.

The same instructor reported that, in addition to adopting a prescriptive stance towards the Catalan spoken by their family members, some students had criticized his own oral production as a Northern Catalan speaker. These students reproduced this stance even as their Catalan instructor endeavored to socialize them to the existence of alternative norms (e.g., through vocabulary lessons and multimedia). As the instructor in question recounted:

(7)

CatInstructor:	Bon ils savent que je parle roussillonnais que j'ai un accent roussillonnais et cetera. Pourtant ils me le demandent parce que (.) ils arrivent d'institutrices euh :: de [une école] souvent qui ne leur parlent qu'en catalan normatif. Et donc ils se disent ah ::: Ils me disent, 'On dit pas comme ça' ou 'Vous parlez pas bien' ou autre chose comme ça.	Well they know that I speak Northern Catalan that I have a Northern Catalan accent etcetera. But they ask me about it because (.) other instructors from [X school] will often come and only speak to them in normative Catalan. And so they say to themselves oh::: They say to me, 'It's not said that way' or 'You don't speak well' or other stuff like that.
EL:	Ah bon ?	Oh yeah?
CatInstructor:	Oui. Alors je leur explique- je leur dis, 'On peut dire comme **ça** et on peut dire comme **ça**. Il y a les deux.' Mais je m'étends pas sur la chose parce que sinon il faudrait **tout** expliquer. 'Il n'y a pas un souci. Tu peux dire comme **ça** et tu peux dire comme **ça**. Crois-moi. Tu peux dire les deux il n'y a pas de problème.'	Yes. So I explain to them- I tell them, 'People can say it **this** way or **that** way. There are both ways.' But I don't elaborate on the topic because otherwise it would be necessary to explain **everything**. 'There's no problem. You can say it like **this** or you can say it like **that**. Believe me. You can say both things it's no problem.'

(Interview, January 2018)

In arguing for the need to promote "plurinormalism" (i.e., the existence of multiple norms) in language education, Auger (2013) cautions that the failure to do so risks inciting verbal violence against speakers of "non-normative" varieties (also see Auger & Romain, 2015). In Perpignan, Catalan-speaking populations remain physically and linguistically proximal yet separated by social distance.

6.2.3 Physical and Linguistic Proximity, Affective Distance

An administrator at the public French-Catalan bilingual school situated at the edge of the Saint-Jacques neighborhood, and only minutes by foot from the focal elementary school, commented on enrolled Gitan students' linguistic advantage as L1 Catalan speakers. She noted the minimal linguistic differences presented by Gitan students' L1 variety, which largely pertained to vocabulary.

(8) Eh ben les petits [Gitans] ils comprennent- là il y en a en petite section. Il est avantagé par rapport à tous les autres qui n'ont pas le catalan. Donc lui comprend tout de suite. Après voilà quand ils ont de petits mots de vocabulaire qui sont différents aux leurs, il me dit 'Què dius ?' El jaq, el jaq. Nous on dit la jaqueta [la veste]. Ils disent le jaq. Bon

voilà. C'est des mots. Et alors ça ça leur fait rigoler parce que ils me disent 'Mais qu'est-ce que tu dis ?'

[So well the little [Gitan] ones understand- we have a kid in the first-grade level. He's at an advantage compared to the others who do not know Catalan. So he understands right away. Then when there are little vocabulary words that are different from theirs, he says to me 'what're you saying?' *Jaq, jaq*. We say *jaqueta* [jacket]. They say *jaq*. So yeah. There are words. And so it it makes them laugh because they'll say to me 'But what are you saying?']

(Interview, March 2018)

A Gitan mother whose son had attended the bilingual school also recognized how their L1 placed him at an advantage over his peers. Additionally, with time, her son had developed linguistic awareness of differences between his L1 variety and the Catalan used in instruction.

(9)

EL:	Est-ce que ça a été difficile pour ton fils au début quand il allait à Arrels ?	Was it difficult for you son when he started going to Arrels?
Mother1:	Non. Non. Parce qu'il parlait déjà gitan-catalan. Il parlait déjà gitan. Donc quand il allait à Arrels ça a été facile après.	No. No. Because he already spoke Gitan-Catalan. He already spoke Gitan. So when he went to Arrels it was easy after.
EL:	Donc c'était un avantage pour lui.	So it was an advantage for him.
Mother1:	Eh ben oui. Et oui et oui et oui et oui. Parce que lui il comprend parfois le catalan et le gitan. Il savait faire la part du catalan et du gitan. Ça a été un plus pour lui.	Oh well yes. Oh yes yes yes yes. Because he sometimes understands Catalan and Gitan. He was able to distinguish between Catalan and Gitan. It was a plus for him.
EL:	Donc il n'a jamais dit 'Ç'est pas le même catalan' ou 'C'est pas le même' ?	So he never said 'It's not the same Catalan' or 'It's not the same'?
Mother1:	Il disait 'Non. En gitan on dit comme ça' à la maîtresse.	He would say to the teacher 'No. In Gitan we say it this way.'
EL:	Ah il disait ça en classe ?	Ah he would say that in class?
Mother1:	Oui. Elle elle disait en catalan. Et lui il disait 'Non. On dit comme ça en gitan.'	Yes. She she would speak in Catalan. And he would say 'No. We say it this way in Gitan.'

(Interview, March 2018)

In this interview excerpt, it is noteworthy that the mother corrected her mention of Gitan before subsequently reiterating the label (i.e., "Because he already spoke Gitan- Catalan. He already spoke Gitan."). In this way, like her son, she signaled an awareness that Gitan constitutes a variety of Catalan that has been shaped by its contexts of use.

Another mother whose son had attended the bilingual elementary school noted how, in addition to becoming aware of differences in vocabulary, her son had developed a different articulatory habitus for school-related assignments:

(10)

EL:	Et quelle langue est-ce que vous parlez à la maison ?	And what language do you speak at home?
Mother2:	Gitan.	Gitan.
EL:	Et quand on dit gitan ça veut dire [catalan ?	And when people say Gitan that means [Catalan?
Mother2:	[Catalan	[Catalan
EL:	Catalan gitan ?	Gitan Catalan?
Mother2:	Après les mots sont pas pareil parce que ((en commençant à rire)) moi j'ai appris un peu le catalan en lui donnant un coup de main avec les devoirs. L'accent, peut-être, tu vois ? Il est pas pareil. Il me faisait rigoler quand il me faisait des récitations, quand il disait des mots en catalan. C'est rigolo quand même. C'est pas pareil.	Well the words are not the same because ((starting to laugh)) I learned a little Catalan in helping him with homework. The accent, maybe, you know? It is not the same. He would make me laugh when he'd do recitations for me, when he would say words in Catalan. It's still funny. It's not the same.

(Interview, May 2018)

Although physical and linguistic proximity would appear to favor integration, intercultural relations constitute an incontrovertible obstacle. An administrator at the bilingual elementary school asserted that the primary difficulties of the handful of Gitan students enrolled there were social in nature. As an illustration, she described how, when on a field trip in downtown, a Gitan mother from Saint Jacques identified a Gitan child from the neighborhood and called out to inquire why he was in the Payos' [French children's] school. In light of this anecdote, the administrator emphasized the minimal geographic distance yet great socio-emotional divide that separated the Gitan community from the surrounding neighborhood:

(11) En fait, nous les famille gitanes on en a mais c'est celles qui sont déjà sorties de Saint Jacques entre guillemets. Elles sont juste à la limite. Elles sont- Elles habitent pas Place du Puig, vous voyez ? Elles sont déjà à la frontière là, elles sont- Parce que pour eux traverser le boulevard là- pour les Gitans qui sont- c'est vraiment compliqué. C'est un autre monde, donc pour venir ici- c'est des familles qui sont déjà- ceux qui viennent ici c'est des familles qui ont commencé euh une certaine émancipation. Le poids de la communauté reste très très fort. Quand on passe et on va à la Médiathèque, quand les enfants ils traversent à pied, les les mamans gitanes qui les voient- C'est dur, hein ? Elles sont dures 'Eh qu'est-ce que tu fais à l'école dels Paios ? Cal pas anar a l'escola dels Paios. I què hi fas tu aqui ? Cal pas anar.'

