Negotiating Identity:

Discourses of Migration and Belonging

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Abstract

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This study examines how highly proficient adult second language (L2) users of English in Australia construct and negotiate social belonging and exclusion. The data comes from a year-long interview study of eight people who had migrated to Australia as adults and had spent a significant portion of their lives in Australia. The work takes a discourse analysis approach in order to examine how participants reify and contest belonging, including an examination of L2 learning success and Australian national identity. The research argues that the study of identity and L2 use must consider socio-historical context. It shows that even for highly proficient speakers, success in L2 learning is contested in interaction. In addition, through the examination of how participants see themselves in relation to the nation, it offers an insider perspective that has much to offer the development of language and migration policy in Australia.

The first analysis chapter addresses how participants position themselves as successful or failed in learning English. It looks at aspects of the good language learner: learner characteristics, learning processes, and language features, from the perspective of identity negotiation. Despite participants' long-term investment and professional success post-migration, discourses of language failure and othering remain an important negotiation, particularly in relation to accentedness. In the second analysis chapter, the focus is on national identity, initially from the perspective of citizenship choices, and then in examining the linguistic resources participants use in positioning themselves according to national identity norms. These norms are both reified and contested through tropes of mobility and hybrid identity. The third chapter examines the narratives participants tell of the processes of identity renegotiation in the context of migration. Narrative, an important site of self-coherence in interaction, provides a wider framework from which to understand how social belonging is negotiated.

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled "Negotiating Identity: Discourses of Migration and Belonging" has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been properly acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

The research presented in this thesis was approved by the **Ethics app# 01-2003/5/3410 (University of Sydney)**.

Emily Jennifer Farrell (41327217)

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

AMEP   Australian Migrant English Program

ARC   Australian Research Council

CPH   Critical Period Hypothesis

EFL   English as a Foreign Language

ESL   English as a Second Language

KFL   Korean as a Foreign Language

L1   First language

L2   Second language

NAATI   National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters

SLA   Second Language Acquisition

SLL   Second Language Learning

TAFE   Technical and Further Education

TESOL   Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

Examples from the data all include a code that indicates the interview from which it has been excerpted and its location in the interview transcript. For example, KN1 is used for participants Katja and Nicolas in the first interview. The line number from the transcript follows this abbreviation to give a general indication of where in the interview the example occurred. An example from early in Katja and Nicolas's third interview would then look like this: [KN3:20]. For the focus groups the abbreviation FG is used, followed by the round number, group number and transcript line number. For instance for an example from round 1, interview group 2, line 230, the code would be [FG1_2: 230].

Chapter 1

Introduction

Belonging is discursively negotiated. In the context of migration and second language (L2) use, the negotiation of belonging involves the translation and repositioning of self. This dissertation examines the construction of social belonging and exclusion through a study of the discourses of L2 use, national identity and the migration narratives of highly proficient adult L2 users of English in Australia. The data comes from a longitudinal interview study of 16 people who had immigrated to Australia as adults, eight of whom make up my core participants.

The clearest way to introduce this study is through the data itself. Anna (all of the names are pseudonyms, see Chapter 3 for further details), who had migrated from Italy to Australia eight years prior to the first interview in 2003, talks of the ways that identity and belonging have been in process since she first went abroad many years earlier as a teenager in the 1980s:

> that's why I said that when I went to London, it was such .h in a way liberating, and limiting, and destroying experience because, .h I realised that I don't have to conform. (…) you know, I don't have to, I don't have to choose. I've already, I'm ... in between, so and that I'm quite happy to be like that.

Anna creates coherence amongst multiple identities by situating herself in the in-between, an in-between that she has formed and reshaped through the process of migration. The contrast of the *liberating* yet *destroying* experience of migration powerfully embraces the complex and often contradictory nature of these negotiations. Milena, who migrated to Australia from the Czech Republic aged 18, similarly talks about the necessity of negotiating new identities after

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migration. In the excerpt below, Milena discusses her experience of returning to the Czech
Republic for a vacation after five years in Australia:

> I could see how different I've become … from … even though I was speaking in Czech I was
> feeling that I wasn't speaking the way I used to? (…) not that I can't communicate but, so the trip
> was really hard because I had to make another identity of myself, now a grown-up, in Czech

Like Anna, Milena encapsulates the bitter-sweetness of these negotiations, the opening of new
identities accompanied by the difficulty of multiple and situated practices. Milena finds she must
fashion a new version of herself in her first language (L1). Identity negotiations are situated
within larger discourses of what social belonging means and how social belonging is constructed
by adult L2 English speakers. For both Milena and Anna, identity is negotiated against the
background of wider social contexts, of what it means to have a "grown-up" identity "in Czech",
not to conform but instead draw on hybridity for coherence.

A further example comes from the wider corpus of which the data for this dissertation are a part.
The narrator of Example 1.1 below, Yoo Kang, is a young woman who, at the time of the focus
group interview from which this utterance is taken, had completed a degree at an Australian
university and was about to complete a course to become a certified Korean-English interpreter.
Like all of my participants, she is a successful, qualified, highly proficient adult L2 user of
English. The focus group were asked by the research assistant, Eileen, how their identity and a
sense of belonging in the society, Australia, had affected their language learning. The following
is Yoo Kang's response:

Example 1.1

Yoo Kang	[personally, personally] erm, .h yeah when I started learning English when I was little?
Eileen	hm.
Yoo Kang	I try to forget, that I'm Korean?
Eileen	uhmhu.
Yoo Kang	that was the- one of the way that I can improve, English?
Emily	[hm.]
Eileen	[oh.]

Yoo Kang	because the first thing is I have to ov- erm overcome the culture.
Eileen	yeah.
Yoo Kang	I thought. because the- language just erm, you know you can speak it, you know? it's just like, but the thing is, there's a limit, that you can't go over, because there is a culture.
Emily	hm.
Yoo Kang	because you have to face the culture, then you can accept more, you can FEEL it the language,
Eileen	yeah.
Yoo Kang	I think, [so]=
Eileen	[yeah!]
Yoo Kang	=that's why I- I realised that when I- when I learned it? .h so that's why, I didn't like you know having, English name or something like that [personally,]
Emily	[hm.]
Eileen	hm.
Yoo Kang	but I had it? because,
Eileen	was it Rose?
Yoo Kang	yeah.
Eileen	[@@@.]
Emily	[oh really!]
Yoo Kang	[because] when I speak erm my English teacher? I have to, BE American.
Tae Kyung	[hm.]
Emily	[hm.]
Yoo Kang	cause my- I mean my English teacher was American, .h and when I- when I learn? English from heart, .h I just totally forget that I'm Korean.
Tae Kyung	hm.
Yoo Kang	and it's sort of like erm I'm a you know like, disability person who can't speak properly?
Eileen	oh!
Yoo Kang	.h you know? just, just imagined that?
Eileen	hm.
Yoo Kang	and also learned .h erm, word by word,
Eileen	oh.
Yoo Kang	like step by step,
Eileen	oh.
Yoo Kang	like s- and totally like yeah I'm- I'm Rose? I'm Rose Park at that- at that time? .h and probably after that just fin- after finishing class then just, go back to my position, yeah I'm Korean again.
Eileen	go back to [normal]=
Yoo Kang	[yeah.]
Eileen	=Yoo Kang. [FG2_4:2183]

Yoo Kang's description of her language learning is inseparable from identity performance and negotiation. Similar to Anna and Milena, Yoo Kang's rewriting of self in her L2 necessitates performativity and renegotiation of social belonging. Speaking English means constructing an identity in English. Yoo Kang, even if only for the language class period, abandoned *Koreanness* and adopted the persona of Rose: an English speaker and specifically, an American. Rose has a language and a nationality. She is not a learner; she is, problematically, a deficient native speaker.

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The above is a story from the beginning of Yoo Kang's language learning process, contained within the classroom in Korea. As this narrative continues, Yoo Kang talks about her experiences in Canada, the first English speaking country in which she studied:

Example 1.2

Yoo Kang	when I- when I go back I mean- I mean when I was in Canada? I still .h used that English name because, at that time, I couldn't figure out my- my erm identity?
Tae Kyung	hm.
Kara	[hm.]
Yoo Kang	[because] I wanted to become, erm a Cana- erm Canadian.
Eileen	yeah.
Emily	hm.
Yoo Kang	I wanted to become a na- I mean like a English native speaker. [FG2_4:2269]

Identity is something that needs *figuring out*. It is not something that one is, as much as something that one negotiates in interaction. In Canada, Rose wants to be Canadian, equating the nationality with English native speaker status. In Australia, Yoo Kang goes by her Korean name. In the Australian space she has reclaimed parts of a Korean identity that were previously pushed to the periphery. Her desire for particular identities has changed with the context of speaking. The Australian social space provides Yoo Kang with different identity positions and access to different discourses of belonging as a highly proficient L2 speaker of English. These examples provide a starting point for the focus of my research.

This dissertation is a small-scale qualitative study of eight people who migrated to Sydney as adults and who spent a significant amount of their lives in Australia. The data was collected between 2003 and 2004. The larger research question addressed in the study is: How is social belonging and exclusion constructed in the discourses of long-term highly proficient adult L2 English users in Australia? In addressing this question, the following specific questions were asked:

1. How do participants construct identities of success and failure in L2 learning?

2. How do participants negotiate national identities as adult migrants to Australia?

3. How does narrative discourse serve to contextualize the negotiation of social belonging and exclusion?

Further details on the development of these research questions and the approach to the data will be detailed further in Chapter 3.

The eight core participants examined in detail in this study, including Anna and Milena, are, unlike Yoo Kang, all of European language backgrounds. The choice to study people of European background (and one of South American background who also fit the profile, see Chapter 3 for a discussion) was made in view of the wider discourses of migration in the Australian context. As will be discussed further in Chapter 2, migration in Australia has a troubled history of racialization. In the 20th century:

> The original goal of the immigration policy was the assimilation of migrants into Australia's predominantly Anglo-Celtic population as permanent settlers. Migrant selection was carefully managed to preserve the nation's relative ethnic and cultural homogeneity. Categories of potential migrants were ranked according to their racial and cultural affinity with British-Australians. The most preferred were Britons, followed by Northern Europeans. Southern Europeans, considered to be far less assimilable, were less desired. The least desired were Asians and other non-whites. (Lopez, 2000, p. 43)

As people of European background, my participants are less visible, though as adult L2 speakers of English, they remain to varying degrees audibly different (Miller, 1999). In other words, in the Australian context, race is a less salient category for my participants, but L2 use and national identity are prominent in their negotiation of belonging.

The study takes a poststructuralist approach that views identity and belonging as a flexible, situated negotiation. The identities we are able to claim in interaction are constrained by our

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language resources, and by the dominant discourses of the society (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Constructions of identity, and the identities available to us in interaction, are necessarily altered in the wake of increased global mobility and transnationalism (Appadurai, 1996; Blommaert, 2008). Despite this mobility, identities remain anchored to socio-historic context, to locality, and to existing discourses of migration and language in the national space.

In Australia, the location of this research, there has been an obsession with defining national identity (Dixson, 1999). Jupp, in his contribution to *Australian Identities* (Day, 1998), claims that along with national identity, "Australians are also haunted by a sense of not belonging (…)" (1998, p. 223). This haunting is tied to the relatively recent formation of the nation and the comparatively high rate of migration in the 20th century. Investigations into what national identity means frequently reify a static, homogenizing understanding, rather than examining how people *use* and *negotiate* identities discursively.

To begin to see the wider context in which my research is situated, I will provide some of the background observations that led me to the exploration of these questions and confirmed for me the importance of this research focus. In the second half of the chapter, I will provide an outline of the thesis structure.

1.1 Background

In October 2001, the incumbent Liberal-National Coalition party was elected for a third term as Australia's government. They were elected overwhelmingly because of their stance on the issue of migration and refugee policy (Clyne, 2003; Macken-Horarik, 2003). Shortly prior to this Federal election, on August 24th 2001, the fishing boat Palapa, carrying over four hundred

refugees primarily from Afghanistan by way of Indonesia, was in distress close to Australian waters and in need of rescue. The result was a significant dispute, judicially, politically and ethically, between the crew of the Norwegian cargo ship, MV Tampa, which initially rescued the stranded refugees, and the Indonesian and Australian governments, over where these people would be allowed to land. The situation, which came to be known as the *Tampa crisis*, led the Government to institute various reactive policies including mandatory detention of refugees, temporary protection visas, and the *Pacific Solution* policy, which included such measures as increasing border control through the excise of land (Colic-Peisker, 2005).

The repercussions of these events were felt strongly around the time the data collection for this study was conducted in 2003 and 2004. This can be observed, for example, in the Coalition Government's policy document on "stronger border protection" developed immediately prior to the October 2004 Federal election, which saw the party win its fourth consecutive term. The policy's sentiment, expressed in the quote below, was one strongly present at the time of the Tampa crisis:

> The Coalition strongly believes that Australia has the right to control the size, method and manner of our migration and refugee programs. Australians should decide who comes to Australia, not people smugglers. (Coalition Government, 2004)

In the above quote *migration* and *refugee* are drawn together and criminalized through the link to *people smugglers* (see Clyne, 2005b for further examples). The metonymic *Australia* in the first sentence stands ambiguously for what includes the government and some portion of the people of Australia. What remains unclear, however, is which Australians, or who *Australians* are, or how these decisions are being made. This ambiguity is not uncommon in political rhetoric, but in the context of an examination of negotiating belonging in Australia, it provides an example of the negative discourses of migration present in government policy. These discriminatory discourses

surrounding migration in Australia are not new, as will be discussed further in Chapter 2, but they have become considerably more prevalent, and the metaphors more insidious (Clyne, 2005b), in an age where migration and mobility are increasing (Castles & Miller, 2003). What does this mean for the discursive construction of belonging by people who themselves have undergone the processes of moving to Australia and learning English as adults? To begin to answer this question, I will examine two further examples of public discourse. The first relates to discourses of citizenship, the second to diversity and multiculturalism.

Another angle along which migration discourses can be viewed is citizenship policy development and the surrounding debates. Discourses of citizenship are frequently a locus for the identification of who is central in the construction of belonging and who is peripheral. Many and various opinions were voiced leading up to the institution of the current citizenship test in Australia, which was introduced on October 1st 2007, under the guise of testing prospective citizens' knowledge of "Australian history", "Australian culture and traditions", "Australian values", "Australian national symbols", "Australian laws", and "Australia's system of democracy" (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2006). The policies and debates are also informative in terms of how national identities are reified discursively.

Example 1.3 below provides one typical response to the possible introduction of the citizenship test in the form a political cartoon. In mocking the possibility of testing such amorphous and vague notions as national values, many joked about potential questions relating to the oft discussed Australian love of sport (for example see Tranter & Donoghue, 2007; White, 1981, pp. 76-77):

Example 1.3
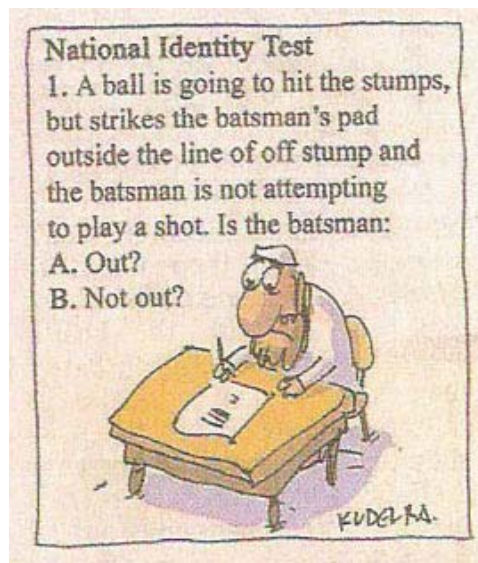
(Kudelka, January 26, 2006)

The example above is anything but amusing when taken in the context of the actual citizenship test. The resource booklet, *Becoming an Australian Citizen* (Australian Government, 2007), developed by the Government dedicates two pages out of the total forty-six to sport in Australia (pp. 28-29). While a test taker may not find themselves answering the question posed in Example 1.3, they may need to know the names of Sir Donald Bradman, "the greatest cricket batsman of all time" (p. 28), and Phar Lap, a race-horse named one of Australia's "national heroes" (p. 28) both included in the resource book. While a review of the test was announced in 2008 and the head of the review committee announced that the test appeared to be "flawed" (ABC News, June 15, 2008; Herald Sun, June 15, 2008), the relevant issue for this study is less the content of the arguments for and against the test, and more the existence of these discourses themselves. The Liberal and Labor parties both reify national identity, revealing its continuing salience not only institutionally through citizenship, but also in regard to social belonging. This becomes abundantly clear upon returning to the same resource book quoted above:

> You have chosen to live in Australia and to make a contribution to its future by seeking to become an Australian citizen. Becoming a citizen gives you the opportunity to call yourself an Australian. It is the final and most important step in the migration journey. (Australian Government, 2007, p. 4)

All eight of my research participants had indeed chosen to live in Australia and were eligible for Australian citizenship. Only three had chosen to take out Australian citizenship at the close of the data collection process. Only one out of my eight participants, Jutta, actively claimed to be "an Australian". The simplicity of these discourses of national identity, here in something as important as a test that defines who can and cannot take up the reciprocal rights that citizenship offers, is extremely problematic. The question becomes who defines what social belonging is, and who defines what knowledge someone should have in order to be judged able to contribute to the society. These discourses exist as the context for the situated negotiation of social belonging and exclusion by my participants as highly proficient adult L2 users of English in Australia.

Homogenizing public discourses of national identity exist alongside discourses of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism, introduced as a policy in Australia through the Galbally report in 1978, has come to stand for public attempts at accounting for diversity in the Australian population. Multiculturalism's approach was to reframe diversity as a normalized part of social cohesion (Hage, 1999).

An example of how public discourses of diversity under the guise of multiculturalism have evolved is seen in the materials provided to school children and their families for the *2008 Multicultural Perspectives Public Speaking Competition*. The competition is conducted in public schools and "aims to heighten awareness of multicultural issues among primary school students" (New South Wales Department of Education & Training, 2008a, p. 1), in this case students aged somewhere between 7 and 12. Competing students were required to give two speeches: one

prepared speech focusing on multiculturalism, and the other an impromptu speech. The following

are excerpted from the guidelines for the impromptu speech:

> Impromptu topics will be general and allow speeches on a wide variety of issues. Some examples of topics given in the past are: "A Matter of Life and Death", "Hard Work", "Changes", "Bigger and Better", "Friends", "Honesty", "A Big Problem". Parts of newspaper headlines often make great impromptu topics for practice. (…) Impromptu speeches **should not have a Multicultural content**. The best impromptu speeches are very different from the prepared speeches that the audience has already seen. Speakers will be disadvantaged if they use material from their own or anyone else's prepared speech. That's why it's best to avoid multiculturalism altogether. (New South Wales Department of Education & Training, 2008b, p. 2 bold in original)

Multiculturalism here is a marked topic, something that is contained and controllable, something

that one decides to talk about or avoids, rather than a larger notion that addresses diversity within

a society, or the potential for multiple cultural practices within the imagined social space. The

treatment of multiculturalism in the above example from the educational context, is paralleled in

Papastergiadis's discussion of multiculturalism and the early government sponsored

advertisements "which showed children of all different 'races' joining in a circle singing the

jingle, 'I am Greek as a souvlaki, I am Irish as a stew … I am an Aussie, yes I am'"

(Papastergiadis, 2000, p. 203). Diversity can be diminished to a topic, to something that is one-

dimensionalized into eating practices. This governmental construction of multiculturalism as a

way of controlling and writing coherence over diversity is well balanced by the Indigenous

perspective, one that knows that "Australia was a multicultural society long before migrants

arrived" (Moreton-Robinson, 2003, p. 31), where migrants are all non-Indigenous Australians. As

the public face of diversity in Australia, multiculturalism has been criticized and its appearance

increasingly diminished, for example, through the renaming of the Department of Immigration

and Multicultural Affairs as the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Jupp,

Nieuwenhuysen, & Dawson, 2007, p. 185). This shift raises concerns about what place diversity

has in the Australian context.

Noticeably peripheral in the discussions of multiculturalism are issues of multilingualism (Ozolins, 1993). If we return to Anna, Milena and Yoo Kang, it is clear that language is central to concerns of migration and identity negotiation, that an examination of citizenship, national identity and diversity in Australia must look at how these discourses are connected. How then is social belonging negotiated discursively? Who can claim space for belonging and how is it claimed? How are social belonging and exclusion negotiated in discourse in the Australian context by those who are othered in these public examples?

My core participants' networks of shifting desires, mobilities, and identities, are discursively indexed to both language use and national imagining. Their individual negotiations are sites where banal nationalisms (Billig, 1995) continually construct and contest what is central to belonging in Australian society. Research in the field has begun to address the importance of examining not only people's economic and social reasons for migration, but also "their personal desires and dreams, in love, affection and affiliation" (Piller & Pavlenko, 2004). Discourses of migration and belonging are interwoven with the ways we negotiate our sense of self-coherence and identity in interaction. In order to understand what language use and particularly what language success means to identity in the migration context in Australia, the identity negotiations of highly proficient adult L2 users of English themselves must be heard. The following section will present an outline of the chapters of the dissertation and a general structure of the approach to answering these questions about negotiated social belonging.

1.2 Outline

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter (Chapter 1), Chapter 2 begins with an overview of the literature on theories of globalization and migration, as well as expanding the discussion of migration and L2 use in Australia introduced in this chapter. The socio-historical background serves as a wider background to the discussion of identity negotiation. The poststructuralist approach is presented as the most useful in the study of identity, and the literature on L2 use and the discursive construction of national identities is examined. Positioning theory is presented as a productive analytic procedure for the examination of identity negotiation. The last section of Chapter 2 introduces narrative as a key data resource for both the construction of belonging and the examination of identity.

The methodology and design for the research is presented in Chapter 3. The pilot study and background for the project are discussed, followed by the rationale for the small-scale qualitative interview study approach. This chapter also outlines the development of the research questions and the data analysis procedures used in this dissertation, synthesizing the identity, positioning and narrative analysis approaches outlined in Chapter 2. Chapters 4 through to Chapter 6 present the data and analysis.

Chapter 4 looks closely at how my participants draw on discourses of what language success and failure mean, and who is constructed discursively as a good learner in negotiating identity and belonging. Participants use flexible discourses, such as desire, alongside inflexible discourses of age and brain function to construct complex interactional positions of success and failure in L2 use.

Chapter 5 turns to examine how participants reify and contest national identities, and how transnational and hybrid spaces are opened up in the migration context. National identity remains salient, despite the construction of mobile identities. This chapter also examines the discursive links between L2 use and national identity, and in particular how the English language is tied to Australian identity.

In Chapter 6, I broaden the scope of analysis by turning to narrative discourses in the data. The chapter draws these discourses of L2 use and national identity together through an examination of personal narratives in the creation of self-coherence. Examining narrative also provides another angle from which to view how my participants negotiate social belonging and exclusion in a larger discourse unit.

Finally, in Chapter 7 I review the findings of the analysis and revisit the research questions. I also present the broader implications of this research. First is the insistence that further research with highly competent long-term L2 users is necessary in understanding situated negotiations of identity and social belonging in this age of mobility. Second, national belonging is addressed through a discussion of the implications of my research for policy on migration and citizenship. Drawing together the analysis of individual utterances of my participants and the kinds of discriminatory practices seen, for example in the events surrounding the "Tampa crisis", reveals the complexity of migration and language learning processes and the need for these to be made more central in policy making.

I will now move on to address the relevant literature on L2 use, nation identity and narrative to provide the theoretical context for this study.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In order to contextualize this study of how my participants negotiate social belonging and exclusion, I will begin with an overview of the relevant approaches to globalization, transnationalism and migration (section 2.2). Globalization and transnationalism raise many questions for second language use and the negotiation of social belonging (Heller, 2003; Pennycook, 2007; Piller & Pavlenko, 2007, in press). I will then focus on migration to and multiculturalism in Australia, the location of my research (section 2.3). The national focus is relevant following an understanding that language and national identity continue to be intricately tied (Anderson, 1991; Billig, 1995). At the same time, globalization has challenged the continuing significance of the nation from the perspective of both citizenship and social affiliation (Gellner, 1983; Habermas, 2001; Hobsbawm, 1993). It is important to start this current chapter where Chapter 1 left off, with a broader perspective of where my participants fit into the context of contemporary migration discourses.

Following an outline of the socio-historical context for the study, I will present my approach to language, power, and identity (section 2.4). Section 2.5 looks at how research in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics examine identity and language. The approach will be expanded through a discussion of current work in narrative as a central site for identity negotiation (section 2.5.1). Following this will be the relevance of the literature in L2 learning and use that focuses on identity (section 2.5.2). I will then look at the research that focuses on the discursive construction

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of national identity as the final aspect of identity negotiation examined in my study (section 2.5.3).

2.2 Migration and Transnationalism: The Broader Social Context

This section deals broadly with the literature on transnationalism as a starting point for the examination of my participant's discursive negotiation of identity and belonging. This is an important place to begin as increased migration, transnationalism and globalization have changed understandings of social affiliation, the meaning of place, and how belonging is defined (Bhabha, 1996, [1994] 2007; Castles & Davidson, 2000; Castles & Miller, 2003; Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005). In the context of migration and transnationalism, the question becomes:

> what, for instance, if where we feel we belong (our "cultural" or "ethnic" home) does not match objective ascriptions of membership (our "political" or "civic" home), because "belonging" separates into its two constituent parts: "being" in one place, and "longing" for another? This is where the web starts to get tangled, where ostensible simplicity is supplanted by complexity, permanence by mutability, clear-cut boundaries by fluid images of self and other. (Hedetoft & Hjort, 2002, p. vii)

As we saw in the brief examples in Chapter 1, these complexities are central to my participants' understandings of belonging and identity as adult migrants. There will always be a constant negotiation of self *here* and *there*.

Globalization, from a cultural perspective, has come to be understood in terms of flows, among other things, of people, information and commodities (Appadurai, 1996). This mobility affects the ways my participants negotiate themselves and their social contexts. In conceptualizing global cultural flows, Appadurai expands Anderson's (1991) notion of the imagined community. While

Anderson focused on the ways print capitalism enabled people to imagine themselves as part of a shared national community, Appadurai broadens this to the global landscape where:

> the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility. (Appadurai, 1996, p. 31)

Appadurai's claim is that there is a relationship between global flows and how we are able to see and negotiate possible positions for ourselves in the world. His theories do not focus on language, but by extension language must be seen as the prime site of these negotiations through which social and historical contexts are internalized, entextualised, reproduced and contested discursively (Blommaert, 2005).

Recent literature addresses these complex relationships of language and social context through a turn to transnationalism as a focus, rather than *globalization* per se:

> Notions of the transcultural, transnational and translocal present a way of thinking about flow, flux and fixity in relation to location that move beyond both dichotomies of the global and local, and dialectics between global homogenization and local heterogenization. (Pennycook, 2007, p. 44)

Embodied in the notion of transnationalism are the ways that the global and local are in dialogue, a dialogue which emerges in the utterances and discursive negotiations of my participants. Transnationalism can be seen not only as physical movements across borders, but also the discursive construction of self as mobile, whether or not further migration actually takes place (Hornberger, 2007). Transnationalism, over globalization, provides a more apt encapsulation of contemporary migration (Ong, 1999), one that is able to hold both a sense of border crossing, whilst acknowledging that the borders remain, albeit some of them more porously. For those who have migrated as adults, who have learned English as an L2 as adults, these dialectics and flows are central to the negotiation of belonging in the Australian context.

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That being said, while transnationalism opens new ways of imagining belonging and self, national categories remain something that must be negotiated. Ang (2004), for instance, looks at how national categories are relevant for the Chinese diaspora, comparing such global cities as Singapore and Sydney. Ang stresses the importance of hybridity in negotiations of national identity. Although hybrid identities become more relevant in the face of transnationalism, it is relevant not to "fail to recognize the continued importance of the 'national' (in state terms) as a space that has to be negotiated and entry to which is still strongly influenced by state institutions" (Yeoh, Willis, & Fakhri, 2004, p. 5). In turning to transnationalism rather than globalization, Koser and Al-Ali (2002) write: "[W]hereas global processes are often decentred from specific national territories, transnational processes are anchored in but also transcend one or more nation-states" (p. 1). In examining the ways people who migrated to Australia as adults and have had to rewrite themselves in their L2, it is clear that discourses of national and transnational belonging are an important site of identity negotiation.

Another perspective on the relationship between the national and transnational, and imagining and possibility, is that of citizenship. Ong's (1999) theory of *flexible citizenship* is one way of approaching how contemporary citizenship is imagined. She defines this concept as: "the strategies and effects of mobile managers, technocrats, and professionals seeking to both circumvent *and* benefit from different nation-state regimes by selecting different sites for investments, work, and family relocation" (p. 112). Flexible citizenship acknowledges both the effect of increased mobility on the understandings of self discussed in Appadurai (1996), while also accounting for the enduring boundaries and borders of the nation-state, both real and discursive. Citizenship and nationality can be seen as commodities that are desired, but not

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always accessible. There is a relationship between the reimagining of citizenship and the restrictions nations place on the people they do and do not want to enter their borders (see section 2.3 for a discussion of the Australian context). As Piller (2001a) frames it:

> Nations are not only "Imagined Communities," that is, systems of cultural representation whereby people come to imagine a shared experience of identification with an extended community, but also exclusionary historical and institutional practices to which access is restricted via citizenship. (Piller, 2001a, p. 259)

These relationships between wider social contexts, national and transnational, and self are entextualized in the ways my participants negotiate their identities, their use of linguistic resources in constructing and negotiating national and transnational belonging.

Broad definitions of what the nation means exist throughout the literature on migration. Castles (2000), for example, in his influential work on international migration and citizenship offers the following definition: "The *nation* is usually seen as a group of people who have a feeling of belonging together on the basis of shared language, culture, traditions and history – in other words an ethnic community" (p. 133). The stress on the discursive, on how social belonging and exclusion are actually negotiated in the utterances of people who have undergone migration, means looking not only at broad definitions of the nation, but on how transnationalism and nationalism are made relevant in interaction. Castles, like Appadurai among others, draws on Anderson's imagined community to tie nation to both an emotional and institutional belonging, "a feeling". While his theories are useful in providing an historical context for migration patterns, definitions in this manner do not provide a way to operationalize how nation and national identity are made salient.