[Actually, we do have Gitan families but it's those who have already left Saint Jacques so to speak. They are just at the edge. They are- They don't live at Place du Puig [the main square in the Gitan community], you see? They are already at the border over there, they are- Because for them to cross that boulevard over there- for the Gitans who are- it's really complicated. It's another world, so to come here- it's families who have already- those who come here are families that have begun uh a kind of emancipation. The weight of the community looms very very large. When you walk over to the Media Center, when the students cross by foot, the the Gitan moms who see them- It's hard,

you know? They are harsh 'And what are you doing at the school *of the Payos? There's no need to go to the Payos' school. And what are you doing there? There's no need to go (there).*']

(Interview, March 2018)

The same community pressure that contributes to Gitan families' desire for their children to remain in the GES program and apprehension when presented with the prospect of integration into select mainstream courses appears to discourage enrollment in the dual-language elementary school.

During my fieldwork, I was able to arrange individual interviews with the two aforementioned Gitan mothers who had elected to enroll their children at the said bilingual elementary school. As both of these women explained, they were motivated not so much by the prospect of instruction in a familiar language as by the promise of contact with children from diverse cultural backgrounds. In explaining her rationale, one mother stated:

(12) Parce que je voulais pas qu'il [mon fils] se mélange avec les les:: que les Gitans. Je voulais qu'il se mélange avec d'autres populations. Ça fait trop ghetto trop entre eux. Je voulais que qu'il sache qu'il y a des Arabes gentils, des Espagnols, qu'il y a des noirs gentils voilà. Qu'il y a des gens gentils [et] méchants voilà. Je voulais ça moi, qu'il puisse connaître tous- pas que les Gitans. C'est pas bien.

[Because I didn't want him [my son] to mix with the the:: only with Gitans. I wanted him to mix with other populations. It's too ghetto-like amongst themselves. I wanted him to know that there are nice Arabs, Spaniards, that there are nice blacks you know. That there are nice [and] mean people you know. That's what I wanted, that he get to know everyone- not only Gitans. That's not good.]

(Interview, March 2018)

The other interviewed mother shared an interest in more than linguistic contact for her son: "Il y avait des langues à apprendre, il y avait d'autres personnes" [There were languages to learn, there were other people] (Interview, May 2018). As she recognized, however, her perspective was uncommon among Gitan families in Saint Jacques, who generally accorded minimal importance to their children's exposure to cultural and linguistic diversity at school: "Mais ceux d'ici s'en foutent. Ils veulent pas ils veulent pas parler d'autres langues que le gitan" [But those from here don't give a damn. They don't want they don't want to speak languages other than Gitan].

A middle school instructor asserted that the absence of diversity at the elementary school constituted the desired configuration within the Gitan community (personal communication). Gitan families were indeed observed to express their appreciation for the familiarity offered by the school (i.e., in the form of Gitan classroom aides and Gitan peers, who were often family members or close friends). Gitan students' insistence to remain at the Gitan elementary school ["l'école gitane"] and to attend Gitan classes ["les classes gitanes"] (i.e., the middle school GES program) simultaneously appeared to comfort many non-Gitans, who had limited to no direct contact with Gitan families in Saint Jacques and shared in a generalized sentiment of reciprocal mistrust. Having grown up in Perpignan, one of the elementary instructors noted how she had largely ignored the existence of the Saint Jacques neighborhood until receiving her teaching assignment

at the focal school. Another instructor, born and raised in Perpignan, described the Gitan and Payo communities of the city as separate worlds[99]:

(13) C'est vrai qu'à Perpignan les mondes sont séparés quand même, hein ? Si on n'a pas un contact direct pour une raison professionnelle presque il y a peu de liens qui se font comme ça de manière spontanée entre la population et les Gitans.

[It's true that the worlds are actually separated in Perpignan, you know? If you don't have direct contact for professional business few ties are made between the population and the Gitans just like that spontaneously.]

(Interview, April 2018)

The contrast between "the population" and "the Gitans" in this instructor's assertion underscores the way in which Gitans remain unintegrated in Perpignan.

6.3 LIMITED CONTACT, LIMITED LANGUAGE AWARENESS

As previously mentioned, although French was unsurprisingly prioritized within the public-school system as the national language, exclusive instruction in French was deemed particularly imperative for Gitan students. In contrast to school administrators and some of his colleagues, a Catalan instructor at the focal middle school lamented the elimination of Catalan from the GES program. He perceived an emphasis on multilingual instruction, as opposed to monolingual instruction in French, as crucial to Gitan students' language and literacy development:

(14) C'est ça que (.) je trouve un peu dommage qu'on ait supprimé le catalan- Enfin je trouve vraiment dommage qu'on l'ait supprimé parce que (.) en fait on dit aujourd'hui qu'il faut qu'ils [les élèves gitans] fassent du français du français du français. **Mais** (.) On faisait le lien **nous** entre leur langue et le français. Parce que (.) écrire en catalan ou écrire en français c'est pareil, c'est écrire (.) Quand un élève il ne sait pas former des lettres (.) qu'il faut lui apprendre à écrire (.) Le 'a' en catalan ou le 'a' en français, c'est le même (.) Exactement pareil (.) En plus on faisait des allers-retours entre des langues, ce qu'on fait toujours avec les filières bilingues. Quand euh::: on passe en français parfois pour expliquer certaines choses, ou alors il y a des mots qui ressemblent au français. Donc euh le mot est comme ça en catalan, on dit, 'En français vous dites comment ?' Comme ça. Et des fois espagnol (.) On fait un peu de philologie. Un tout petit peu de philologie. Des fois l'anglais même. Quand on trouve le mot 'el mapa' (.) pour dire 'une carte' (.) on dit, 'Comment vous dites en anglais? A map.' Beh vous voyez que c'est le même mot. Et en espagnol, 'el mapa.'

[That's why (.) I find it a somewhat unfortunate that Catalan was eliminated- Well I find it really unfortunate that it was eliminated because (.) well today people say they [the Gitan students] need to do French French French. **But** (.) We used to make the connection **we** would between their language and French. Because (.) writing in Catalan or writing in French is the same, it's writing (.) When a student does not know

[99] This perspective is also documented by Grimard (2011).

> how to write letters (.) you need to teach him to write (.) The 'a' in Catalan or the 'a' in French, it's the same (.) Exactly the same (.) Besides we would go back and forth between languages, like we still do in the bilingual tracks. When uh::: we switch into French sometimes to explain certain things, or when there are words that look like the French equivalents. So uh the word is like that in Catalan, we say, 'In French how do you say it?' Like that. And sometimes Spanish (.) We do a little philology. A little bit of philology. Sometimes even with English. When we find the Spanish word 'el mapa' (.) meaning 'une carte' in French (.) we say, 'How do you say it in English? A map.' Eh you see that it's the same word. And in Spanish, 'el mapa.']
>
> (Interview, January 2018)

The approach adopted by this instructor recognizes a value in intercomprehension (see, e.g., Escudé & Jain, 2010a, 2010b). However, the version of intercomprehension he advocates goes beyond superficial lexical equivalencies (e.g., how to say the word 'map' in different Romance varieties) to account for the social implications of recognizing diversity. He positioned Catalan as a resource to foster Gitan students' relationships with other linguistic varieties, seemingly, with general thought-organizational processes associated with writing in any language, and with other speakers.

The middle school principal acknowledged the potential benefits of Catalan instruction for Gitan students' sense of identity and linguistic development. However, she argued that, by the time Gitan students arrived at the middle school, instructors should capitalize on instructional time to improve their communicative abilities in French before they discontinued their formal studies altogether. Consequently, L1-Catalan Gitan students and their non-Gitan peers studying Catalan as an L2 or heritage language remain isolated from one another at the middle school. As Auger (2017) observes, institutions contribute to the perpetuation of existing ethnolinguistic divisions:

> [L]es institutions tracent aussi des frontières, puisque l'élite régionale engagée dans la promotion du patrimoine catalan et qui souhaite que ses enfants soient scolarisés dans cette langue envoie ses enfants dans des écoles [ou filières] bilingues. Néanmoins, dans ces établissements, les enfants gitans, pourtant locuteurs de cette langue, n'ont pas leur place (p. 151).
>
> [[I]nstitutions also draw boundaries, seeing as the regional elite, which is engaged in the promotion of Catalan heritage and desires for its children to be educated in this language enrolls them into bilingual schools [or dual-language tracks]. In these establishments, however, Gitan students, despite being speakers of this language, do not have a place.][100]

It is important to recognize that the focal elementary school's status within the city as an "école-ghetto" [ghetto school] conforms to an aforementioned desire among Gitan families for

[100] The bilingual French-Catalan school's administration does not actively recruit Gitan learners from the neighborhood, although a small number of Gitan families seek admission. All parents wishing to enroll their children are interviewed, and families are reminded of the importance of timely arrival each day and compulsory attendance, barring extenuating circumstances. Any family that does not adhere to this policy is subject to expulsion. For Gitan students, with a reputation of being "élèves fantômes" [ghost students] due to high rates of absenteeism, this makes expulsion a very real possibility.