Billig's (1995) concept of "banal nationalism", used to examine "the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced" (p. 6) is more useful in looking at how national identity and language intersect. In discussing nationalism Billig, rather than focusing on the sort of nationalism that appears at the emergence of a nation-state, is concerned with the types of nationalisms that form part of daily interaction, but are invisible, forgotten due to "assumed naturalness in the established nation-state" (p. 44). As well as pointing to such symbols as the ubiquitous national flag, Billig stresses the importance of language in constructing this banality:

> The concept of 'a language' – at least in the sense which appears so banally obvious to 'us' – may itself be an invented permanency, developed during the age of the nation-state. If this is the case, then language does not create nationalism, so much as nationalism creates language; (p. 30)

The focus on the role of language in producing and reproducing national identity is relevant not only as applied to the distinctions between languages, but in relation to who can therefore claim ownership of that language in the migration and L2 context. I examine how this plays out in my data in Chapter 4 when addressing how my participants, all highly proficient adult L2 users of English, construct their success in learning English.

Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001), in their examination of multilingualism and identity negotiation, argue compellingly that while *imagining* remains relevant, the dialectic between nation and language is overly simplified in Anderson's work due to assumptions regarding the nature and stability of languages.

> In fact, nations and nation-states are constantly developing, shifting, and changing, and are constantly imagined and reimagined in diverse and complex ways by dominant and subordinate groups and individuals whose identities are in a constant process of renegotiation. (p. 252)

It is the individual renegotiations with which my study is concerned. These renegotiations of language and nation can be seen for example, in the relationship of language policy and nation. Blackledge's (2005) study of language and power from a critical discourse analysis perspective discusses, among other things, the centrality of nation-state language policies to national identity in defining "'who is in' and 'who is out'" (p. 42). These understandings are particularly relevant in multilingual contexts like Australia where the "monolingual mindset" (Clyne, 2005a) continues to be intimately tied to discourses of national belonging and exclusion. Ultimately what remains of utmost relevance is that "in the modern era, nations are no longer created in blood but imagined in language" (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007, p. 671). For these reasons, both the wider context of increased mobility, alongside the continuing significance of national identity, are relevant in examining the discourses of highly proficient adult L2 speakers of English in Australia.

Before moving on to introduce the relevant literature on language and identity, only touched upon in this section, I will now describe migration in the Australian national context to provide a more specific understanding of the location of my research.

2.3 Migration and Language in Australia

National identity, who and what is an Australian, have been the focus of much research throughout the 20th and into the 21st century (Ang & Stratton, 1994; Castles, Cope, Kalantzis, & Morrissey, 1990; Day, 1998; Dixson, 1999; Jones, 2003; Phillips, 1959; Price, 1991; Serle, 1965). Australian cultural historian Richard White concludes, for example:

> There is no 'real' Australia waiting to be uncovered. A national identity is an invention. There is no point asking whether one version of this essential Australia is truer than another because they are all intellectual constructs, neat, tidy, comprehensible-and necessarily false. They have all been artificially imposed upon a diverse landscape and population, and a variety of untidy social

> relationships, attitudes and emotions. When we look at ideas about national identity, we need to ask, not whether they are true or false, but what their function is, whose creation they are, and whose interests they serve. (White, 1981, p. viii)

This "invention" is necessarily created, perpetuated and reproduced through language. Compatible with White's call above, some research has focused on the development of multiculturalism in Australia with an interest in whose voices have authority (Ang, 2002, 2003; Gunew, 1990; Hage, 1998). There has also been a concern with how and where multilingualism and L2 use fit into these debates (Lopez, 2000; Ozolins, 1993), particularly because historically "considerations of language have occupied a minor place in most academic treatments of ethnicity and multiculturalism in Australia" (Clyne, 1991b, p. 95).

As discussed in section 2.2, increased mobility has changed how a homogenous national identity can be construed, and how it remains relevant. One argument is that globalization necessarily creates a nationalist backlash:

> where the lines between us and them may have always, in human history, been blurred at the boundaries and unclear across large spaces and big numbers, globalization exacerbates these uncertainties and produces new incentives for cultural purification as more nations lose the illusion of national economic sovereignty or well-being. (Appadurai, 2006, p. 7)

In the context of Australian society, this has been particularly evident in nationalist attitudes and discriminatory immigration policies (Curthoys, 2003; Walker, Gothard, & Jayasuriya, 2003). As discussed in the previous section, globalization and transnationalism challenge the discourses of homogenous national identity that create imagined belonging to the nation (Papastergiadis, 2000, p. 83), but the question remains to what extent is this seen in actual discursive identity construction. In order to contextualize the literature on language and migration in Australia, I will first look at patterns of migration to Australia (section 2.3.1), followed by an overview of policies relating to migration, multiculturalism, and multilingualism in Australia (section 2.3.2).

Following the discussion of the Australian context, I will present my approach to language, discourse and identity (section 2.4).

2.3.1 Patterns of Migration

Australia has a long history of migration and multilingualism (Clyne, 1991a, 1991b, 2005a; Leitner, 2004). The history of English and European languages in Australia began in the late 18th century with the start of colonization. As Holton (1998) states, in many ways this marked the beginning of transnationalism in Australia: "For over two hundred years all aspects of Australian life have been profoundly influenced by transnational forces operating across borders" (p. 198). English, and other migrant languages, have flourished and expanded through different waves of migration, accompanied by a rapid loss of Indigenous languages as a consequence of colonization (Schmidt, 1990). Mid-19th century Australia saw the arrival of increased numbers of migrants from Europe and Asia. As Clyne (1991a) notes, "[t]he 1861 Census records 27,599 German-born, 38,742 Chinese-born and 11,589 other foreign-born' people in the colonies" (p. 7). There was also a strong presence of Irish and Welsh speakers (Leitner, 2004, p. 157). The largest influxes of non-British, L2 English speakers began after World War II. By 1971, people from non-English speaking backgrounds accounted for 10.6% of the total population (Lopez, 2000, p. 76).

This percentage has more than doubled since then. The 2006 census data reports that 24% of the population of Australia was born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007g, p. 1). The same census shows that 29% of the population of Sydney speaks a language other than English in the home (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007a). Table 2.1 provides the population numbers of

the languages spoken by my participants in Sydney and Australia, from both the 2001 and 2006

census:

Table 2.1

	2001				2006			
	Australia		**Sydney**		**Australia**		**Sydney**	
Language	**Number of speakers**	**% of total**	**Number of speakers**	**% of total**	**Number of speakers**	**% of total**	**Number of speakers**	**% of total**
Italian	352,157	1.86	79,595	1.99	316,893	1.60	71,769	1.74
Spanish	93,181	0.49	44,625	1.12	97,998	0.49	44,663	1.08
German	75,810	0.40	14,669	0.37	75,634	0.38	14,707	0.36
Polish	58,854	0.31	14,117	0.35	53,390	0.27	13,033	0.32
Portuguese	23,610	0.12	11,198	0.28	25,778	0.13	11,681	0.28
Czech	7,295	0.04	2,508	0.06	6,897	0.03	2,402	0.06

(compiled from Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001a, 2001b; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, 2007e)

The figures in Table 2.1 indicate a small section of the larger language diversity of Sydney's

population of 4.6 million. Italian remains the second most widely spoken language in the home

next to English despite the dramatic drop from 2001 to 2006 (for some discussion of the factors

of language attrition rates in Australia see Clyne & Kipp, 2006). The other communities

remained stable.

Table 2.2 adds further context by providing the statistics for the top 10 community languages for

Sydney and Australia in 2006:

Table 2.2

	Sydney				*Australia*		
	Language	Number of Speakers	% of Respondents (4,119,191)		Language	Number of Speakers	% of Respondents (19,855,288)
1	Arabic (incl. Lebanese)	161,098	3.91	1	Italian	316,893	1.60
2	Cantonese	125,292	3.04	2	Greek	252,222	1.27
3	Mandarin	96,704	2.35	3	Cantonese	244,554	1.23
4	Greek	80,148	1.95	4	Arabic	243,662	1.23
5	Vietnamese	72,615	1.76	5	Mandarin	220,596	1.11
6	Italian	71,769	1.74	6	Vietnamese	194,858	0.98
7	Spanish	44,663	1.08	7	Spanish	97,998	0.49
8	Tagalog	44,296	1.08	8	Tagalog	92,330	0.47
9	Hindi	36,981	0.9	9	German	75,634	0.38
10	Korean	35,943	0.87	10	Hindi	70,013	0.35

(compiled from Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007d, 2007e)

Of my participant's L1s, Italian and Spanish are in the top 10 community languages spoken in Australia and in Sydney. German also appears in the top languages spoken in Australia, despite not appearing in the top languages for Sydney.

These numbers provide a useful context for the following discussion on the development of immigration and language policy in Australia. While English remains secure in its dominant position, multilingualism is increasing both due to permanent migration, as well as increases in international students, for example (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007f). Current language policy in Australia does not adequately reflect this diversity (Clyne, 2005a). The history of restrictive migration policy (section 2.3.2) and the development of language and multicultural

policy, now in need of further development (section 2.3.3), leave open questions for approaching the discursive construction of identity in the Australia migration context.

2.3.2 The Development of Migration and Language Policy in Australia

The noted level of immigration and linguistic diversity makes Australia an ideal site for the exploration of identity, migration and belonging. At the same time that Australia has experienced high levels of immigration and multilingualism, "paranoid nationalism" (Hage, 2003, p. 1) can also be found throughout the country's history. Restrictive responses to increased migration are intimately tied with the founding of the Australian nation. One of the first Acts brought in at Federation in 1901 was the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, also commonly known as the White Australia policy, which instituted a language dictation test in order to stem the flow of non-white migration (Chesterman & Galligan, 1999, pp. 45-47; Piller, 2001a). While the test was in essence not about language proficiency (the test language was any European language chosen by the immigration officer, whether the test taker was a speaker of that language or not), it does reveal the intricate ties between language and power, social identity and national belonging. One of the most salient determiners of entry under this policy was race, implicit in the "European language" specifications, in addition to exemptions made for "an immigrant of European race or descent" (Commonwealth of Australia, 1901, p. 4).

Although the 20th century migration policy in Australia is riddled with discriminatory practices that can still be seen in lingering hostilities into the 21st century (Ang, 2003), the development of multicultural policies in the late 1970s were influential, if nothing else, in raising the public profile of these issues of language and culture. To account for the increasingly diverse population, the Australian government made attempts at developing positive and progressive

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social policies with the introduction of *multiculturalism* over *assimilation* in the 1970s (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 213; Lopez, 2000) and language policy in the late 1980s (Lo Bianco, 2008; Lo Bianco & Australian Department of Education, 1987).

While the development of multicultural policies in Australia began with the increase in migration at the close of World WarII (Lopez, 2000), its move towards having official status began with the Galbally report in 1978 (Ozolins, 1993). Multiculturalism was officially enshrined with the introduction of the National Agenda for Multiculturalism in 1989, one of three dimensions of which was "cultural identity: the right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion" (as quoted in Castles & Davidson, 2000, p. 166).

On one hand, it appears that the policy officially legislated a respect for diverse language and social practices, and on the other, the perspective is one of "tolerance" from the dominant, prevailing social norms (see, for instance, Bhabha's critique in Rutherford, 1990). This is evident in the caveats included in the agenda, for instance: "multicultural policies are based on the premise that all Australians should have an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia, to its interests and future first and foremost" (as quoted in Castles & Davidson, 2000, p. 166). In addition to Bhabha's critique, multiculturalism as an official doctrine has been criticized as being "seen not as a policy to foster cultural differences but, on the contrary, to direct them into safe channels" (Ang & Stratton, 1994).

Language policy and multiculturalism were introduced independently. The *National Policy on Languages* (Lo Bianco & Australian Department of Education, 1987), also known as the Lo Bianco report, was introduced in 1987 and:

> while affirming the position of English as a national language of Australia, stressed the importance of the recognition and promotion of languages other than English in the Australian context, in terms of social justice, the provision of cultural enrichment for all Australians, and the contribution of other languages to economic strategies and external relations. (Kipp, Clyne, & Pauwels, 1995, p. 20)

In 1991, merely four years after the policy was instituted, it was transformed into "*Australia's Language – the Australian Language and Literacy Policy*, where the emphasis shifted to literacy in English" (Martín, 2008, p. 76).

Alongside this diminished place of multilingualism through dedicated language policy, of additional importance is the diminishing prominence of language in the multicultural policy. In the 2003 revision, for example, the three dimensions cited in Castles & Davidson (2000) become four principles, with language being framed as a right of freedom from discrimination supplanting the earlier identity framework (Australian Government, 2003). These changes in official discourse are important markers of attitudes towards language, nation, and identity (Blackledge, 2005).

Australia's history, as a country of migration with institutionalized discrimination existing alongside attempts at inclusive language and cultural policy, makes it an important site for an exploration of the negotiation of social belonging. Beyond the larger socio-historical context, it is important to examine closely how these official discourses relate to my participants particularly. In order to do this, it is relevant first to outline the approach this research takes to language and

identity (section 2.4), before moving on to discuss the literature on narrative and identity (section 2.5.1), L2 use (section 2.5.2), and national identity (section 2.5.3).

2.4 Approaches to Discourse and Identity

Throughout the first portion of this chapter, there have been references to identity and discourse. This section outlines the specific approach this study takes to discourse and identity in examining the negotiation of social belonging and exclusion, and why it is important to examine this negotiation in the discourses of highly proficient adult L2 users of English in Australia. Initially the discussion focuses on approaches to discourse. Following this is a discussion of definitions of identity (section 2.4.1) and understandings of power (section 2.4.2). Then the notions of hybrid identities and third space are presented (section 2.4.3).

Jaworski and Coupland (2006) clearly show in the first pages of their edited book *The discourse reader*, drawing on Schiffrin (1994), the broad array of definitions of discourse in the field of linguistics. In their 10 short examples, discourse is defined most broadly as any aspect of language use. What Jaworski and Coupland do stress however, is the common focus of most definitions of language in use, and in fact "*beyond* language in use. Discourse is language use relative to social, political and cultural formations - it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society" (Jaworski & Coupland, 2006, p. 3). The approach in my research follows Jaworski and Coupland's outline in viewing discourse as language that is both something we use in constructing identities, but also something that constrains identity. Discourse is viewed not merely as "groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the

objects of which they speak" (Foucault, [1972] 2005). Research within a critical linguistic framework has embraced Foucault's approach to discourse through the notion of discourse as "social practice": "Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institutions(s) and social structure(s) which frame it" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Rather than the abstract understanding of "*imagination as social practice*" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 31 italics in original) as discussed in section 2.2 in the context of transnationalism, we can see that these social practices are constructed and reproduced in and through language. Using and negotiating, for example, an identity term such as *Australian* relates to a long history of use.

The interrelatedness of language use and socio-historical context has been conceptualized in Bakhtin's notion of multiple-voicing or heteroglossia:

> At any given time, in any given place, there will be a set of conditions-social, historical, meteorological, physiological-that will insure that a word uttered in that place and at that time will have a meaning different than it would have under any other conditions; all utterances are heteroglot in that they are functions of a matrix of forces practically impossible to recoup, and therefore impossible to resolve. (Holquist, 1981, p. 428)

Or as Foucault ([1972] 2005) frames it, "Language always seems to be inhabited by the other, the elsewhere, the distant" (p. 125). The understanding of the intertextuality of language use assumes "that every text is embedded in a context and is synchronically and diachronically related to many other texts" (Blackledge, 2005, p. 10). Although it may not be possible, or necessary, to account for all of the contributing discourses in one utterance, it is possible to examine what is made relevant in situated language use, for instance, by my participants in creating self-coherence.

Discourses as social practices cannot be understood without a theory that accounts for the availability of certain practices and ways of speaking for some people in some contexts and not others. One example is the framing of "discourses of identity" which can be seen as:

> part of specific discursive fields that are structured in relation to a range of cultural and other institutions. They constitute our subjectivity for us through material practices that shape bodies as much as minds and involve relations of power. (Weedon, 2004, p. 18)

Power is brought in as a way of addressing this availability, for example, of what it means to be an L2 user of English in Australia, or what and who typically constitutes or can claim to be an *Australian*, or who and what are labelled "un-Australian" (Smith & Phillips, 2001). The next step is then to outline my understanding of identity in the exploration of how my participants negotiate and create positions for themselves in discourse.

2.4.1 Defining Identity

A point of departure for the following sections is an understanding of what is meant by the term *identity*. Identity, like discourse, has been defined in a number of ways and is, needless to say, "an extremely complex construct and simple definitions of what the term refers to are difficult to find as there is no neutral way to characterize it" (De Fina, 2003, p. 15). There is no neutral way, in that there will always be choices as to which approach to identity is taken. This section provides an overview of the definitions of identity that I use in this study to situate my approach to adult L2 users' construction of social belonging in the Australian migration context.

The highly influential cultural theorist Stuart Hall frames identity in the following way:

> By *identity*, or *identities*, I mean the processes that constitute and continuously re-form the subject who has to act and speak in the social and cultural world. Identity is the meeting point, or the point of future, between, on the one hand, the ideological discourses which attempt to interpellate or speak us as social subjects, and, on the other, the psychological or psychical processes which produce us as subjects which can be spoken. (S. Hall, 1995, p. 65)

Language plays an important role in understanding and producing the self. Definitions following Hall are interested in the flexibility and plurality of situated identity practices (Kroskrity, 2000a). Hall, above, furthers Althusser's (1977) notion of interpellation, where "[i]ndividual subjects internalize particular meanings and values and take up the identity offered to them by the institution in question, for example, that of worker, mother or citizen of a particular state" (Weedon, 2004, p. 12). It is not merely state institutions, but dominant discourses that contribute to how we are able to see and construct ourselves through language.

The question of what identity means becomes one not merely of who we *are*, but of how we reproduce wider discourses, and whether and how there is space for resistance in discursive practices (Foucault, 2000, [1972] 2005). My study draws from both social-constructionist understandings, where there is a "focus on [the] discursive construction of identities" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 13), as well as from the poststructuralist perspective with its "emphasis on the role of power relations" (p. 13). These combined approaches provide a useful framework for the study of belonging and identity in understanding how individuals are constituted by ideologies and social structures, while also retaining means of resistance (Blackledge, 2002; Blommaert, 1999; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Grad & Martín Rojo, 2008; Piller, 2002b; Simpson, 1993; Woolard, 1998).

Poststructuralist and social-constructionist understandings of identity turn away from the belief in an essential identity in a Cartesian sense, towards the development of theories that more adequately account for the complex ways in which we locate and construct ourselves in interaction (Kroskrity, 2000b; Woolard, 1998). The concern is with "the relation between

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language, subjectivity, social organization and power" (Weedon, 1997, p. 12). Identity is seen as both fluid and multiple, whilst also being restricted by the context of speaking and the linguistic resources available to the speaker. As Bakhtin (1986) writes, "language enters life through concrete utterances (which manifest language) and life enters language through concrete utterances as well" (p. 63).

The relationship between social structures and individual behaviour has come to be seen through Bourdieu's theory of *habitus,* "a set of dispositions and orientations that do not simply 'regulate' [our] actions, but define just who and what [we] are" (Bohman, 1999, p. 130). Bourdieu extends this to language use through understanding that we also have a linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1991). The linguistic habitus exists in relation to specific fields or social contexts, "a social arena in which negotiations take place over resources or stakes and access to them (…)" (Blackledge, 2005, pp. 32-33). Putting this relationship into the context of migration and L2 use, Miller argues that:

> if dispositions constituted by particular social conditions [habitus] are generative and transposable to other fields, these other fields may provide new sets of social conditions, and therefore generate new dispositions. As people move across boundaries, geographic, ideological, social, cultural and linguistic, they may acquire new ways of speaking and acting, new ways of being. Bourdieu also provides us with an understanding that linguistic practices cannot sensibly be studied in isolation from power relations and capital relations in social fields. (Miller, 2003, p. 40)

Mobility and transnationalism provide the space where "new ways of being" become possible. The linguistic habitus or linguistic repertoire available to us, rather than merely viewed as "speech behavior of a population" (Gumperz, 1986, p. 21), can be seen as the dynamic resources of an individual speaker. This repertoire enables varying positions to be taken up in interaction and under some conditions, as Miller suggests above, may allow us to challenge existing norms and social categories (Harré & Langenhove, 1991). This framework provides insights into how new ways of being are or are not taken up by the participants in my study, all long-term residents

of Australia, who continue to renegotiate and rewrite themselves in the Australian context in their

L2.

Identities in my study are then seen as negotiated, both through "participation" and "reification" (Tusting, 2005, p. 38), where the context of migration can be seen as a hybrid site where normative understandings of belonging can be challenged. Identity is viewed as:

> available for use: something that people do which is embedded in some other social activity, and not something they "are". … The important analytic question is not therefore whether someone can be described in a particular way, but to show *that* and *how* this identity is made relevant or ascribed to self or others. (Widdicombe, 1998, p. 191)

Identity is not only something we have but also something that we use. In the context of my participants and their mobility, the linguistic habitus is necessarily rewritten: translated, transposed and thereby constantly altered to account for new social spaces and identities.

Identities as discourses available for use can be viewed from the perspective of positioning theory. Positioning "allows us to bring together the views of identities as located in discourses and as situated in narratives" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 19). Developed in the work of Davies and Harré (1990), the notion of positioning emerged from earlier theories within sociolinguistics that were concerned with examining social role (Bernstein, 1972). Although social role allows a way of conceptualizing language in interaction, there is not enough flexibility to allow an understanding of multiple complex identities. Instead, "[t]he analysis of how speakers actively and agentively position themselves in talk starts from the assumption that the intelligibility of their claims is situationally and interactively accomplished" (Bamberg, 2004, p. 225). The positions we negotiate in interaction through our linguistic repertoires can be seen as a situated performance of identity. Performance theory (Butler, 1999a) and performativity (K. Hall, 2000) draws on and expands Bourdieu's relationship of *habitus* and *field* (Butler, 1999b).

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Socialization and the context of identity performance are seen to shape one another. In Chapter 5, I examine how positions are taken up by my participants in relation to constructs of national identity. The exploration of these positions shows that participants frequently navigate identities beyond national borders, while also being constrained by dominant discourses of national identities and values.

2.4.2 Power

It is important to pause here for a moment to outline a theory of power. The foremost theorist of power remains Michel Foucault. As Cameron & Kulick summarize: "Power is not an institution, a structure or a possession: no one simply 'has' power. In other words, Foucault rejects the common-sense view that equates power with dominance." (2003, p. 112). Power is seen instead as "multidirectional" (Dreyfus, Foucault, & Rabinow, 1983, p. 184), something that is negotiated situationally through language. It is not seen as a theory as such, but rather something that is at play across all relations, "Power is exercised within discourses in the ways in which they constitute and govern individual subjects. (…) Power also structures relations between different subjects within or across discourses" (Weedon, 1997, p. 110). I will explore aspects of power through the examination of participants' construction of success in L2 learning in Chapter 4, to show how dominant discourses of an unattainable native-speaker model are negotiated in my data.

Seen through power then, it is clear that there are constraints on which identities are 'available' to us. We are not able to make claims to whichever identities we may desire, some identities are negotiable by some people in some contexts, and some are not:

> The fact that languages – and language ideologies – are anything but neutral is especially visible in multilingual societies where some languages and identity options are, in unforgettable Orwellian words, 'more equal than others.' Negotiation is a logical outcome of this inequality: it may take place between individuals, between majority and minority groups, and, most importantly, between institutions and those they are supposed to serve. (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 3)

Following from the above quote, some languages and identities then have more symbolic capital than others (Bourdieu, 1991), where language can be viewed as a commodity in the global context, and where possessing the right variety can provide access to greater economic capital (Block & Cameron, 2002). This symbolic power is seen as:

> an aspect of most forms of power as they are routinely deployed in social life. For in the routine flow of day-to-day life, power is seldom exercised as overt physical force: instead, it is transmuted into a symbolic form, and thereby endowed with a kind of *legitimacy* that it would not otherwise have. Bourdieu expresses this point by saying that symbolic power is an 'invisible' power which is 'misrecognized' as such and thereby 'recognized' as legitimate. (Thompson, 1991, p. 23)

In this way, certain languages and ways of speaking become privileged over others through the misrecognition. These forms are seen as having greater inherent value.

Individuals can be seen to be able to exercise agency (Giddens, 1979), that is we are "capable of initiating action" (Varela & Harré, 1996, p. 323), albeit agency that is constantly navigated within discourses and power. As Foucault (2000) writes, "At the very heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom" (p. 21). Power structures relate to who is heard, whose voices are unmarked, who is *more equal*, and which identity discourses are dominant. This again stresses the importance of taking a context

specific approach. The next question must be one of how these structures are potentially challenged and changed.

2.4.3 Hybrid Identities and Third Space

Bhabha's ([1994] 2007) notion of *third space* provides a useful conceptualization of discursive strategies of resistance. Bhabha sees the existence of dichotomies within society as a site at which the hybrid emerges. Hybridity can be seen in the emergence of new codes (Rampton, 1995), or to help explain the unexpected use of borrowings and code-switching, for instance, in the occurrence of Hindi in English newspapers in India (Bhatt, 2008). This hybridity is also available for L2 English speakers in Australia in creating transnational spaces in the negotiation of social belonging. The importance of these emergent positions is stressed by Bhabha ([1994] 2007):

> It is significant that the productive capacities of this Third Space have a colonial or postcolonial provenance. For a willingness to descend into that alien territory – where I have led you – may reveal that the theoretical recognition of the split-sphere of enunciation may open the way to conceptualizing an *inter*national culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's *hybridity*. To that end we should remember that it is the 'inter' – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the *inbetween* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture. It makes it possible to begin envisaging national, anti-nationalist histories of the 'people'. And by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves. (p. 56)

These theories of hybrid identity merge to provide an understanding of how we use language resources to rewrite and renegotiate ourselves, particularly as L2 users:

> The point is that one does not just 'have' or 'know' a language. [...] Words, accents, intonation contours, styles all come with a history of use and abuse (Bakhtin's intertextuality); they also come with a history of assessment and evaluation. This is where language leads us directly to the heart of social structure: an investigation into language becomes an investigation into the systems and patterns of allocation of power symbols and instruments, and thus an investigation into basic patterns of privilege and disenfranchisement in societies […]. (Blommaert, 2005, p. 61)

Through these approaches to language and identity we are able to move beyond the notion that we *have* an L1 or multiple L1s or L2s that exist in separation from each other, for example in the sense of the oft problematized view of bilingualism as double monolingualism (for a discussion see Heller, 1999), and beyond the notion of the bounded *speech community* (Irvine & Gal, 2000) towards the concept of repertoires and positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990) as a way of understanding the discursive construction of belonging in the urban Australian migrant context. I will show how this plays out in the ways participants draw on existing discourses of national and L2 learner identities in Chapters 4 and 5. In Chapter 4, the question asked is how normative models of success are negotiated by highly proficient adult L2 users of English, showing that even highly successful speakers have complex ways of claiming success and failure in language learning. In Chapter 5, the question is one of how hybridity becomes central to the negotiation of self in relation to national belonging, post-migration.

Hybridity is particularly useful in looking at how identities are necessarily renegotiated in these increasing sites of cross-cultural and multilingual interaction. Piller's (2002a) work on bilingual cross-cultural couples, for example, looks at how hybridity is co-constructed in interaction by German-English speaking couples. Examining bilingual couples talk, Piller shows that her participants, "not only have access to discourses that valorize bilingualism, but also to discourses that valorize hybridity, internationalism, and multiculturalism" (p. 266). Concurrently, these couples also produce discourses that devalue hybridity. Piller's findings are that "it is clear that those discourses are much more powerful than their counter-discourses" (p. 267). Hybridity, while allowing for new identity options, still operates within dominant discourses and power relations in society.

Having outlined an approach to power and identity, and the possibilities of negotiating identity and belonging within dominant discourses, I will now examine the literature that provides ways to approach the analysis of negotiation of identity and belonging in interaction.

2.5 Analysing Identities

This section deals with the specific discourse analysis approaches to identity and belonging that inform my study. First, I address how narrative has come to be viewed as a central site for discursive meaning-making and self-coherence (section 2.5.1). I then move to look at the ways L2 learning and identity are addressed in the literature (section 2.5.2), including language ownership (section 2.5.2.1) and self-translation (section 2.5.2.2). I close this chapter with an examination of work that focuses particularly on the discursive construction of national identity (section 2.5.3).

2.5.1 Narrative and Identity

The following section will contextualize the literature on the negotiation of identities within a narrative framework. The range of work on narrative as a site for identity construction and negotiation has expanded exponentially in the field of linguistics (Bamberg, 1997b; Toolan, 2001). Much of the linguistic literature on narratives has taken the direction of research away from the initial structuralist concerns (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), towards an interest in the role narratives play in the construction and performance of identity in interaction (Bamberg, 2007b). Research on narrative discourse has grown to include such varied areas of study as aspects of national identity (Polanyi, 1985; Taylor & Wetherell, 1999); couples therapy (Gottlieb & Gottlieb, 1996); gender and child birth (Page, 2002); racism (van Dijk, 1993); divorce (Riessman,

1991); institutional settings (Holmes, 2006; Linde, 2003; Mishler, 1997; O'Connor, 2000); L2 use and language ownership (Pavlenko, 2002a); and the asylum seeker process (Maryns, 2005). Particularly relevant to my research is the increasing body of work that examines migration and identity narratives (Baynham & De Fina, 2005; De Fina, 2000, 2003; Schüpbach, 2005). I will first discuss the literature that examines the link between narrative and identity, before looking specifically at the research that centres on migration.