limited contact with non-Gitans. As Grimard (2011) writes, "[I]l y a une demande des parents gitans pour la non-mixité ; on peut conidérer cette demande à la fois comme une réponse culturelle endogène et un moyen de protéger les enfants du choc de la ségrégation" (p. 60) [[T]here is demand among Gitan parents for isolation; we can understand this demand as both an endogenous cultural response and a means of protecting children from the shock of segregation.]. An increase in early linguistic and cultural contact for between non-Gitan and Gitan students would require an educational campaign targeting parents. When I informally asked Gitan parents whether they would support the elementary school's adoption of dual-language program, they replied that their children already spoke Gitan. This remark aligns with previous research that has shown that parents may support bilingualism for their children in principle but not in educational practice; that is, they may encourage the development of more than one language while favoring monolingual formal education for their children (S. K. Lee, 2013; Shin & Kim, 1996). Shin and Kim conclude that "this may indicate that many of the parents do not entirely understand all the rationales for bilingual education" (p. 149). Moreover, however, Gitan parents' response suggests that they have an acute understanding of French education and its power structure. In contrast to the U.S., in France a distinction between "the language of the school" and "the everyday language of the home" is very clearly inculcated early on by the French Éducation Nationale.

During my fieldwork, Gitan students were only formally exposed to Catalan language at one grade level (i.e., the CE level at the elementary school). In these lessons, moreover, students' L1 variety was subjected to a prescriptive, standard language ideology that positioned them as deficient communicators. Although the guest Catalan instructor sometimes reminded students that "Catalan" and "Gitan" (students' term for their L1 Catalan variety) were the same, her discourse constructed students as foreign language learners of Catalan. Students were not regarded as legitimate sources of linguistic knowledge, as reinforced by the focal French teacher's alignment with students as fellow learners of Catalan and the Catalan instructor's habitual rejection of students' vocabulary. The conundrum that Cummins (2005) recognizes in a North American context resonates with the situation of Gitan learners in Perpignan:

> Languages that exist in the community, most particularly Spanish, are treated as 'foreign' when they are being taught for academic purposes to nonheritage speakers. At the same time, some students enrolled in elementary or high school foreign language classes are already bilingual or multilingual and sometimes fluent in this foreign language, again particularly Spanish; but this reality is largely ignored in both curriculum development and instruction. (p. 586)

There is a potential to develop language awareness among students in Perpignan through contact between the city's Gitan speakers and non-Gitan learners of Catalan, as well as with Catalan speakers elsewhere. Such contact could contribute to the recognition of Gitan students as L1 Catalan speakers and to all students' exposure to intralinguistic variation. Moreover, text-based encounters (i.e., through translation) with other varieties of Catalan can further contribute to engagement with difference and language awareness.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding observations inform recommendations aimed at improving the language learning experiences of Gitan students in Perpignan. Specifically, these recommendations concern (a) the

need to recognize students' language ideologies (and those of their instructors), (b) the value of promoting contact between diverse Catalan-speaking populations, and (c) the potential of translation to contribute to language awareness.

(a) Recognition of Students' Language Practices and Ideologies

Rather than overlook or correct students' language ideologies, instructors and Gitan students would mutually benefit from a recognition of different understandings of language and its relationship to identity. Students' conflation of language and identity should not be mobilized to reinforce representations of Gitan students as deficient speakers (e.g., you speak standard Catalan badly, so you are a poor Catalan speaker). Alternatively, students' stance can be mobilized to frame their Gitanness as multilingual agility. In other words, if, as students contend, you are what you speak, instructors could resignify Gitan practices of speaking and being as embodying multilingualism, with the recognition of their rich and varied linguistic resources (which, to my knowledge, included, Arabic, Chinese, English, Korean, Spanish, and Portuguese).[101] Through both formal strategies (activities and discussions designed to highlight students' multilingualism, e.g., translation-based exercises, language portrait silhouettes[102] (as I implemented in English lessons with CM-level students), or Catalan language lessons) and informal strategies (e.g., comments that draw attention to students' diverse linguistic backgrounds), instructors have the ability to recognize the translanguaging practices inherent to Gitan identity as historical bordercrossers. This would require understanding Gitans as "les gens du voyage" [travelers] across both languages and cultures. Working towards an understanding of Gitan identity as multilingual heterogeneity and accommodation, both historically and at present,[103] is unlikely to make tensions around linguistic practices and identity disappear in the foreseeable future. It is incumbent on other local actors (e.g., at the Ludothèque or the neighborhood social center) beyond the classroom to organize activities that begin to increase awareness, among Gitans and non-Gitans in Perpignan, of the diverse linguistic knowledge within the Gitan community.

An understanding of Gitan students' language ideologies among instructors and administrators, developed through in-service training workshops and community meetings, can elucidate students' reaction to Catalan lessons as implemented in the elementary classrooms. What an instructor may perceive as a refusal to accept terminology may, in fact, reflect a Gitan student's assertion of difference in linguistic practices and, by extension, identity. The instructor may argue that "speaking Catalan" and "speaking Gitan" are the same thing (or that "speaking Gitan" represents speaking Catalan poorly), however, for a Gitan student, language is equated with identity and is mobilized to highlight sameness or difference from others.[104] Instructors could

[101] Gitan students' acceptance of such a reframing is, of course, uncertain. We recall, however, André's assertion that it is possible to be different languages to varying extents (Chapter 3).

[102] Krumm and Jenkins (2001) introduced language portrait silhouettes as a means of exploring multilingual children's language awareness. Their use has since been popularized by Busch (2012, 2018), who argues that such "biographical approaches can contribute to a better understanding of heteroglossic life worlds and multilayered linguistic repertoires" (Busch, 2016, p. 3).

[103] By the Rennaissance, the Gitans had already attracted the attention of savants for their multilingualism and linguistic accommodation: "car ils parlent aisément l'allemand en Allemagne, l'italien en Italie, le français en France, et ils ont leur propre langage, un jargon que personne ne comprend" [because they comfortably spoke German in Germany, Italian in Italy, French in France, and they have their own language, a jargon that no one understands] (Vaux de Foletier, 1961, p. 41).

[104] Outside of the classroom, public awareness campaigns on Gitan language and its relationship to identity could also be mobilized to inform community members at large.

explain the historical and institutional motivations for their use of a more extensively documented variety for instruction while allowing students to continue to employ their L1 variety in the classroom. Moreover, while Gitan Catalan lacks the institutionally accorded prestige necessary to be selected as a medium for instruction, Northern Catalan represents an historically valid and educationally viable alternative. The language variety historically spoken in the region and the heritage variety of students at the school, Northern Catalan also represents the variety that is most closely related to Gitan Catalan (Escudero, 2004, p. 37). Although there are fewer educational resources available in Northern Catalan than in the central variety, cultural centers (i.e., El Casal de Perpinyà – Centre Cultural Català; Maison de la catalanité) could be enlisted to find and develop relevant materials.

(b) Contact Between "Catalan" and "Gitan" Speakers as a Means to Explore "Linguistic Relatability"

The instructors at the focal elementary school decried the absence of non-Gitan students, or cultural "mixité" [mixedness], often to the point of advocating for the school's closure. Even without institutional changes (e.g., the closure of the focal elementary school, the elimination of the GES program at the focal middle school, etc.) in Perpignan, there remains an unrealized potential to mobilize the Catalan language as a resource to improve contact between non-Gitan and Gitan students. The fieldwork for this project suggested the possibility for students in Perpignan to recognize their common Catalan heritage while acknowledging and learning from their differences. In other words, efforts could be undertaken to build language awareness through collaborations between Gitan L1 Catalan speakers and non-Gitan L2 learners of Catalan. At present, the promotion of Catalan as a "langue de patrimoine" [heritage language] in Perpignan overlooks the city's largest population of L1 Catalan speakers: the Gitan families who predominately inhabit the historic city center.

There is a need for initiatives to increase the exposure of all students in Perpignan to Catalan linguistic variation within and beyond the city. Such efforts can support the legitimacy of non-Gitan heritage and Gitan L1 Catalan-speaking communities across Catalonia. Exposure to and engagement with other varieties can be supported through activities such as translation (see Chapter 5) or through the incorporation of different media in language instruction. For example, students could listen to and view recordings of speakers from a variety of Catalan-speaking regions and they could take part in virtual exchanges (via videoconferencing, writing, and/or recorded audio/video messages) with students from schools in other parts of Catalonia. Moreover, one only need to look within the city to encounter linguistic variation.

At present, it is difficult to envision the implementation of a project involving students in the focal "Gitan" elementary school and students at the neighboring French-Catalan bilingual school, or between learners enrolled in the GES program and students completing the bilingual French-Catalan track at the middle school due to socioaffective distance and mutual mistrust stemming from minimal contact. The closure of the focal elementary school was viewed by some instructors as a potentially complicated yet necessary step towards improved intercultural relations. Should the focal school remain operative, workshops (led by sociolinguists familiar with the sociocultural and linguistic particularities of Perpignan, key figures from the Gitan community (e.g., elders, pastors), and non-Gitan Catalan speakers) could focus on the development of cultural and linguistic awareness, as well as the cultivation of mutual understanding and respect between learners, while allowing them to identify through a shared but diverse regional Catalan heritage.

Moreover, in an effort to cultivate "sociolinguistic justice in the schools" (Bucholtz et al., 2014), students themselves could be coopted as linguistic investigators and experts, charged with the responsibility of carrying out fieldwork on their family's past and present linguistic practices and changing relationship to Catalan language and culture.

Collaborations could also take the form of correspondence (e.g., via written or video recorded messages) or digital storytelling between Gitan and non-Gitan Catalan-speaking students in other parts of France and Spain. The combination of in-situ and distance exchanges could seek to promote critical language awareness through "an approach to language education that both incorporates the linguistic practices of language-minoritized students into the classroom and provides spaces for students to critique the larger sociopolitical context that delegitimizes these linguistic practices" (Flores & Rosa, 2015, p. 154; also see Alim, 2005). The cultivation of critical language awareness is aimed at helping "students become conscious of their communicative behavior and the ways by which they can transform the conditions under which they live" (Alim, 2005, p. 28). This transformation can be sustained not only through efforts to increase students' understanding of their linguistic and cultural identities but also through changes to the institutional conditions in which they learn. In other words, administrators and instructors must share in consciousness-raising efforts through their participation in workshops and subsequent reflections on their students' as well as their own linguistic identities. In order to maximize their effectiveness, such initiatives should be introduced at an early age and maintained for the duration of learners' schooling.

In addition to raising students' language awareness through contact with other speakers, reflections can take their inspiration from an engagement with Catalan-language texts. Within Catalan language lessons, students can be guided to understand texts produced in Catalan and to consider the particularities of the language variety represented therein, commenting on its relationship to the Catalan variety with which they are familiar as L1 or FL learners. In French courses, texts written in Catalan can be used for translation-based activities that require students to first understand the source text and then convey its semantic content in French (see, for example, the activity from Chapter 5).

The term 'intercomprehension,' which has been attributed to Jules Ronjat, captures individuals' capacity to understand languages from the same family (Escudé & Janin, 2010a, p. 35; Donato & Escudé, 2018). While the phenomenon of intercomprehension (i.e., speaking one's language while understanding another's) has a long existence, its status as a didactic resource for language study is relatively recent (Escudé & Janin, 2010a, p. 9). Escudé and Janin identify the need for a pedagogical shift: from insisting on the separation between language to capitalizing on linguistic similarities to support language learning (p. 15). This approach teaches learners that linguistic 'borders' are more flexible than previous instruction may have suggested:

> Plus on travaillera sur des langues de même famille, plus il y aura de passerelles de langue à langue : la frontalité qui fait par exemple de l'espagnol et du français des langues étrangères s'affaisse. Les frontières entre langues ne sont plus jamais définitives et se déplacent : parfois le français sera proche d'un groupe portugais, castillan, catalan, occitan et parfois éloigné, plus proche d'un groupe italien-roumain. Ces traits communs sur une ligne de continuum élastique permettent l'assimibilité des langues voisines. La régularité de fréquence rend les vocabulaires et les structures de pensée de moins en moins arbitraires, de plus en plus transparentes. (p. 54)

> [The more we work on languages from the same family, the more bridges we will find from one language to another: the direct approach that considers Spanish and French foreign languages subsides. The borders between languages are no longer ever definitive and shift: sometimes French will be close to a Portuguese, Castilian, Catalan, Occitan group and sometimes distanced, closer to an Italo-Romanian group. These common traits on an elastic continuum allow for the assimilation of neighboring languages. The regularity of frequency renders vocabularies and structures of thought less and less arbitrary, more and more transparent.]

This statement overlooks the fact that linguistic borders are also perceived and enacted by speakers, who are the locus of language contact. While the study of related languages will be facilitated by linguistic similarities, it is important to recognize that, in some contexts, borders are enacted by speakers who may not be keen on promoting intercomprehension. If, as Escudé and Jain assert, "[l]es frontières entre langues ne sont plus jamais définitives et se déplacent," this is not only a consequence of the linguistic systems involved and their relatability but of speakers themselves. Contrary to Escudé and Jain's assertion that the prolonged study of languages from the same family increases their interconnectedness and eliminates the notion of foreignness, this study has illustrated speakers' perception of and insistence upon difference. Intercomprehension, I contend, is dependent on more than objective linguistic similarities between related varieties; more importantly, it involves perceived *linguistic relatability* (my term), which stems from a desire to understand and be understood—or not—by a cultural Other. Translation holds a significant potential to sensitize students to linguistic diversity and encourage them to explore linguistic relatability between linguistic varieties and those who employ them.

(c) Translation as a Resource for Language Awareness

Though once a mainstream practice in foreign language education, translation came to be seen as an outdated method in some parts of the world by the 1970s, and its use became increasingly restricted to the study of classical languages. Some researchers have since contributed to undoing translation's status as the 'pariah' in language education (Pennycook, 2008, p. 35) by drawing attention to ways in which it constitutes a valuable, overlooked resource for language development (e.g., Katz Bourns, Mills, & Krueger, 2020; Kramsch & Huffmaster, 2008, 2015; McLaughlin, 2012, among others). These researchers question a monolingual mindset (e.g., that emphasizes French and only French, as previously described and decried by the middle school Catalan instructors), highlighting the insights that can stem from working with different languages in combination (McLaughlin, 2012; Pennycook, 2008). For instance, Waddington (2020) illustrated how elementary school students in Catalonia spontaneously employed translation as a means of verifying their comprehension of an L3 English language text that they were to teach to preschool students. In addition to supporting literacy development and fostering learners' need to "operate between languages" (MLA, 2007, p. 237) and develop "transnational, translingual and transcultural competencies" for "today's multilingual environments" (Kramsch & Huffmaster, 2015, p. 114), some scholars have noted how translation can contribute to "the political promise of diversity" (Kramsch & Huffmaster, 2008, p. 295) by sensitizing students to a myriad of social and symbolic dimensions of language.

The activity implemented in the GES Class 4 (see Chapter 5) suggested an unrealized potential of translation-based literacy activities to increase students' language awareness. An

understanding of literacy as a collection of *practices*, something that individuals *do*, rather than as a set of attainable skills, highlights the promise of this and related activities. As Kern (2000) writes:

> Literacy is the use of socially-, historically-, and culturally-situated practices of creating and interpreting meaning through texts. It entails at least a tacit awareness of the relationships between textual conventions and their contexts of use and, ideally, the ability to reflect critically on those relationships. Because it is purpose-sensitive, literacy is dynamic—not static—and variable across and within discourse communities and cultures. It draws on a wide range of cognitive abilities, on knowledge of written and spoken language, on knowledge of genres, and on cultural knowledge. (p. 16)

In other words, within particular discourse communities and cultures, socialization aims to inculcate individuals with particular ways of engaging with texts. Instead of reducing reading and writing to isolated skills that accomplish information transfer or "a static, monolithic set of psychological attributes," literacy can be reconceptualized as "a collection of dynamic cultural processes" (p. 23).

If grammar is transformed from a set of prescriptive rules into a resource that permits the construction of desired meanings, students can come to see linguistic variation as presenting a series of choices. As Maxim, Byrnes and Norris (2010) explain, "Grammar provides the energy behind the semiotic system of language in that it presents networks of interlocking options, with particular wordings signaling construal of a particular sociocultural context" (p. 46). From this functionalist perspective, students are encouraged to develop a metalinguistic awareness of language and the effect produced by particular linguistic choices in specific contexts of use. They can be guided to consider the pragmatic effects of choices on the lexical and syntactic level and to view themselves as writers capable of producing varying effects through their own selection of different possibilities available in their L1 variety and FL/L2.