Narratives have come to be seen as a fundamental site for self-construction, as well as for the relationship between self and society (Gergen, 2001). Telling stories provides a means of creating coherence out of our fragmented experiences, where we make choices out of the "unrealized surplus of humanness" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 37). This is particularly so in the context of transnationalism and migration, discussed in section 2.2, which:

> often lead to tension between fragmented, decentered, and shifting identities experienced by groups and individuals and their desire for meaning and coherence. Identity narratives offer a unique means of resolving this tension, (re)constructing the links between past, present, and future, and imposing coherence where there was none (Czarniawska, 2000; Hall, 1990; Pavlenko, 1998, 2001). New narratives and images "offer a way to impose an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation, which is the history of all enforced diasporas" (Hall, 1990:224). (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 18)

The study of narrative as a site of identity negotiation allows for one way of understanding the discursive negotiation of belonging and identity. Narrative, like the approach to identity examined in section 2.4.1, is viewed as "a prominent and potent form of symbolic action, shaped by historically grounded human communities, socially occasioned in particular cultural and political texts and contexts: a *situated performance* to be read close-to-that-ground" (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001, pp. 13-14 italics in original). In other words, narrative is a useful unit of analysis for examining contextual discursive constructions of self. That said, narrative is not simply defined, it "bows to no simple generic blueprint that sets it apart once and for all from

other forms of discourse" (Ochs & Capps, 2001, p. 18). Definitions of narrative are commonly centred on temporal ordering, seen as "texts that recount events in a sequential order. Even when sequentiality is conceived in terms of casual connections, there is a temporal aspect to it since events that generate other events are presented as preceding them temporally" (De Fina, 2003, p. 11). The study of personal experience narratives have been an important development in the exploration of definitions of identity.

The initial study of personal experience narratives in sociolinguistics began with the structuralist perspective through the work of Labov and Waletzky (1967). Their concern was in developing a structural model of narrative, which still remains influential in the work of later studies of narrative (see for example the discussion of Linde, 1993 below). Their hypothesis was "that fundamental narrative structures are to be found in oral versions of personal experience – the ordinary narratives of ordinary speakers" (Toolan, 2001, p. 143).The authors present a six part structure of narratives of personal experience:

> 1) Abstract, an optional overview of the narrative to come;
> 2) Orientation, where the narrator provides the setting of the story;
> 3) Complicating action, what happened and what happened next;
> 4) Evaluation, the why of the story;
> 5) Resolution, conclusion of the complicating action;
> 6) Coda, the optional clause that brings us from the story-world to real-time.

While Labov and Waletsky's formal model is not universally applicable, and not central in answering questions about identity negotiation, it has provided a useful starting point for the exploration of identity narratives. Other approaches to narrative also focus in particular on the *why*, the evaluation involved in the story-telling (Polanyi, 1985). Ochs and Capps (2001), for example, in their discourse focused approach to personal narratives suggest that "the narrative is imbued with a moral and aesthetic *evaluation* of actions, emotions, thoughts, and worldly

conditions" (p. 18). The notion of evaluation in narrative has become a central concern for the study of identity and self-coherence.

Linde (1993), for example, uses the Labov and Waletzky model as a starting point for the study of life-stories. Her influential study of the ways people construct themselves through narrative discourse focuses on a small corpus of interviews from 13 white middle-class American English speakers. The speakers were chosen because "they were known to have professions that were important to them" (p. 52). Linde's work draws on the Labov and Waletzky framework, with a particular focus on evaluative sections as "the part of the narrative that conveys to its addressees how they are to understand the meaning of the narrated sequence of events and what kind of response the speaker desires" (p. 72). The evaluation sections are seen as the primary site for interactional meaning-making in the narrative construction of identity. Alongside narrative structure, Linde focuses on coherence principles and coherence systems. These three aspects of self-coherence contribute to an understanding of the self as contextually formed.

Coherence systems are those systems that are part common sense and part "expert system" (Linde, 1993, p. 163). The question is how do participants use coherence systems such as age and brain function in negotiating language learning success and failure. I show that these ways of coherence are used by participants to position themselves, even when this is not located in a narrative framework. Coherence systems are explored in Chapter 4 through the examination of how participants create coherence out of the complex experiences of success and failure in learning English as adults and in Chapter 6 through narratives in the data.

Evaluation in narrative is also seen as a site where identity positions are negotiated. Bamberg (1997a), for example, draws on positioning theory, discussed in section 2.4.1 in examining evaluation in narratives of personal experience. He discusses three questions regarding positioning in narratives: How characters are "positioned in relation to one another within the reported events"; how the speaker positions themselves to their audience; and how they "position themselves to themselves" (p. 337). Also relevant is the relationship between where discourses are drawn from and why they have "coherence and persuasive powers" (p. 341). He examines, for example, pronoun usage in children's narratives as a way of viewing how positions of self and other are framed, such as the construction of "the *I* as agent who nevertheless does not have full control over the outcome of his actions and consequently cannot be held responsible" (p. 337). The analysis of narrative in my data becomes a contribution to the understanding of how certain discourses of understanding self, society, and self-in-society take precedence in creating coherence in interaction.

Narratives as sites for self-coherence and identity negotiation are also important for the growing body of work on migration and social belonging (Baynham & De Fina, 2005; De Fina, 2000, 2003; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006; Maryns, 2006; Schüpbach, 2005; Tannenbaum, 2007; Trinch, 2003). As Baynham (2006) pinpoints in his work on Moroccan migrants' narratives:

> Narratives of migration and settlement are narratives in which almost by definition, settled and stable sense of self are unsettled and challenged. Thus, they confront the discourse analyst and cultural theorist with the task of finding new ways of understanding traditional categories of identity and voice. (p. 376)

Narratives, as resources for self-coherence are also useful sites for examining how hybridity and change in social position are negotiated. I will address hybridity in the data in Chapter 5 by examining national identity negotiation, where I will show that hybridity is central in claiming

coherent identities. This is also the case in the narrative data examined in Chapter 6, where constructions of resistance and change in my participants' migration stories are an important site for rewriting self and creating coherence.

De Fina's (2000, 2003, 2006a) work has been particularly influential in drawing together narrative identity with migration, national identity and social belonging. Her research looks closely at the salience of ethnicity in narratives of undocumented Mexican workers in the United States through the use of interview data. Her study stresses the importance of qualitative studies of immigrants and immigration due, as noted earlier in this chapter, to the increase in global migration. In addition "[a] focus on immigrants and their identity can also help defeat overgeneralization and stereotyping and show the complexity of immigrant realities and experiences" (2003, p. 3).

De Fina's choice of a small-scale study, fourteen participants, allows for a closer examination of the "representations of the self that are not apparent through statistics, questionnaires or sample interview" (p. 3). De Fina's particular concern is with "the negotiation of membership into particular social groups, through the study of categorization and identification strategies used by narrators to introduce themselves and others in narratives" (p. 23). For example, she focuses on the use of pronouns as a way in which this membership and identification is created. In the case of her participants, the switching between first, second and impersonal pronouns becomes a salient site where the personal experience is generalized to the collective experience. It "reflects a social conception of the individual, where the individual views himself as surrounded by others and his/her experiences as shared or potentially significant to others as well" (p. 90).

My study is also based on the assumption that narrative is a central site for interactive meaning-making with an interest in how participants negotiate these social structures, in particular in acknowledging that "a discourse centered approach to the question of the interplay between migration and the expression of identity can enhance our understanding of those processes" (De Fina, 2003, p. 224). In drawing from the literature on L2 use and the discursive construction of national identity my study adds to this research by including the importance of discourses of language in the negotiation of identity in the context of migration.

A particular distinction between De Fina's study and my own relates to the choice of participants, in my case voluntary migrants of European background, and the specific differences of the socio-historical contexts of the United States and Australia. My participants, as noted earlier, are not visibly *other* in the Australian context, though as adult L2 users, in Miller's terms they remain *audibly* other (1999, 2003).

Narrative is a central resource in creating self-coherence, particularly in the context of migration where understandings of self are destabilized and questioned. Stories of migration and change provide a lens through which to examine how identities are negotiated in interaction. In Chapter 6 I address the stories produced by my participants and how they are an important site for the negotiation of social belonging and exclusion in the context of migration. In the next section I will examine the influence of poststructuralist perspectives of L2 learning. The section first presents an overview of the influence of social theory to the second language learning (SLL) literature (section 2.5.2). Following this, I will discuss the importance of language ownership and success in the negotiation of identity in the context of migration and L2 use (section 2.5.2.1). In

section 2.5.2.2 I draw together the examination of identity, L2 use and narrative through a focus on self-translation.

2.5.2 Identity and L2 Use

In the chapter so far I have presented the context of transnationalism (section 2.2) and particularly migration in Australia (section 2.3) as important background for the study of social belonging and exclusion. I have related these larger contexts to the study of identity and discourse (section 2.4), and looked at how narrative is a particularly important site for the examination of identity negotiation (section 2.5.1). In this section I will draw these theories together through the examination of the literature that focuses on identity and L2 use, adding a further perspective of identity negotiation to that of narrative.

The poststructuralist literature in the field of SLL has made it clear that the assumed models in earlier second language acquisition (SLA) research are no longer adequate to account for the relationship between identities, language learning, social belonging and exclusion in the context of migration (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; Block, 2003; Miller, 1999; Norton, 1997, 2000; Pavlenko, 2002b; Pavlenko, Blackledge, Piller, & Teutsch-Dwyer, 2001). The introduction of social theory into SLA and the concomitant renaming of the field to SLL has provided a framework through which to approach and account for identity and social context (Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). The use of Bourdieu's idea of "the right to speak and the power to impose reception" (Miller, 1999, p. 152), for example, draws attention to the role of power in L2 and L1 interaction. Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) note that the turn to social theory "involves shifting the focus of investigation from language structure to language use in context, and to the issues of affiliation and belonging" (p. 155). This shift to a focus on affiliation and belonging

meets with the discussion so far in this chapter, where identity is seen as multiple and contextually constructed. An important aspect of affiliation and belonging has been the study of language ownership and how language learning success is defined.

2.5.2.1 Language ownership and success

Language ownership and success in L2 use were traditionally examined in the SLA literature according to the hallmarks of the "good language learner" (Lightbown & Spada, 1993; Naiman, 1996). These early theories place the responsibility on the learner, without looking at the wider social context of interaction and learning. As Norton (2000) points out:

> many SLA theorists have not addressed the experiences of language learners with reference to inequitable relations of power between language learners and target language speakers, they have struggled to theorize the relationship between the individual language learner and the larger social world. (p. 3)

The successful speaker in multilingual contexts is someone imbued with particular symbolic capital, where success relates to misrecognition, in Bourdieu's sense (see section 2.4.1), of for example standard language varieties (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). Examining participants' discourses of what a good language learner is, and how success is constructed by these adult L2 English users themselves, allows insight into how participants relate to an ideal of success and where migrants are placed and place themselves within wider networks of social belonging. The question has become one of how L2 learners themselves construct success and failure in context, and how they claim ownership of English as legitimate speakers. I will explore these discourses of language success in the data in Chapter 4 by examining how "good language learner" characteristics such as age are discursively constructed as part of success for my participants.

The work of Norton (1997, 1998, 2000) is an important example of the close study of L2 learners own complex, situated constructions of language success. Norton's longitudinal qualitative approach used interviews, diary study, and questionnaires to examine immigrant women's processes of learning English in Canada. In approaching language success, Norton-Peirce (1995) develops the concept of "investment" in language learning as a more suitable framework than the traditional "motivation". Investment, as Norton (2000) restates, "signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language, and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (p. 10). One example is Norton's participant Katarina, who migrated to Canada from Poland with her husband and six year old daughter. Although Katarina strongly desired access to English, and had great motivation to use the language wherever possible, she chose not to use English in the home with her daughter. Her daughter had gained greater fluency in English and Katarina feared that using English in the home would undermine her authority as a mother (p. 90). Katarina's "investment in her identity as a mother" (p. 90) takes precedence over her investment in English use. Investment allows for a more complex understanding of how different relationships affect the language choices participants make in interaction.

In addition, Norton (2000) draws attention to the co-operative process of understanding in interaction, summarizing the work of Bremer et al (1993, 1996) in arguing "that understanding is an active rather than passive skill, co-constructed by both learners and target language speakers" (p. 40). This is of particular importance in the focus on social belonging and how positions are taken up in interaction. Motivation, and other aspects of the good language learner that are learner-centred, cannot take into account the importance of interaction and situated negotiation in how learners understand their language learning success.

Another perspective on the notion of motivation is the framework of desire. To be invested in language learning is to be fuelled by desire for the language, whether or not this is positive or negative. Desire has become a growing concern for researchers in identity and second language learning (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Piller & Takahashi, 2006). Social psychological SLA research, for example, tended to examine motivation in terms of *integrative* and *instrumental orientation* (Siegel, 2003), rather than taking a more complex, socio-historically situated critical approach (Toohey & Norton, 2004). Desire is particularly useful in examining the identity discourses that are embedded within the transnational commodity framework for those that have migrated voluntarily. To understand my participants' negotiations of belonging, frameworks that focus only on acquisition or learning, rather than issues of long-term L2 use, are inadequate. Placing motivation within the framework of desire allows for an approach that takes into account both the wants of the speakers, as well as necessary engagement with social ideologies surrounding language use beyond the speaker. Discourses of desire provide space for the examination of dominant ideologies and power in second language use (Piller, 2002a).

Piller and Takahashi (2006) extend desire to the realm of SLL through an ethnographic study of young Japanese women's desire for English centred on their learning experiences in Australia based on Takahashi's doctoral research (2006). Similar to Norton's use of investment to move beyond motivation as something learners *have*, Piller and Takahashi turn to desire as "a complex multifaceted construction that is both internal and external to language learners, and is not linked to success in a straightforward fashion" (p. 59). Their framework draws from Cameron and

Kulick's work in language and sexuality, where desire is seen as "discursively accomplished" (p. 60):

> Whereas the study of language and identity places the main emphasis on the verbal presentation of self, the study of language and desire acknowledges that sexuality is relational or transitive: desire is always for someone or something. Hence research is impelled to problematize both the subject and the object of desire, and investigate how the relationship between the two are materialized through language. (Cameron & Kulick, 2003, p. 107)

While Cameron and Kulick are primarily concerned with sexuality, the framework of desire, as Piller and Takahashi show, is useful for examining L2 English use in the context of globalization and the spread of English. Cameron and Kulick suggest that "perhaps the most productive way of thinking about desire would be to see it in more or less the same terms in which Foucault conceptualized power" (p. 111), following Deleuze and Guattari with their interest in "mapping the ways desire is made possible and charting the ways it moves, acts, and forms connections" (p. 110) rather than creating a coherent theory. Desire can be related to the discursive construction of social belonging and exclusion through a similar linkage to power. Language success and ownership must then be seen from not only an emic understanding of what these discourses mean to adult L2 English speakers, but in what ways these discourses are desired. In chapter 4, I will explore how desire appears in the data in relation to desire for a language and particular identities relating to language success.

Another important discourse in claiming success and language ownership for highly proficient L2 users of English in Australia remains that of nativeness, and the problematic but persistent dichotomy of native versus non-native speaker (Marinova-Todd, Marshall, & Snow, 2000). Research in the field has begun to address this oppositional pair from a new angle, shifting the hierarchy of privilege:

> Seen from the perspective of linguistic travel and migration rather than from that of the traditional sedentary, bounded opposition native/nonnative the notion of native speakership loses its power

and significance. Far more interesting are the multiple possibilities for self-expression in language. In that regard, everyone is potentially, to a greater or lesser extent, a nonnative speaker, and that position is a privilege. (Kramsch, 1997, p. 368)

Further research calls into question the relevance of the entire non/native dichotomy (Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 1999; Piller, 2001b, 2002b; Rampton, 1990), calling for closer attention to the complex and contradictory nature of language and identity negotiation (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001), challenging the right to ownership of a language inscribed in the phrase native speaker (Norton, 1997). Other work frames this contestation not only in regard to language ownership, but also in terms of how this links to the right to claim national and social space (Hage, 1998; Thomas, 1999). The negotiation of ownership of L2 English, as a long-time highly proficient user, relates to the ability to claim social belonging. If one always remains a non-native speaker, or even a near-native speaker, even when the majority of one's lifetime has been spent in that country, how does this affect the construction of belonging in society?

Acquiring near-nativeness as an adult and the extent of a critical learning period, or critical period hypothesis (CPH) are contested in the literature (Barden, 2000; Bongaerts, Mennen, & Slik, 2000; Bongaerts, Planken, & Schils, 1995; Ioup, Boustagui, Tigi, & Moselle, 1994). What is of most relevance in my study is how pervasive the belief in the CPH is and how frequently populist elements of this theory are used for identity coherence (cf. Linde, 1993), even in the discourses of advanced L2 speakers of English (see for example section 4.2.1 for a discussion of the ways in which the participants in my study use age to make sense of success and failure in L2 learning).

Related to language success, Lippi-Green's (1997) study of accentedness provides a particularly poignant illustration of how highly competent adult L2 users continue to be othered in

interaction, and thereby how studying these speakers tells us about ideologies of social belonging. Her study, situated in the United States, quotes a New York Times article (Hernandez, March 2, 1993) interviewee as saying: "I was practically raised in this country. [...] But I have this accent. Does that mean I'm not an American? I don't know." (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 238). These sentiments of othering in American society are also found in Pavlenko's (2001c) examination of language learning memoirs where the writer, David Mura notes of his experiences:

> 'Where did you learn English?' kids and teachers keep asking David, a third-generation Japanese-American, and he has to explain over and over that he "learned English in the same way they had, at home, in school, on the streets of my hometown, Chicago" […]. (Pavlenko, 2001c, p. 224)

Here, the connection made salient is between race and language, rather than audible difference in Lippi-Green's example. These discourses of long-term L2 users in relation to social belonging and exclusion are intertwined with language attitudes and use, and have further implications for democratic participation and disenfranchisement. As Gal and Woolard (1995) and Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001, p. 246) have pointed out, issues which appear to be about language are frequently about political structures and vice versa.

Research on L2 English speakers in the Australian context has examined the relationship between power, identity, and language learning success. The inheritance of the institutionalized racism of Australia's migration policy, for example, and its significance for diversity and social inclusion in contemporary Australia can be seen in Miller's (1999, 2000, 2003, 2004) work with high-school students in Queensland, Australia. Her work shows the concrete implications for school-aged L2 English speakers in regard to their language learning trajectories and their ability to be heard. In taking a critical ethnographic approach, her work fills a lacuna in examining the voices of migrants themselves in the negotiation of the Australian social context. Miller's study shows

school to be a site where "ethnicity, culture, language use and the representation of identity are played out. For immigrant students, this necessitates a renegotiation of social identity within multilingual contexts" (Miller, 2003, p. 2).

Negotiating identity must be undertaken by anyone migrating to a new society. This is no less true for the adults in my study, than it is for the children in Miller's. The participants in Miller's research and in my own work faced similar difficulties in their shared experience of "great physical distance from the home country, linguistic change, often a change in social status, a disruption in social and family ties, cultural upheaval, and of course new educational, political and social systems (…)" (Miller, 1999, p. 152). This becomes further complicated in examining discourses of those who have spent extensive periods living as adults in Australia, but who may continue to struggle with L2 use and identity renegotiation. Central to her research is the development of the concept of *audibility*:

> To be authorised and recognised as a legitimate user of English by others, you must first be heard by other legitimate users of English. If you speak another language, or English with an accent, or in other ways that are heard as non-standard, there are often consequences for the speaker. (Miller, 2003, p.47)

There remains a gap in the research literature when it comes to the identity negotiation by highly proficient adult L2 users of English, which this research begins to fill.

A particular focus of Miller's (2000) research is the salience of race in reaching language learning success for these young English as a second language (ESL) students. Her study focuses on the progress of recently arrived migrant students in an intensive ESL classroom. Her specific case study is of three students for whom race, as Chinese migrants, is constructed as particularly obstructive in their language learning. Miller contrasts these "visible" ESL students with the "invisible" Bosnian students "who had acquired a range of discourses in English and established

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networks of friends so quickly" (p. 75). Racialization, as seen in the immigration statute discussed earlier, has long been central to discourses of immigration in Australia (Vasta & Castles, 1996). The importance then, of my study, is that despite my participants being "invisible" in regard to the ideologies of dominant Australian national identity, exclusion and lack of success in language attainment remained pervasive in the discourses of highly proficient adult L2 English users.

Visibility and invisibility are explored in the work of Colic-Peisker (2005) whose research focuses on Bosnian refugees in Australia. Her data consisted of semi-structured and focus group interviews with Bosnians who had been in Australia for at least two years. Her interest is in "the 'second stage' of resettlement when [her participants] fully encounter the competitive, and for most people rather alien, Australian labour market and society in general" (p. 618). Her participants self-identify as white Europeans, claiming a natural belonging in Australian society and thereby "disclaiming any prejudice and discrimination" (p. 623). Colic-Peisker argues that this discursive construction stands in contrast to the actual lived discriminatory practices her participants encounter. Although the focus of her study is Bosnian refugees who had not been in Australia for an extended period, the background of the Australian social context is the same for my study. As Colic-Peisker says of her participants, the "language barrier seems to be the single most important reason: the 'original obstacle' that hampers all aspects of social inclusion" (p. 632). Her research shows that while the invisibility of Bosnian refugees in Australia is beneficial in regard to self-inclusion during the first stage of arrival, once refugees moved into a second stage where social and cultural inclusion becomes more central they became an "audible minority" (p. 629). Audibility still remains salient in the discourses of success and language

ownership, particularly for those who have migrated and learnt English as adults and who, like my participants, remain accented in the Australian context (Lippi-Green, 1997).

Negotiating discourses of language success and ownership, including aspects of accent and non-nativeness, results in complex constructions of social exclusion on some planes, for instance the national one, and inclusion on others, that of the cosmopolitan or international community. I address these aspects of the data in Chapter 4. Examining what language success and ownership means to highly proficient adult L2 users of English provides concrete ways of understanding how the "communicative burden" (Lindemann, 2002) and interactional contexts effect positioning. New positions negotiated in the L2 migrant context can also be viewed through the lens of self-translation.

2.5.2.2 Self-translation

Pavlenko's work on self-translation in SLL, in particular the focus on narrative discourses (2001a, 2001b, 2001c) is particularly influential in addressing the discursive construction of identity in my data. The understanding is that "individuals (…) construct their own personal narratives, based on the conventionalized models, which allow them to make their own lives cohesive; that is to understand what they are and where they are headed (…)" (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p. 160).

Pavlenko (2001b) develops the concept of self-translation, the process of negotiating new identities in a second language, in her examination of L2 autobiographies. Her study of 15 autobiographical books and 13 autobiographical essays, all published in the United States

(p.321), focuses on language, identity, and those aspects of identity that are (and are not) repositioned. One salient example is how the writers Pavlenko examines renegotiate a hybrid belonging in the national space:

> This rewriting of "assimilation" stories into all-American narratives represents perhaps one of the most important achievements of bilingual writers-instead of writing themselves "into" America, as did the immigrants at the turn of the century, these L2 users reimagine and rewrite America. (p. 338)

While national categories remain important, discourses of migration and belonging open up hybrid spaces where there is more fluidity in constructing affiliation and multiple positions in regard to national identity.

Pavlenko finds that five identity "clusters" are negotiated in her corpus of written L2 autobiographies:

1. linguistic identities and the issue of legitimate language ownership;
2. racial, national, and ethnic identities;
3. cultural identities;
4. gender identities;
5. social and class identities. (p. 339)

Most importantly, the authors in the study tie the above listed identities "to language through links made available by the dominant ideologies of language and identity." (p. 339). Whilst her theory develops out of the study of written autobiographies, it can be extended to spoken interaction. Like all identity discourses, the five clusters above exist as networks of discourse that are drawn upon in creating and negotiating positions in interaction. Returning to the concept of third space and hybridity (section 2.4.1), these identity clusters can be viewed as divisible, where some layers of national identity, for example, are negotiable, while others are not. In Chapter 4, I address the dominant discourses that my participants draw on to negotiate social belonging and exclusion. These ideologies of what constitutes success in L2 learning and who can claim

ownership of English are contextualized within this framework of translating the self and finding

new positions in an L2 social context.

Identities for my participants are necessarily negotiated in relation to the dominant discourses of

what successful L2 use means. This meaning is constructed in interaction. Narrative is one site

where these negotiations occur. These negotiations also occur in the ways participants draw from

circulating ideas of what age and desire for a language mean in terms of creating self-coherence

in language learning success. These may or may not occur within the framework of narrative.

The final aspect of the literature that must be addressed is that relating to the discursive

construction of national identity. The following section will tie together the threads introduced in

the earlier sections of this chapter where the continuing importance of national identity was

stressed (section 2.2 and 2.3) from a social-historical background. I will now examine the

research that focuses on how national belonging is embodied in the individual utterance (Bakhtin,

1986, p. 63)

2.5.3 The Discursive Construction of National Identity

The discursive construction of national identity has become a locus of research in language and

identity (Bishop & Jaworski, 2003; Blackledge, 2002; de Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999; Joseph,

2004; Oakes, 2001; Pavlenko, 2002c; Petersoo, 2007; Wiles, 2008; Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, &

Liebhart, 1999). As discussed earlier, national identity remains an important construction despite

increased global migration and transnationalism (section 2.2.). The literature on national identity

overlaps with some aspects of the study of identity discussed thus far in the chapter. For example,

as noted in Pavlenko's (2001b) study of L2 autobiographies, she found that authors "rewrite" what it means to be part of American society. The issue of claiming ownership of a language can also be seen as tied to the negotiation of national belonging, where language is seen as integral to constructions of an imagined national community. The example in section 2.5.2.1 from Lippi-Green's (1997) study shows how language and accentedness are tied to constructions of national identity in the constructions of how an American should sound. The discussion of Miller (2003) and Colic-Peisker (2005) in the earlier section also showed how relevant the national socio-historical context is for the negotiation of identity after migration. This section addresses the construction of national identity from a slightly different perspective by examining the literature that focuses specifically on the discursive construction of national identity.

Wodak et al's study (1999) has been particularly influential in the examination of how national identities are constructed in discourse. Their study examines the multiple levels and sites of the construction of Austrian identity from a critical discourses analysis perspective. They look at both the individual and semi-private contexts through research interviews and focus groups, in addition to the large scale public discourses in commemoration speeches and the media. Their particular interest is in the intertextuality of national identity construction, "how individual argumentation patterns are reformulated and recontextualised in different contexts (…)" (p. 3).

Something that is left largely unaddressed in the work of Wodak et al are issues relating to national identity construction by those who migrated to Austria. Although they have a 'non-Austrian' focus group, the group is comprised of people from both German speaking countries (Germany) as well as non-German speaking (Italy, the former Yugoslavia, Denmark, Iran and the USA) (p. 110). There is little concern for the role language ideologies play in the discursive

construction of national identity. As noted earlier in this chapter, it is impossible to ignore the role of language in national identity. It is also important to note the privileged position migrants are in for re-imagining positions and alignments of belonging, and revealing banal nationalisms (Billig, 1995). Discourses of national identity and language remain incredibly pervasive in the context of Australia, both in the language that is used to create banal nationalisms (Clyne, 2003, 2005b), as well as in explicit constructions of English and Australian identity (see for example the Government discussion paper on the introduction of a citizenship test: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2006). It is this gap in the national identity literature, the focus on the connection between language and national identities and particularly the connections made by highly proficient adult L2 English users in Australia that is the focus of my research.

Wodak et al's analytic focus on the linguistic resources of personal, spatial and temporal reference (1999, p. 35) in constructing national identities, however, is a useful model for examining the discursive construction of national identity by those who have migrated to Australia as adults. Personal and spatial metaphors (for example, see Gal, 2005 for a cross-comparison of public/private metaphors) can be used in the linguistic analysis of positioning and alignment to national categories. For example, in using metaphors as a framework it is possible to examine relationships to *here* and *there*, to *us* and *them*, and where the deixis is pointing. They also draw on the relevance of pronoun use to issues of interaction, social distance and proximity, and the construction of social belonging.

Pronoun use has been a concern in sociolinguistics (cf. Brown & Gilman, 1960) and has been an important site for the examination of the construction of identity positions, such as in the work of Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990):

> It is our view that the logical phenomenon of double indexicality leads to every speaker being doubly positioned in discourse. The speaker presents himself or herself as having a location in space and time and also as taking up a certain set of responsibilities to a certain degree. It follows that in mastering the grammar, we must also be learning what 'locations' are open to us in discourses, not just as a person, but also as a person of a certain status and category. (p. 94)

In the construction of national identities for example, the use of a synecdochal *we* to extend a national belonging, or a group exclusion, becomes particularly salient (Wodak et al., 1999, p. 35). Wodak et al's analysis of their focus groups examines the ways their participants, in some cases, use *we* as "the main linguistic device" (p. 119) through which the Austrian national group is constituted. In Chapter 5, I address pronoun use as one aspect of how participants negotiate belonging and national identity.

Meinhof and Galasiński's (2005) study of the language of belonging also attempts to expand the model developed by Wodak et al (1999) with the examination of the negotiation of identity at the location of national and political borders. Their case study of towns on the Poland-Germany border and the border between former East and West Germany is a situated study of language and identity. They say of their participants:

> the people we interviewed were continuously 'looking across' the rivers (Galasiński and Meinhof, 2002) as a way of drawing their inner and outer circles of who does or does not belong 'to us'. However, as our chapter will show, these are not simply fixed stereotypes against other nationals but double-voiced constructions of the "other" which depend on the context of the narrative. (p. 13)

They find, for example, that for their Polish participants, being Polish is the most salient identity construction, whereas for their German participants "there is, however, evidence of a multi-

layering of different forms, with the national dimension considerably less important than the regional, and no more important than the town/village or even the transnational levels" (p. 200). They show that it is not merely a matter of these identity claims appearing in opposition, but rather that "collective identifications at regional, cross-regional, national or transnational levels are complex, potentially multi-layered and often self-contradictory" (p. 201). I address the complexities of these negotiations in my data in Chapter 5. Whereas Meinhof and Galasiński's participants are literally looking across borders, in my data participants are looking outside of national boundaries to imagined, transnational and hybrid constructions of self, at the same time being constrained by these imagined borders.

Giampapa's (2004) work is useful as an approach to issues of hybridity in regard to national identities, something that is largely unaddressed in Wodak et al's study. Her research took an ethnographic approach to studying how young Italian-Canadians in Canada negotiate identities. Her approach to the analysis of spatial metaphors in national identity construction takes a more explicitly poststructural approach:

> Regardless of the particular spatial metaphor one chooses to adopt (e.g. position, location, inside-out, global-local, third space (see Keith & Pile, 1993: 1)) [sic], in the discussion of place, politics, and identity, spatial metaphors not only express relations of power and domination, but capture the potential for agency, that is, the possibility of moving from the "margins" (exclusion) to the "center" (inclusion) or the reconfiguration and/or establishment of other centers. (Giampapa, 2004, p. 193)

It is in the personal and spatial metaphors that renegotiation and repositioning of national identities can be seen as manifested and reified through language repertoires. As Giampapa suggests, the use of these linguistic resources offers the ability to create new discursive positions in relation to the nation. The exploration of spatial metaphor in the data will be examined in Chapter 5 as a way of understanding positions participants create in navigating hybrid and transnational identity.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter I have located my study broadly within the scope of transnationalism and migration research (section 2.2). The location of the study within Australia adds a particular background of complex contemporary migration history and discriminatory practices against migrants (section 2.3). The view is that there is an interplay between the wider discourses in a society and the construction of belonging in the individual utterances of people who have migrated to Australia (Heller, 2003). In order to understand the use of these discourses in the utterances of my participants, I provided an outline of my approach to identity as flexible, multiple, contextually negotiated and constructed through discourse (section 2.4.1).