Through the production of translations, students can also claim multilingual authorship. The Gitan students in the focal middle school class who participated in the translation activity did not understand themselves as authors and deferred to their French instructors as potential authors when faced with the absence of a text in their L1 variety of Catalan. They could, however, be supported to claim authorship in their L1, in culturally adapted ways. Translations into students' L1 variety should not appropriate the same medium as other texts to which they are socialized in the classroom; they should instead reflect L1-specific conventions. For instance, if, as students suggested, it is only possible (i.e., culturally appropriate) to write in Gitan on a cellphone, they could be permitted to use one to compose their text (through the combination of French and Gitan), even if the text were later reproduced in hard copy to facilitate its dissemination and critical analysis within the classroom community. Alternatively, they could prepare and perform (i.e., in the form of a theatrical production) renditions of the source text in their L1. In producing variations on the original narrative, students could be guided in a discussion of how the medium matters, shaping literary practices of both production and reception in culturally relevant ways (Kern, 2015). In this way, the exercise of translation has the potential to foster awareness of how the message as well as the medium are shaped by the identity of the author.[105]

[105] Sensitive to the cultural dimensions of linguistic creations, an assistant at the Ludothèque afterschool program recounted how he had students practice and perform plays in French. He then allowed them to translate the play into Gitan and to perform it again. With this new rendition, he noted how more than the language of production changed; students were more expressive in their linguistic production and gestures (personal communication).

There is some promise that translation-based awareness-raising activities could one day take hold owing to the status of translation as an accepted instructional methodology within the French educational system. During both the translation exercise and an end-of-year interview, however, it became evident that the instructors and I differed considerably in the pedagogical value that we attributed to translation, a finding that can be explained by our contexts of socialization. While I understood translation as an exercise in engagement with linguistic and cultural diversity, instructors emphasized the grammatical dimension of the activity, commenting on how it had revealed and further developed students' competence in French orthography. The focal instructors had been visibly unsettled by diversions from this pedagogical focus; most notably, they had considered discontinuing the activity when it inspired spontaneous reflections on language and identity among members of the class. Given the efforts to avoid "communautarisme" (a recognition of different communities) within the French educational system, the articulation of identitary differences poses a threat to unity in national identity (RT France, 2016).[106] Students' comments concerning language practices and identity could be mobilized to support the development of language awareness, but only if instructors come to view them as resources instead of potentially divisive distractions.

The eventual success of these recommendations within this context is dependent upon a paradigm shift. Instructors and researchers who continue to emphasize "alphabétisation" (a process of encoding and decoding information in text) can be encouraged to consider literacy as a constellation of practices. With such a resignification of literacy, translation can become seen within French educational circles as a resource for the development of language awareness. The eventual adoption of alternative approaches to literacy and translation can be fostered by contact with diverse approaches to language instruction. As a researcher trained in the U.S., my presence and conversations with French instructors highlighted differences in our instructional practices. Exposure to different pedagogical techniques and rationale need not originate from exchanges with educators outside of France, however (see, e.g., Escudé & Janin, 2010a); for instance, Nathalie Auger (2008b) at the Université de Montpellier and her colleagues in France and Europe more broadly are working to increase the perception of linguistic and cultural variation as a resource, rather than an obstacle (European Center for Modern Languages, 2020).[107] Moreover, in Perpignan, some actors at the schools already recognize a benefit of working with linguistic variation. The middle school instructors who had previously worked with Gitan students mobilized students' L1 background as a resource for lessons in linguistic variation within Catalan and across the Romance languages. Additionally, although the elementary school Catalan lessons were characterized by an emphasis on linguistic prescriptivism, the incorporation of Catalan into the school curriculum suggested the nascent recognition of the importance of developing students' linguistic competence in their L1.

6.5 CLOSING REMARKS

The incorporation of Catalan in instruction at schools in Perpignan is far from a neutral enterprise; it is deeply implicated in questions of identity. Being socialized as a French citizen in *la*

[106] The threat posed by instruction in languages other than French is illustrated by the polemic incited when the minister of Education Najat Vallaud Belkacem argued in favor of the introduction of Arabic in the CP (kindergarten) grade level (RT France, 2016).

[107] For an illustration of the approach to language instruction advocated for by Auger, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ZlBiAoMTBo

République française means developing academic competence first and foremost in French. As Escudé and Janin (2010a) observe, "[E]n France, le français a servi de ciment national, mais au prix de l'affaiblissement, parfois de l'extinction de son patrimoine multilingue historique" [In France, the French language has acted as national cement, but at the expense of weaking, and sometimes extinguishing its historical multilingual heritage] (p. 12). The limited introduction of Catalan also raises the issue of belonging: whose Catalan is selected as a medium for instruction communicates a message about legitimacy within the educational system.

Throughout my observations in the focal classrooms and reflections on language, identity, and legitimacy, I was reminded of a memorable exchange with an official at the Roussillonnais Department of Education as I prepared to embark on my year-long fieldwork. In reflecting on Gitan students' stance towards instruction in Catalan as opposed to foreign languages, such as English, he had surmised, "Dans l'anglais on ne perd pas son âme" [In English you do not lose your soul]. This sentiment speaks to an age-old issue in the development of language policy in multilingual nations of if and how to involve students' L1 in instruction. Perhaps students do not need to lose their soul in Catalan either—and they might even be able to find it within the walls of the classroom. If space is given to linguistic variation within Catalan and if students are encouraged to work between varieties and languages, Gitan students might make strides in linguistic development without compromising their sociolinguistic identity in the process. The testimonials by the Gitan mothers who elected to enroll their children at the French-Catalan bilingual school and Thomas's example (Chapter 3) illustrate the potential of Catalan instruction and interethnic contact. Language learning should reflect efforts to normalize and teach language contact ("la normalisation et la didactisation du contact des langues," Escudé & Janin, 2010a, p. 18). Seeing as speakers are the locus of language contact, we can aim to promote linguistic and cultural awareness while encouraging intercomprehension through early and sustained interactions between Gitan and non-Gitan learners. It is equally possible, however, that Gitan students' L1 Catalan and the variety of instruction could prove too close for comfort; that is, cultural difference could overshadow linguistic proximity. This alternative possibility reminds us that intercomprehension is dependent on more than linguistic similarities between related varieties; more importantly, it requires a desire to understand and be understood by a cultural Other.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have investigated questions of language and identity for Gitan students in Perpignan, France. To this end, I pursued the following three lines of exploration through classroom-based ethnographic fieldwork:

1. How do Gitan students and their instructors understand language and its relationship to identity? (Chapter 3)
2. How do instructors seek to instill linguistic and cultural norms during weekly Catalan language lessons, and how do Gitan students respond to classroom-sanctioned practices? (Chapter 4)
3. How can the practice of translation in language learning support the development of language awareness and offer Gitan students an opportunity to position themselves vis-à-vis classroom norms? (Chapter 5)

For the first question, I found that Gitan students and their instructors did not agree on the relationship between language and identity. Whereas Gitan students conflated language and identity, describing themselves and others as a function of their language(s), their French instructors generally situated identity as dependent upon an individual's local and national context. This tendency among instructors aligns with the French State's definition of identity as resulting from "jus soli" ['the law of soil' in Latin]. Some instructors did recognize the possibility of additional identities within France; however, they stressed a common French identity in their interactions with students. Students, who identified first and foremost as Gitan, resisted instructors' efforts to socialize them into a national identity by means of the French language.

The data reinforced the core tenet of language socialization, namely that the process of acquiring a language is deeply implicated in the process of becoming part of a particular community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984, p. 277). Language practices were not neutral but realized learners' membership or exclusion from Gitan or French collectives. For instance, although André, an elementary student, expressed a preference for all things French, he was already cognizant of the social consequences of speaking French too extensively in particular spaces outside of the classroom. Students' hyphenated identity as French-Gitans both opened them up to criticism while offering them possibilities to renegotiate their identity through interaction. As speakers of French and Catalan varieties shaped by reciprocal linguistic influence, students found themselves in a double bind, positioned as "non-normative" in French and Catalan classroom instruction; they were characterized as speakers of "impure" French, contaminated by contact with Catalan, and an illegitimate variety of Catalan (i.e., not "real" Catalan, see Chapters 4 and 5). In this way, imposture, understood as "a non-fixed, wrong, false, or illegitimate (subject) position" (Kramsch, 2012b, p. 487), was imposed on Gitan learners by their instructors. Classroom discourses on students' linguistic appropriateness have consequences for more than the reception of their language use (p. 43; also see Flores & Rosa, 2019; Kelly-Holmes, 2019; Rosa, 2019); they also reflect underlying ideologies about who counts as a French or Catalan speaker and contribute to inclusion or exclusion. The case of Sharon (discussed in Chapter 3), a middle school student born to a non-Gitan mother and Gitan father, highlights how peer socialization can construct imposture and result in social exclusion. Significantly, however, Gitan learners are not only assigned imposture but are observed to claim it as a resource. As Kramsch (2012b) recognizes, imposture

can also "index a refusal to let yourself be pigeonholed in any pre-established position" (p. 487). Some Gitan learners were seen to capitalize on their imposture to challenge norms for French and Catalan speakers and negotiate a third place for themselves. The case study of one Gitan student raised in Saint Jacques and now studying at university, Thomas, evinces the possibility to interrogate the mentalities to which we have been socialized and renegotiate our identity.

The second question was examined in the context of Catalan language lessons introduced to a limited extent (i.e., one grade level, one morning per week, beginning in November) in the focal elementary school. These lessons offered insights into classroom negotiations of the relationship between the language of instruction and Gitan students' L1 Catalan variety. Through Catalan lessons, Gitan students received instruction in an unfamiliar variety of Central Catalan and found their own L1 variety framed as non-normative. Students, in turn, were framed as ethnic Others when their speech did not coincide with that of a prototypical, monolingual Catalan speaker. Importantly, the data from elementary Catalan instruction highlighted how initiatives to include the language of minority students in the classroom can inadvertently disempower them, "unwittingly [identifying] minority children as culturally different and exotic" (García-Sánchez, 2016, p. 294), as bad speakers and cultural misfits.

The findings reinforce the need to attend to language socialization that does not proceed according to plan (García-Sánchez, 2016; also see Garrett, 2017). Language-learning contexts in which students receive instruction in a "standard" variety offer one opportunity to document the process whereby "marginalized subjectivities come into being" (García-Sánchez, 2016, p. 171). Gitan students were not passive recipients of Catalan instruction but were observed to actively contest the discourses that framed their language practices as non-normative. Their interactions with the guest Catalan instructor as well as the focal French instructor during Catalan lessons reinforced that even young learners should not be assumed to be helpless or blindly obedient; instead, they may challenge classroom language practices and the underlying ideologies that they reflect.

Insights into the third question were drawn from a translation exercise implemented in a middle school French language class exclusively attended by Gitan students. Instructors presented students with a Catalan-language comic book, *El Viatge d'en Llobató*, and asked them to produce French translations of the vignettes. In both their introduction of the activity in class and their comments in an end-of-semester interview, the instructors emphasized the pedagogical value for students' French orthography. Students' reception of the text suggested a potential of translation that the instructors had not intended and that largely remained unacknowledged. Specifically, the activity offered minority students the opportunity to develop an awareness of language variation. Students, who had never developed formal literacy in Catalan, were able to sound their way into comprehension by reading segments of the text aloud. They worked to situate themselves vis-à-vis the language of the text, which was at once startlingly recognizable yet foreign—as a standardized, written Catalan variety that presented unfamiliar vocabulary and cultural references. In characterizing the source language as "le cousin du gitan," Gitan's linguistic cousin, students related to another Catalan variety while maintaining their unique sociolinguistic identity. The data, which contribute to a need for empirical research on the use of translation activities in language learning (Carreres, 2014; Källkvist, 2013), suggest the potential of translation to offer minority speakers an opportunity to articulate their identity in relation to the source text and dominant language of instruction. The more systematic incorporation of a translation pedagogy may prove unattainable, however translation-based activities such as this can capitalize on the multilingualism

inherent in our classrooms and contribute to undoing "the waste at work in our schools, which ignore the bilingualism of some students who end up becoming monolingual again" (Hélot, 2012).

Collectively, the three analysis chapters that form the core of this dissertation highlight the limits of intercomprehension. Why do students insist on language as a proxy for identity and manage their language use to avoid becoming too French? Why, we may wonder, do elementary learners and their Catalan instructor seemingly fail to understand one another while speaking such closely related varieties? And why do Gitan students resist recognizing the language of the comic book as their own, situating it as a linguistic cousin? Intercomprehension, I would argue, emphasizes linguistic parallels but considers language in a vacuum, extracted from its contexts of use. Similarities between linguistic systems would lead us to believe that intercomprehension within Romance is to be taken for granted and that speakers of different French varieties or Catalan varieties most certainly understand one another. Yet comprehension will depend on the distance that speakers perceive and enact between their varieties and those of other speakers, what I term linguistic relatability. While linguistic systems may closely approximate one another, speakers may insist on difference. That is, the linguistic boundaries that they define may not coincide with the proximity suggested by a focus on systems in isolation. Attention to linguistic relatability as perceived by speakers can help us to understand why a middle school Gitan student appeared alarmed when her instructor, a Catalan heritage speaker, commented that she could understand much of what students said in their L1. It also helps to explain students' comments that Catalan introduced in instruction was "not them." And it elucidates a search for familiarity through translation, the desire to produce a Gitan version of a text. As much as French instructors may endeavor to exclude discussions of identity from language learning, we must recognize language and identity as inseparable, particularly within a context in which learners contend that you are what you speak. A refusal to engage in discussions of identity will stifle the success of language instruction and compromise efforts to give space to multilingualism.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

> "Ara s'obre la possibilitat d'un treball, de molts treballs…"
> [Now opens up the possibility for a study, for many studies] (Casanova, 2016, p. 21)

With the conclusion of this study come opportunities for future research that can continue to inform our understanding of how Gitan learners' language and identity are constructed and negotiated in the classroom. The research for the present study centered on educational spaces that were exclusively frequented by Gitan learners: an elementary school that was only attended by Gitan children and a middle school program informally known as "les classes gitanes" [Gitan classes]. There is a need for longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork at schools attended by both Gitan and non-Gitan students in southern France. These studies could focus on students' language learning experiences and in-class discourses on language and identity. Future research into the educational experiences of Catalanophone Gitan students could also involve cross-cultural collaborations between researchers throughout Catalonia, from both the French and Spanish side of the border.[108] As my meeting with researchers in Barcelona revealed, instructors in Spain do not face the same

[108] A similar project could be established between L1 Spanish-speaking Gitan students in Perpignan (who predominately inhabit northern neighborhoods) and students from cities in Spain.

obstacles since the primary language of instruction, Catalan, coincides with Gitan students' L1 from the time they begin schooling. For the researchers with whom I spoke, the rampant absenteeism and early abandonment of obligatory education that I had observed in France were unfathomable in Spain. It would seem that French and Spanish researchers and instructors who work with Catalanophone Gitan students could learn from an exchange of perspectives, despite the radically different sociolinguistic dynamics in the two places. In addition to reporting on the situation within their home country, researchers from Spain could carry out ethnographic fieldwork in French schools, and vice versa, to support empirically grounded, cross-cultural insights.

Future research concerned with the educational experience of marginalized multilingual learners more generally should document other instances of socialization that does not proceed according to plan (García-Sánchez, 2016). In addition to advancing theoretical discussions (e.g., broadening the focus of language socialization research), the findings of future studies on socialization "gone wrong" can inform classroom practice. To reflect on the conditions of marginalized students' learning, there is a crucial need for dialogue between educators and sociolinguists and applied linguists (Alim, 2005). This can be achieved when linguists enter into instructors' classrooms for an extended period of time to observe and listen, and to employ their observations to initiate a discussion:

> Incorporating sociolinguistic theory and methodology with educational concerns requires dialogue, which in some ways has been underdeveloped between these two fields because linguists may sometimes be perceived as 'intellectual snobs' who are afraid of getting their hands dirty in the complex world of classrooms, while educators are sometimes perceived as 'advocates,' not intellectuals, whose research is either 'too teachery' or 'too touchy-feely.' (Alim, 2005, p. 24)

Researchers should not set out to "solve" the daily complexities experienced by students and instructors but instead ask questions prompted by their observations and propose recommendations that are grounded in ethnography and open dialogue. For example, researchers and instructors can reflect on tensions between intended language-learning outcomes and students' reception of language lessons. Following sustained ethnographic fieldwork into learners' language practices and claims to identity, researchers could share their observations with instructors and discuss alternative explanations for what instructors may regard as an inexplicable refusal to accept classroom language practices (e.g., the result of differences in language ideologies and conceptions of identity).