The literature on identity presented in this chapter draws together the work on narrative as a central means of negotiating self-coherence and belonging. Narrative is seen as a larger discourse unit in which we evaluate and position ourselves in interaction. The importance of aspects of L2 use and identity were brought in as an integral way of understanding how migrants construct belonging. The ability to claim success and language ownership has important consequences for the ways people are able to belong in a society. The literature that examines L2 use from a social theory perspective enables a more complex understanding of how language and belonging are contextually negotiated. Finally, the literature that focuses specifically on the discursive construction of national identity was addressed as another important arena of the negotiation of belonging.

In the next chapter I will outline my methodological approach, the interview process and the research questions the study addresses.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the research design and methodology used in this study. I will discuss the development of the research (section 3.2), including the pilot study and the larger corpus out of which my data is taken (section 3.2.1). I will also discuss the relationship of the larger study to my research particularly (section 3.2.2). In section 3.3 I will address the data collection, including the methodological and ethical considerations in developing this study (section 3.3.1 and 3.3.2), the choice of participants (section 3.3.1), and the individual and focus groups interview procedure (section 3.3.3 and 3.3.4). Section 3.4 includes autobiographies of my core participants and in section 3.5 I present the approach to the data analysis (section 3.5). There are also limitations to the study, which I will address in section 3.6.

3.2 Research Background and Design

3.2.1 Background: Pilot and ARC studies

Two studies inform the development of my research. The first, conducted in 2001, was a pilot study that examined ultimate attainment in SLL. This study was funded through a research development grant by the University of Sydney to Ingrid Piller. The work started in that project was then continued through an Australian Research Council (ARC) Discovery Grant 2003-2004 "Success and failure in second language learning" (Grant number DP0343604) to Ingrid Piller. I worked as a research assistant on the ARC project in 2003 and 2004. In this section I will present

the background for my research with a discussion of the pilot study and the broader research project from which my data is taken.

The aim of the pilot study was to gain an emic perspective on how SLL success and failure are constructed by L2 users themselves. The key research question was: Why do some L2 learners who are highly motivated, and possess all the characteristics of the good language learner (Lightbown & Spada, 1993), attain greater levels of success than others? The pilot study involved interviews with 26 highly proficient adult L2 users of English in Australia. One interview was conducted with each participant. Each had migrated to Australia as an adult and professed to have been a highly motivated language learner upon arrival. They had each migrated voluntarily, and had desired access to English and greater fluency. Despite this motivation, and their high proficiency, not all participants identified as being successful in their language learning. The pilot identified discourses of success and failure in L2 learning that highlighted the important role of sociocultural context and interaction, rather than static categories of a good language learner that place the burden primarily on the learner or L2 user (Norton & Toohey, 2001). The study found that affiliation with the Australian social context appeared to have a relationship with claiming success, and those that claimed they had difficulty accessing Australian social networks were more likely to claim they had failed in their language learning goals. The pilot suggested that further research into these sorts of discursive identity negotiations and how they relate to language success and belonging was warranted.

In the follow-up study conducted from 2003 to 2004 the overall aim and research question remained the same, but the methodology shifted slightly in order to gain a more in-depth understanding of why some L2 learners achieved greater success. While the relationship between

identity and social context on the one hand and L2 use and success on the other in L2 learners who are recent arrivals and have limited English proficiency has attracted increasing interest (Miller, 2003; Norton, 2000), relatively little attention has been paid to highly proficient adult L2 users of English, who have spent longer periods of time living in their new country (however see Pavlenko, 2001a; Pavlenko, 2001b; Piller, 2002b). The focus was on L2 *users* rather than *learners* per se (Pavlenko, 2002b).

The approach of the follow-up study was a longitudinal, small-scale qualitative study of L2 use in social contexts in urban Australia. The initial approach was to find a total of 12 participants, half of whom were self-identified successful L2 users of English and half self-identified unsuccessful L2 users of English. Ultimately, none of the participants fit easily into these categories of self-identified successful or unsuccessful learners (see Chapter 4 for an examination of the complexities of these success and failure self-identifications).

Participants from the pilot study were contacted, but ultimately 15 of the 16 people who agreed to be a part of the study were newly recruited. Myself and fellow research assistant and PhD student Eileen Chu were responsible for the recruitment of participants for the ARC study (see section 3.3.1 for further details on my participant selection). The recruitment was divided between us with Eileen's focus on recruiting Korean participants only. Eileen, as someone who had migrated to Australia as an adult from Korea, had greater access to the Korean community in Sydney and had insights into key places to recruit participants. Eight of the total participants were Korean, or "visible" in the Australian context, while the other eight (my core participants examined in detail in this current study) were "invisible" (see Chapter 1 for a discussion of "visible" versus "invisible"). I will provide further details of the data collection procedure in section 3.3 where I discuss the further methodological details of my study in particular. I will now discuss how my

study, examining the discursive negotiation of social belonging and exclusion, developed out of this larger research project on success and failure in L2 learning.

3.2.2 Study Development and Research Questions

The development of my research focus came out of the pilot, with its findings regarding the complexities of language learning success and failure, and ARC follow-up study outlined in the previous section. I was interested in how these ongoing studies related to my observations of the wider discriminatory discourses relating to migration in Australia, for example the public rhetoric on who and what is *Australian* (outlined in Chapters 1 and 2). The interest in examining the social contexts of L2 use was focused, in my study, on gaining an understanding of how social belonging and exclusion are negotiated by these highly proficient long-term adult L2 users of English. In particular, I was interested in examining the discourses of belonging by those who would otherwise be "invisible" in the Australian peoplescape (as noted in Chapter 1). How do people who have gone through the process of migration and language learning navigate these discourses in relation to social inclusion? How is social belonging and exclusion constructed in the discourses of long-term highly proficient adult L2 English users in Australia? With this in mind, taking a data driven, qualitative approach (discussed in further detail in section 3.3.1), I listened to the stories of migration and change told to me by my participants. Three specific research questions, noted in Chapter 1, emerged:

1. How do participants construct identities of success and failure in L2 learning?

2. How do participants negotiate national identities as adult migrants to Australia?

3. How does narrative discourse serve to contextualize the negotiation of social belonging and exclusion?

The first question relates directly to the concern with how highly proficient adult L2 users of English view themselves as successful or failed and this question was at the heart of the larger ARC study. Rather than focusing on inherent characteristics of these participants, for instance their age or motivation as traits per se, the interest was a discursive one. Although all participants were highly successful, both broadly in their professional lives (see participant biographies, section 3.4, for further detail), as well as in their L2 use, all of them identified as "unsuccessful" along a number of axes, in particular that of accent. Rather than an interest in how closely these people resemble an unachievable native speaker model, the stress in my study is on how these L2 success and failure discourses factor in participants' constructions of self and social belonging.

The second question moves from the construction of L2 user success and failure, to identities relating to the alignment with the Australian social context. As noted in Chapters 1 and 2, debates about national identity have garnered much public and scholarly attention in regard to affiliation on the basis of an institutional belonging through citizenship, as well as an emotional belonging to the nation. This research question asks how participants use discursive resources to construct and position themselves in relation to national identities, and how participants make salient these identities in the negotiation of social belonging.

The final question explores how these discourses of L2 use and national identity appear in the larger discursive unit of the narrative, as well as examining discourses of migration and change that appear in story form. Narrative has frequently been identified as a key site of discursive self-construction and meaning-making (Bamberg, 2007b). Discourses of L2 use and national identity are then further contextualized in the broader negotiation of belonging in narratives of process and change. Examining narratives allows for a broader, diachronic perspective of the negotiation of social belonging.

The three questions come together to answer the broader question through a specific concern with identities, how they are constructed and negotiated discursively, and how in using identities, participants negotiate larger discourses of belonging in the context of migration.

The next section addresses the details of the data collection process, discussing the choice of a qualitative approach, and specifically, the use of interview data in this examination of discursive identity negotiation.

3.3 Data Collection

I will begin this section with a discussion of the methodological considerations of the study (section 3.3.1). I will then address the participant recruitment process (section 3.3.2), followed by a discussion of the interview process including the three rounds of individual interviews (section 3.3.3) and two rounds of focus groups (section 3.3.4).

3.3.1 Methodological Considerations

As this research was concerned with answering questions relating to participants' identity negotiation, a qualitative methodological approach was the most appropriate choice. Whilst qualitative research has expanded and diversified to include a range of methodological approaches, two of the most important schools identified by Flick (2006) are those of "ethnomethodology, conversation, discourse, and genre analysis" and "narrative analysis and

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biographical research" (pp. 22-23). My approach draws on both of these in analysing language use and discursive resources in the situated utterances of participants in identity negotiation.

Following from the pilot study, where interviews were the primary method of data collection, a small-scale longitudinal interview study was chosen, as noted in section 3.2.2. Choosing to focus on a small number of participants allowed for a closer analysis of individual utterances. The choice to interview participants over the course of the year was also informed by the pilot study, where only one interview took place with each participant. Interviewing participants at points across a year allowed for follow up, as well as broadening the range of data through the changes occurring for participants in their lives over this time period.

It was also decided that, alongside individual interviews, focus groups would be conducted in order to elicit further data. Research in the field has shown that in focus groups, public discourses are frequently reproduced in ways they do not appear in individual interviews (cf. Tusting, Crawshaw, & Callen, 2002; Wodak et al., 1999). I will discuss further the topics chosen for the focus groups in section 3.3.4.

The use of the research interview has also become a standard method for gathering personal narratives. Some of the questions in the first interview protocol were directed towards eliciting stories about language learning experiences, such as misunderstandings or funny incidents (see Appendix B). While there have been important calls in recent literature for a broader approach to the collection of narratives in situational use (Bamberg, 2007a; Georgakopoulou, 2007), given constraints on our time and resources, the research interview and focus group were thought to be a data collection methodology that would be a good site for gathering these constructions of L2 use and national identity negotiation, as well as the use of life story narratives.

Taking a qualitative, data-driven approach is not a straightforward path. As Miles & Huberman (2002) note:

> We believe that methodological quagmires, mazes, and dead ends are not necessarily the products of researcher incapacity; rather, they stem from qualitative data themselves. Like the phenomena they mirror, these data are usually complex and ambiguous and sometimes downright contradictory. (p. 394)

Approaching the analysis of spoken data involves making choices about what is central and what is peripheral in such a way as to give sufficient respect to the complexity of the data and the discourses of participants themselves. The data analysis procedures will be discussed further in section 3.5.

It is also important to acknowledge that the research interview is a specific discursive context. For example, as Maxwell (2002) states:

> The interview is a social situation and inherently involves a relationship between the interviewer and the informant. Understanding the nature of that situation and relationship, how it affects what goes on in the interview, and how the informant's actions and views could differ in other situations is crucial to the validity of accounts based on interviews […]. (pp. 54-55)

While there is some contention surrounding the notion of the observer's paradox (Labov, 1972) and the ways the interview context may influence the data produced (for a discussion see Sarangi, 2003), it is also relevant to note there will always be choices made in the utterances we make. A good framing of this is presented by Brockmeier and Carbaugh (2001) in their discussion of narrative study informed by the work of Bakhtin (1973):

> As every narrative self-account is itself part of a life, embedded in a lived context of interaction and communication, intention and imagination, ambiguity and vagueness, there is always, potentially, a next and different story to tell, as there occur different situations in which to tell it. This creates a dynamic that keeps in view actual stories about real life with possible stories about potential life, as well as countless combinations of them. (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001, p. 7)

The individual and focus group interviews for my study are therefore acknowledged as such and the analysis focuses on the data produced within these spaces. For example, the combination of different participants in the two rounds of focus groups (see section 3.3.4 for further details) influenced the data produced, in that participants frequently shared stories through which they related to one another. In the focus group where one participant was in his fifties and the other three in their twenties (FG1_3, see Table 3.1), for example, the young men told stories of being used as interpreters by their parents. To counter-balance this, the older participant, Nicolas, contributed a narrative from the perspective of the parent. While this can be seen as a way in which the data is shaped by the research context and interactants, who may never have come together otherwise, it does not make these narratives less valid or artificial in nature. They are, however, acknowledged as narratives that may not have been produced in this way were it not for the research context.

The interviews were all conducted on campus. The majority took place in the department common room, with a small number in my office. While the university campus was not the most informal setting for interviews, the space provided good recording conditions and was consistent across the interview year. A schedule of the interview, including who was present, the time and date, the length, and the location can be found in Appendix D.

In the next sections I will discuss the concrete details of each of the individual (section 3.3.3) and focus group interviews (section 3.3.4), as well as the further interactions I had with some of the participants (section 3.3.5). To close this section on the data collection process, I will address the ethical considerations of the study (section 3.3.6).

3.3.2 Participant Selection

The intention at the beginning of the study was to find a group of highly proficient adult L2 users of English, who had been living in Australia for at least five years, and who had migrated to Australia aged 18 or older. The decision to make the cut off age 18 was informed by claims relating to adult language learning and the ways in which the CPH informs L2 learners' understandings of their own learning progression (Piller, 2002b). The age of 18 was chosen as a frequently identified point of adulthood. The choice of people who had been in the country at least five years allowed an adequate period of settlement at which point someone who had migrated would be likely to have developed social and professional networks, and made a home and life for themselves in Australia. This was also informed by work that was concerned with long-term language use and change (cf. Barden, 2000).

The initial method of recruitment, in March 2003, was to gather people via both word of mouth and key placement of flyers outlining the study and participation criteria. In addition, all participants from the 2001 pilot study were contacted in regard to further interest in involvement. One, Milena, chose to participate in this follow-up study and her interviews form part of the data for this current research. The flyer was placed in a variety of community spaces where people were likely to be comfortable and familiar with each other and the space, for example, a community radio station, where many of the programmes were broadcast in languages other than English, and a local community centre, as well as at the university. A decision was made not to use widespread media distribution such as newspapers or the Internet. Selected placement was thought to be a more precise way of targeting the desired community. The flyer was also

circulated via email through personal, social and professional networks to people who would pass the flyer on to potential participants.

Ultimately, all of the participants were recruited via word of mouth. They were either told about the study by me directly, or a friend or family member had passed on the information and they contacted me about involvement. Paulo and Anna were both former students of mine. Katja, Nicolas and Jutta were introduced to me through friends. Milena had participated in the pilot study and Pia was recruited through professional contacts. I will talk further about the participants in section 3.4.

3.3.3 Individual Interviews

Three rounds of individual interviews were planned and conducted over the course of the year. An interview protocol was developed for the first round of interviews, with a view to progressing with the questions through each round of interviews. The rounds of interviews were conducted beginning with the first round in October 2003 and continuing through to the third and final round in October 2004. Seven of the eight participants attended all three rounds of individual interviews. The remaining participant, Pia, only attended the first interview.