Intercultural exchanges between instructors and researchers that are built on mutual respect have the potential to offer new insights for both parties. In designing and carrying out my dissertation project, I was aware of the fact that I had been socialized in particular contexts as both a student educated in the U.S. and a researcher trained at a U.S. university that had informed my perceptions about education and language instruction. As a researcher in the focal schools, I introduced my foreign identity with its foreign influences into an academic context that was, in turn, foreign to me. Through sharing instructor survey drafts with staff members at the Ludothèque, I became aware that the questions that I posed could be misread in surprising ways. And I recognized that the corrections and comments that French instructors and colleagues made on the terms that I used to describe and analyze my fieldwork (e.g., littératie, socialization, idéologies) reflected more than a grammatical move; these reformulations were indicative of our different perspectives. Yet rather than be viewed as an impediment, intercultural exchanges support our

reflexivity. It is when we are misread, misunderstood, or corrected that we are made most aware of our own socialization and can begin to better understand alternative interpretations of classroom interactions. Throughout my fieldwork, several instructors remarked on my sustained presence in their classrooms and voiced their appreciation of my efforts to understand their daily reality and that of their students in its complexities. They noted that most visitors only enter their classroom for a brief period with the aim to evaluate them without grasping the challenges that they face, nor their needs and those of their students. By presenting observations and ethnographically informed recommendations, we can work to sustain a dialogue with instructors and administrators, collectively discussing pedagogical strategies and imagining possible systemic changes aimed at improving educational experiences and outcomes for students.

EPILOGUE

Street scene, Saint Jacques, Perpignan

Returning to Saint Jacques in May 2019, I had forgotten how desolate the neighborhood felt in the morning hours. It was possible to walk up and down many blocks without encountering any of its inhabitants, save small dogs who kept close watch on passersby. Local pigeons vigorously picked away at remnants of the previous night's activity—empty food containers, food scraps, plastic and glass bottles—that were strewn in the gutters. At first glance, not much appeared to have changed. My eye was drawn, however, to the presence of more support beams between apartments and barred passageways. Notices of demolition were affixed to certain façades, but I also encountered posters in opposition to the neighborhood's destruction.

Support beams between buildings

Left: the entrance to a building in Saint Jacques
Right: close-up of posters in opposition to the demolishment of buildings in the neighborhood ["NØN A LA DESTRUCTION de Saint-Jacques"]

During my fieldwork year, I had become aware of plans to renovate (in the words of city officials) or destroy (according to Gitan informants) Saint Jacques. A newspaper article from *L'Indépendant* ("Perpignan dévoile le visage," 2017), published during my initial months of year-long fieldwork, had unveiled "le visage que devrait avoir le quartier Saint-Jacques en 2022" [the face that the Saint Jacques neighborhood should have in 2022]. The article characterized the neighborhood as a blemish on the city: "Perpignan pourra alors laisser derrière elle l'image désastreuse du quartier Saint-Jacques?" [Will Perpignan finally be able to leave behind the disastrous image of the Saint Jacques neighborhood?] As a Gitan informant had related to me during an interview, the Gitan community of Saint Jacques has anticipated efforts to uproot them for some time. This sentiment became particularly palpable with the construction of a Université de Perpignan law school campus on the edge of Saint Jacques during the spring of my fieldwork:

(1) Je ne pense pas qu'ils veulent nous mélanger avec des étudiants, hein ? Non. Non. Ils vont nous faire partir. Mais après personne nous veut. Les maires ils vont pas nous accueillir les bras ouverts. Et ils sont pas venus nous informer. On est là depuis je sais plus combien d'années. Les gens ils sont là depuis **toujours** et ils viennent pas nous informer [des projets de la ville]. Ils viendront le jour où il y aura des votes, qu'ils auraient besoin, tu vois ?

[I do not think that they want to mix us with students, you know? No. No. They will make us leave. But then no one wants us. The mayors [of other cities] won't welcome us with open arms. And they did not come to notify us. We have been here for who knows how many years. People have been here since **forever** and they don't come to notify us [of the city's plans]. They will come when they need votes, when they need us for something, you see?]

(Interview, May 2018)

"Was all the urbanism talk emanating from city hall of greater mixité (social mix) and 'de-densification' really just a euphemism for de-Gypsification?" (Hoad, 2019). The mother quoted above would reply affirmatively.

Despite outward signs upon my return in May 2019 that demolition was moving ahead, I learned that the city's plans had been halted—for now. The inhabitants of Saint Jacques had come together to protect their neighborhood:

> Gypsy representatives teamed up with counterparts in the neighbourhood's north African population, with whom there had previously been little love lost after a violent confrontation between members of the two communities in 2005. They were also joined by an assortment of local middle-class groups who are keen to preserve St Jacques' ragtag architectural heritage. (Hoad, 2019)

French-Luxembourgish journalist Stéphane Bern ("Stéphane Bern à la rescousse des Gitans!," 2018) had even spoken out in defense of Saint Jacques as part of the city's cultural heritage. As Bern asserted in a Tweet to Perpignan Mayor Pujol: "Le patrimoine doit réconcilier les Français et non les diviser. Ensemble défendons-le" [Heritage must bring French people together instead of dividing them. Together we defend it]. The future of the neighborhood is still uncertain, however. It is as though someone has pushed the pause button: while no active demolition is observable, passageways remain blocked and a mixture of wooden and iron beams hold buildings in place.

FOLLOW-UP VISITS

As I walked through the neighborhood on my first day back, I considered but decided against returning to the elementary school. I would first meet with Professor Nathalie Auger in Montpellier to finalize a formal presentation that I had prepared and to carefully reflect on my approach to disclosing the primary insights offered by my study. Professor Auger had previously organized interventions at the focal elementary school and advised me on how to best share my findings without being perceived as pedantic. I framed my presentation at the school sites in terms of salient differences that I had observed between Gitan students' and instructors' understanding of language and its relationship to identity. I also shared my view that Catalan could support students' learning, but only if implemented with the recognition and validation of their L1 variety.

Elementary School Site

It proved to be logistically challenging to arrange presentations at the focal school sites, particularly via email in anticipation of my return to Perpignan. In writing to request an opportunity to share my ethnographically informed perspectives with administrators and instructors at the elementary school, I was surprised to learn that the school was directed by a new principal. In her email reply, the new principal informed me that two instructors, both of whom I knew from the previous year, were ready to receive me. I was disappointed by the prospect of speaking to only two instructors, having hoped to share my observations with as many members of the school staff as possible. I proceeded, nevertheless, to contact the two instructors in question by email, and they readily agreed to a meeting. The first to reply suggested that we meet downtown on Friday evening to discuss my project over a drink. This prospect struck me as less than ideal, but I was conflicted as to how to respond: I was hesitant about informally discussing my fieldwork in a bar instead of

by means of the PowerPoint that I had carefully constructed. I did, however, wish to remain social. I ultimately proposed meeting at the school during the two-hour lunch break for the presentation and later, after school, for a social hour. Both instructors agreed to this arrangement.

When I arrived at the school for our scheduled meeting, I pushed the button on the intercom system, the camera illuminated, and a woman who introduced herself as the principal appeared. I was granted permission to remain on-site until my meeting with instructors at noon. In this interlude, I found one of the CM instructors from the previous year preparing an activity in an empty classroom. He expressed an interest in learning more about my dissertation and told me that he would join the meeting at noon. Upon learning that my project had focused on questions of language and identity, he suggested that I speak with the principal. He reported that she was intent on implementing Catalan instruction since the students' home language was "pauvre" [poor]. Although not a Catalan speaker himself, he offered an explanation of what he meant by this characterization: Gitan students possess limited Catalan vocabulary and use the same words as both nouns and verbs. The principal, I was informed, wanted to strengthen the students' language as a support for French development. Although somewhat encouraged by the principal's reported stance, I was more alarmed by how the students' L1 was positioned in the instructor's discourse.

When lunchtime arrived, I was introduced to two new instructors, one of whom stayed for the presentation. I projected my PowerPoint in one of the classrooms and the four instructors in attendance sat on chairs at the front of the room. Although she had not communicated her intent to participate, the principal unexpectedly joined us. Over the course of my talk, I noticed a striking change in her facial expression. Initially expressionless, she began to nod and smile enthusiastically as the presentation continued, announcing herself completely "convinced" upon its conclusion. I clarified that my aim was not to *convince* anyone of anything, but to share my perspectives based on my fieldwork the previous year and to outline what I understood to be the potential and risks of Catalan instruction. The principal expressed her enthusiasm for a bilingual French-Catalan program at the school, but it became evident that her sentiments were not shared by the instructors present. One instructor, visibly shaken by the prospect of a bilingual school, voiced a series of concerns in rapid-fire succession: new instructors with training in Catalan would need to be hired; it would be difficult to find bilingual instructors interested in teaching at this school site; given rampant absenteeism, students would only be present for partial instruction in each language (perhaps some students would only receive substantial instruction in Catalan *or* French); absenteeism was his biggest concern and the limited time that he had with students should be dedicated to instruction in French and only French. The principal countered that perhaps the introduction of Catalan would solve absenteeism. Before leaving the room, she turned to wink at me. Another instructor announced that she was starving, and the instructors proceeded to leave the classroom. As he approached the door, the instructor who had voiced concern paused: "Merci, en tout cas, Emily, et félicitations pour ta thèse" [Thanks, in any case, Emily, and congratulations on your dissertation]. Sensing that he was still somewhat shaken by the prospect of bilingual education at the school—and, possibly, the threat to his employment, I reiterated that my intention was not to advise but to share my perspectives in light of my observations as a foreign visitor to the school.

As I approached the main entrance of the school, the principal stopped me and invited me into her office. While I found myself encouraged by her increasingly apparent enthusiasm for multilingual instruction, I remained unsettled by her seemingly strained relationship with the instructors. The principal explained that she had been endeavoring to situate students' L1 as a resource for French instruction since her arrival at the school and that she appreciated having the

team hear a similar proposition from someone removed from the local context. When I met with instructors outside of school, one of them surmised that the principal's "Catalan project" (i.e., efforts to implement Catalan instruction at the school) was motivated by her desire to obtain a master's degree.

I was never able to meet with the elementary school Catalan instructor, Mònica. After arranging a meeting, she contacted me to cancel due to a scheduling conflict. The elementary principal told me that she would share my observations with her.

Middle School Site

In response to my email requesting the opportunity to present at the middle school, the site principal proposed a meeting time. I followed up to inquire as to whether instructors would be able to participate, seeing as the time fell within school hours. Receiving no response, I arrived for what turned out to be an individual meeting with the principal. Following the same presentation that I had shared at the elementary site, the middle school principal acknowledged a potential benefit of Catalan—at the elementary level. She felt, however, that the students needed as much French as possible by the time they entered middle school. I learned that the inclusion of Catalan in the GES program in the past had not been motivated by an interest in giving space to Gitan learners' L1 but by a practical problem: the Catalan instructors needed more instructional hours. The principal had discontinued Catalan for students in the GES program, citing behavioral problems and a sense they had not significantly benefitted from the coursework.

Some middle school instructors had become aware of my presence and contacted me to arrange a lunch in downtown Perpignan. As I sat down with the six instructors present, one commented that they had all been so curious to learn about my conclusions. I summarized my observations on language and identity and suggested the integration of Catalan from early on in Gitan students' schooling. The instructor who had inquired responded favorably, commenting that the students' language was "pauvre" but recognizing it as a Roussillon Catalan variety developed in the home. She added that she herself could understand students' home variety with some exceptions owing to vocabulary. She observed the paradox whereby Gitan students do not know how to write their own language while bourgeois students in Perpignan learn to do so at a bilingual Catalan school.

The conversation among instructors eventually turned to the challenges of working with Gitan students. Some instructors reflected on how non-Gitan parents would react (i.e., badly) if the elementary school were to close and Gitan students appeared at other schools. One instructor voiced, somewhat jokingly, her hope that the administrator who had been hired to improve Gitan attendance was not too successful in her efforts. Another instructor expressed her willingness to accept more GES hours in the coming academic year but wondered aloud—considering both students' best interest and her own available energy—for how many more years she should remain involved in the program.

Final Meetings

I met with an official at the regional Department of Education whom I had spoken with upon embarking on my year of fieldwork. He seemed to believe that the students' L1 could be situated as a resource in language development. Additionally, he expressed his long-held opinion that the elementary school should be closed. I found myself surprised by my own growing conviction of

this since returning to Saint Jacques. While I could still understand how the existence of an "école gitane" could comfort students (a view that my contacts at City Hall had reiterated), I was increasingly convinced that this configuration ultimately did more harm than good, fueling a vicious cycle by establishing early separation between Perpignan students that was perpetuated by the GES program.

Before the conclusion of my follow-up visit, I arranged to meet with Thomas, who had returned for the summer, at a café in downtown Perpignan. He maintained a quiet existence, charting predictable, limited routes through the neighborhood: to his grandmother's or his aunt's house. He would not, however, spontaneously walk through Saint Jacques for fear of possible encounters with other inhabitants. He had not seen his father's family for many years and recalled how his paternal uncle, possessing a propensity for violence, had come looking for him at his mother's house years ago. During a recent grocery shopping trip with his mother, Thomas had seen his uncle. Turning quickly on his heels, he had run in the opposite direction at full speed. As he recounted this incident, Thomas abruptly paused and leaned towards the window. When he began to speak again, he explained that he had mistaken a passerby for his maternal grandmother. He then asked me to remind him what we had been talking about previously.

Thomas again reflected on his friendship with his high school philosophy teacher. He had remained in close contact with her, regularly updating her about his university studies. In preparation for his master's studies, his former instructor had lent him relevant philosophical texts to read over the summer. It was revealed in our conversation that she had personal ties with the Gitan community: her partner was of Gitan origin and her daughter married a Gitan from Narbonne. Thomas had not been aware of this in high school, but he believes that it helps to explain a special, unspoken connection that they shared.

Thomas would start his first-year masters in the fall, then continue with a second master's degree. He then planned to enroll in a preparatory class before completing an entrance examination for a research-oriented masters. He hopes to teach philosophy at a high school while working towards a doctorate over the summers, eventually applying to university faculty positions. I learned that his siblings did not have access to the same educational opportunities. Thomas's sister, who should have been enrolled in the middle school, was home preparing for her future as a housewife. He reported that his older brother had attempted to follow in his footsteps but ultimately discontinued his studies due to "crises d'angoisse" [anxiety attacks].

As I said goodbye to Thomas, he seemed to hesitate about which route he would take to his grandmother's house. Initially following me in the direction of the Castillet, he turned back, informing me that he would take another path that was shorter.

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APPENDIX: MIDDLE SCHOOL INSTRUCTOR SURVEY

Veuillez compléter ce court sondage composé de moins de 10 questions, qui prendra environ 5-10 minutes. Sachez que vos réponses resteront complètement anonymes. Si vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas à me contacter! Merci d'avance de votre participation.

1. Quelle(s) matière(s) enseignez-vous ?

- ☐ le français
- ☐ le catalan
- ☐ le chinois
- ☐ le latin
- ☐ les maths
- ☐ les sciences
- ☐ les arts plastiques
- ☐ l'informatique
- ☐ l'histoire et la géographie
- ☐ la musique
- ☐ le théâtre
- ☐ l'éducation sportive et physique
- ☐ l'enseignement moral et civique
- ☐ autres: lesquelles? _____

2a. Travaillez-vous avec des élèves gitans actuellement?

- ☐ oui
- ☐ non

2b. Si oui, travaillez-vous exclusivement avec des élèves gitans actuellement ?

- ☐ oui
- ☐ non

2c. Avez-vous travaillé avec des élèves gitans auparavant?

- ☐ oui
- ☐ non

3a. Est-ce que vos élèves utilisent des langues autres que le français dans la salle de classe?

- ☐ oui – lesquelles et dans quels contextes?
  _____
- ☐ non
  _____

3b. Si vous avez répondu "oui," comment réagissez-vous quand ils le font et qu'en pensez-vous?

_____

4a. Quelles représentations « la langue gitane » évoque-t-elle pour vous **personnellement**? Décrivez-les.

_____

4b. Quelles représentations « la langue gitane » évoque-t-elle **en France**? Décrivez-les. Sont-elles les mêmes que celles que vous avez?

_____

5. Pensez-vous que “le gitan” soit une langue?

- □ oui - veuillez expliquer _____
- □ non - veuillez expliquer _____

6. Quel est le rapport entre “le gitan” et “le catalan”? Pensez-vous qu’il s’agisse de la même chose?

_____

7a. Selon vous, est-ce qu’il y a un rapport entre les langues qu’on parle et son **identité personnelle**? Veuillez élaborer brièvement.

- □ oui _____
- □ non _____

7b. Selon vous, est-ce qu’il y a un rapport entre les langues qu’on parle et son **identité nationale**? Veuillez élaborer brièvement.

- □ oui _____
- □ non _____

8a. Quelle est l’importance de la langue maternelle dans l’apprentissage du **français parlé** à l’école?

_____

8b. Quelle est l’importance de la langue maternelle dans l’apprentissage du **français écrit** à l’école?

_____

Ce sondage vous a-t-il permis de tout exprimer sur les questions posées? Sinon, veuillez le faire ici.

_____