The first interview protocol (Appendix B) involved a list of 24 questions that were asked of the participants in the semi-structured interview format. The questions were developed from those used in the project pilot study. The study showed, for instance, that participants were generally less responsive to questions regarding their children and raising them bilingually. This was also due in part to lack of knowledge about participants' background and the low level of familiarity between researcher and participants. It was decided that the first interview would deal primarily

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with questions regarding background life-story information, and the further interviews would ask for more detailed self-reflection and fill in the gaps left by the first interview.

The first interview, and particularly the first half of the protocol, focused on obtaining more general background information about language, education, and upbringing: how many years and what kinds of education, what languages they spoke, how they learnt them and what they believed their proficiency to be. This allowed time for the participants to become more comfortable with the interview context and the interviewers. In addition to me, Eileen Chu, a fellow research assistant and PhD student (see section 3.2.1) and the chief investigator, Ingrid Piller, were also part of the research team present at some of these interviews. Some of the participants I was familiar with, or had had some contact with, prior to the initial interview. Others I first met at the initial interview and had only communicated with via email or over the phone (see participant biographies for further details, section 3.4). The second half of the protocol questions were concerned with language use and its relationship to perceptions of belonging and identity. People were asked to provide stories about their language learning experiences, including stories of frustration, misunderstanding, or humour. They were also asked about their citizenship status, as well as their relationship to this status. Other questions involved the frequency of media consumption and in which languages they consumed this media (for example, television, newspapers, internet or radio in which languages).

The first round of individual interviews took place over a period of just over a month, from October 17th to November 27th, 2003. The interviews were semi-structured, with participants being asked open ended questions as shown in the interview guide (Appendix B). Six of the interviews were individual. The seventh interview accounts for the final two participants, Katja

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and Nicolas, who participated as a couple. Each of the interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours. Some of the participants appeared more relaxed at the start of the interview process, but became more at ease with the interview team as the study progressed.

The second round of interviews was conducted after the first round of focus group interviews had been transcribed, running between February 6th and 24th, 2004. Participants were sent transcripts of their initial interviews to look over prior to the second interview. During the interview they were asked about the first interview and the focus group interview. Questions were also asked regarding children and language upbringing, as well as regarding gaps in the information from the first interviews. Interviews were all approximately one hour each.

The third round of interviews was conducted approximately one year after the first round, from July 19th, 2004 to November 3rd, 2004. Participants were asked about the changes in their lives: their language, employment, and educational situations. They were also asked for any clarification that was needed on issues that had come up in the previous interviews. All participants were asked at the end of this final interview to discuss their feelings about participation.

In addition to the three rounds of individual sessions, focus groups were conducted after the first and second interviews.

3.3.4 Focus Groups

The second method of data collection was through focus group interviews. During the course of the year in which individual interviews were conducted, we undertook two sets of focus group interviews. The participants that took part in these groups were divided into groups depending on the subject focus. One of the participants, Paulo, was unable to attend either of the focus groups. Katja and Pia attended only one focus group each. The two themes for the focus groups were chosen to allow exploration of social identities amongst the participants.

The topic for the first focus group was gender and language. These focus groups were made up of participants from the entire pool of 16 participants, including the eight Korean participants. Three of my participants were unable to attend (as discussed for each participant in section 3.4), and two from the Korean group were unavailable. The gender focus groups used in my study consisted of the following participants:

Table 3.1: Gender focus groups

Group Number	Participants			
Focus Group 1-1	Milena	Anna	Yoo Kang	Naomi
Focus Group 1-2	Pia	Eva	Kara	
Focus Group 1-3	Nicolas	Patrick	Ki Dae	Joo Man

All three gender focus groups, one male and two female groups, took place in January of 2004. All participants from each group were sent a list of general topic areas for consideration prior to the focus groups. The four topics for the first round of focus groups were:

1. Work and Study
2. Migration
3. Family Commitments
4. Relationships

It was decided that the participants be provided with general topics or themes rather than particular questions. This procedure allowed for a balance of some direction for the focus groups, while still leaving much space for the discussion to take on its own form according to what the participants were interested in discussing. Providing subject areas for participants also differed from the individual interviews where participants were aware of the wider topic of the research, but did not know what questions they would be asked. All three of the gender and language focus groups were two hours in length and both I and fellow researcher Eileen Chu acted as facilitators.

The topic of gender and language was chosen to allow for exploration of gendered social identity. Gender and language have been gaining significant attention in the area of migration and L2 learning (De Fina, 2003; Langman, 2004; Pavlenko et al., 2001; Piller & Pavlenko, 2004, in press). The contexts of how gender is made salient have become a greater focus. Poststructuralist approaches have moved away from earlier models, such as the focus on difference, to look at gender and the strategies that construct it, and the performance of gender (Butler, 1999a). Gender was then thought to be a relevant topic in approaching an understanding of identity negotiation and social belonging in the migration context (Pavlenko, 2002a).

The second of the focus groups was concerned with national and ethnic identity. Only my eight core participants comprised these focus groups. Table 3.2 below includes the participants for the second focus groups, of which there were two:

Table 3.2: Nationality and ethnicity focus groups

Group Number	Participants			
Focus Group 2-1	Nicolas	Katja	Jutta	Milena
Focus Group 2-2	Anna	Eva		

The two focus groups took place in March of 2004. The first group included four participants: Nicolas, Katja, Jutta, and Milena. Milena was late and appeared at the half-way point in focus group 2-1. The second focus group on national identity involved only two participants: Eva and Anna. Of the other two participants, Pia was unable to attend, and Paulo was scheduled to participate but did not arrive on the day. For these focus groups, fellow researcher Eileen Chu and I were acting as facilitators.

As with the gender and language focus groups, participants were sent general topic areas for discussion leading up to the interview. For this group, topic areas were as follows:

       1. Your sense of belonging relative to your L1 and L2 communities.

       2. Citizenship and national identity in the context of migration.

Again, these were general areas meant to aid direction in the discussion, but were by no means constraining, as can be seen in the interview data itself.

The choice of national and ethnic identity was made on the basis of the socio-historical context of Australia and its history of discriminatory migration policies, as noted in Chapters 1 and 2. In addition, the obsession with national identity and the events surrounding discriminatory practices in Australia at the time of the study added to the choice of topic for the second focus group (Ang, 2003; Clyne, 2003; Macken-Horarik, 2003; Marr & Wilkinson, 2003).

In addition to the individual and focus group interviews, there were a small number of further interactions with participants outside of the interview context. I will discuss these interactions in the following section.

3.3.5 Further Interactions

I had a number of interactions with particular participants outside the interview context. These interactions informed some of the questions in the later interviews. Katja and Nicolas became a part of the study through their daughter, an acquaintance of mine. Through this connection I was able to spend time with the family, for example attending a birthday dinner, and hearing of their lives after the end of the interview period. I also had a more informal discussion with Nicolas when Katja was ill and unable to attend the scheduled interview. Over coffee, we spoke about his recent business trip to Japan and his cultural and linguistic observations there. We also spoke about his time as a student in Poland in the late 1960s. This discussion informed some of the questions I asked in the final interview, where Katja was also present.

As mentioned earlier, both Paulo and Anna were former students of mine. They met each other in a class I was teaching and had become friends. I attended a few gatherings where both were present. I discovered outside of the research interview context, after Paulo agreed to participate, that our social circles overlapped. We were able to have a few informal discussions about the research topics outside of the interviews. The same was the case for Anna.

Milena became a student of mine after the interview period ended. Through this contact, I was able to hear of her travels and Spanish learning after the data collection was completed, as well as her return to Australia after her departure (see section 3.4.7).

Having outlined the methodological considerations, the participant selection and the data collection procedures, I will now provide some of the ethical considerations that were involved in developing and undertaking my study.

3.3.6 Ethical Considerations

The participants were asked to sign consent forms for the larger research project at the beginning of the first interview (Appendix C). They were also told that they were free to drop out of the study at any point in the process if they no longer wanted to continue. In signing the consent forms, all participants were assured of confidentiality, and it was explained that any names used in this research would be pseudonyms, to protect their privacy. These assurances meant that participants were more able to feel they could share their stories in the interviews and focus groups. It did not always mean that participants were immediately comfortable in the research interview setting.

There was some concern with regard to the imposition on people, during both the recruitment process and in the course of the study. Although my study did not take an ethnographic approach, there was some contact outside of the interview context (see section 3.3.5 for details). As noted in the previous section, two of the participants, Anna and Paulo, had been my students, but were no longer studying with me at the time of the first interview. I had discussed the study in the class, but did not approach students directly and only spoke to students who approached me and

expressed interest. In addition, to mitigate concern about imposition or use of a position of authority in recruiting participants, anyone that was approached to participate in the study was given as much time as possible to consider whether they wanted to commit to the project. In this way, a number of participants decided not to commit to the year-long study, which also indirectly shaped the demographic make-up of the project. Any contact with participants outside of the interview context during the interview period informed the study, but I was careful to respect the privilege of these interactions in my position as researcher.

At the close of the study, participants were asked if they would mind staying in touch after the interview period. All of the participants agreed, and said they were available for follow-up if there were any further questions. Any personal interactions with participants since the interview period have been incorporated into the study with attention to these considerations of imposition.

The next section will provide detailed biographies for each of my eight core participants.

3.4 Participants

Details of the eight core participants in this study, Katja, Nicolas, Eva, Jutta, Paulo, Anna, Pia and Milena are presented in Table 3.3 below:

Table 3.3: Participants

Participant Pseudonym	L1	L2(s) other than English	Age (at first interview)	Year of Migration	Citizenship	Occupation
Anna	Italian	Spanish, French	30s	1995	Italy	Italian language teacher, student
Eva	Spanish	French	50s	1985	Australia	Librarian, ESL teacher
Jutta	German	None	56	1970	Australia	Airline caterer
Katja	Polish	Russian & Danish	56	1989	Denmark	Natural therapist (retired)
Milena	Czech	Russian, Polish & Spanish	28	1994	Czech Republic	University administrator
Nicolas	Polish	Russian, German & Danish	54	1989	Denmark	International business
Paulo	Portuguese	Spanish, Italian & German	39	1993	Portugal and Australia	Administrator
Pia	Italian	Spanish	30s	1997	Italy	Student, ESL teacher, university tutor

As noted previously, all of the participants are of European background, with countries of migration being: Italy, Portugal, Czech Republic, Poland (by way of Denmark), Austria and one participant from Chile, Eva. Eva was included as one of my core participants because, although she was not European, she fitted into the section of the study with its focus on "invisible" migrants. The ages of participants ranged from 28 at the youngest (Milena), to 56 at the eldest (Jutta & Katja). Milena was the youngest at the year of migration, moving to Sydney at age 19. The eldest at migration was Katja, at age 42. All participants except Jutta spoke at least one other language in addition to their L1 and English. All of the participants had some level of tertiary education. Pia had lived in Australia for seven years, the shortest amount of time of all the participants. Jutta had been in Australia the longest, at 34 years at the start of the study. Each of the participants had migrated to Australia voluntarily, some for the possibility of better economic or work prospects, some for social reasons. The next sections provide detailed biographies for

each of the participants, organized in the order in which they were first interviewed. Each biography includes details of the participants' departure from their country of origin, their arrival in Australia, their language background and their educational and employment background. I have left out a discussion of their citizenship statuses (apart from in passing in the table above), which I will return to in further detail in Chapter 5 (section 5.2) as part of the examination of national belonging.

3.4.1 Katja and Nicolas

Katja and Nicolas, the only couple to participate in the research, were the first interviewees and continued through all three rounds of three individual interviews. The only interview in which Nicolas appeared without Katja was during the gender focus group interview. Katja was unable to attend the gender group interview due to illness and so was never interviewed without Nicolas. Nicolas and Katja were recruited through their daughter, Alina, a friend of mine. She mentioned the research to her parents and they found it created much discussion over the dinner table. I then contacted Nicolas to organise interview times. Over the course of the year, communication occurred almost entirely via email and only with Nicolas.

3.4.1.1 Country of Origin

Katja and Nicolas were born and raised in Poland. They met each other in Copenhagen, after both separately leaving Poland for Denmark. Nicolas was the first to leave Poland at age 22 in 1971. Katja left aged 27 and with her daughter, Magda, two years after Nicolas in 1973. Katja had not meant to migrate to Denmark, but to Sweden where her sister had moved before her. The visa quota was filled for the year and she was told by the Swedish embassy she would have to wait six months until she could enter the country. Her sister, who according to Katja was more familiar

with the political situation in Poland from the outside, insisted she couldn't afford to wait that long. She then obtained a visa for Denmark with the intention of then joining her sister in Sweden at the end of that year. Upon their arrival in Denmark, she and her daughter were placed in a refugee hostel where she and Nicolas met each other (see Chapter 6, Example 6.18 for their meeting narrative). Needless to say they married, and Katja never migrated to Sweden. Nicolas and Katja's daughter, Alina, was born in Denmark.

3.4.1.2 Arrival in Australia

They arrived in Australia, together with their daughter Alina, aged 11. Nicolas received a year long job posting in Sydney through his company in Denmark. They had plans to stay only the year, but ended up migrating permanently. At the time of first interview they had been living in Sydney for 14 years. Their elder daughter, Magda, initially stayed in Denmark, but had migrated to Sydney three years prior to the start of the study with her Australian husband. Katja was 42 upon migration to Australia, Nicolas was 39.

3.4.1.3 Languages and Language Background

Katja and Nicolas both grew up speaking Polish and they continued to speak Polish with one another. They both learnt Russian in school. In addition, Nicolas learnt German. Katja had only a few English lessons in Poland as a 12 year old. She recalls the experience without much fondness and she recalls the "boring" textbook. Nicolas learnt some English in an institutional setting in the third and fourth grade, but stopped formal lessons after that. He jokes that upon arrival to Australia his knowledge of English amounted to phrases and questions such as: "Where is the nearest post office?" The primary context of English learning then for both Nicolas and Katja was Australia. Their daughter Alina learnt English in school. She began school in Australia at age 11.

Within the family, Katja and Nicolas speak Polish with each other. They speak Polish to their daughters, with Alina responding in Danish, and Magda in Polish. At the time of the study they said that within the family unit they never used English with each other unless there were other English speakers present.

3.4.1.4 Education and Employment

As with the majority of the participants, both Katja and Nicolas have a tertiary education. Katja studied surveying in Poland. She worked in this area for a time in Denmark, but grew tired of it and returned to studies, gaining qualifications and then working as a natural therapist. When she arrived in Australia her Danish qualifications were not recognised. Initially she undertook an office skills course, hoping to increase her employment opportunities. She found that the L1 English speakers in the course were able to increase their typing speed more readily than she felt she could. She then moved on to take a beauty course, employing her knowledge of natural therapy from Denmark. She worked as a beauty therapist until health problems no longer allowed her to maintain the strength and energy to keep up full-time work. At the time of the study she continued to work with three clients that she had for the last 12 years.

Nicolas studied economics in Poland, immediately prior to moving to Denmark. In Denmark he continued his studies, gaining a Master's degree in international business administration. At the time of interview, Nicolas continued to work for the company for which he had relocated.

3.4.2 Eva

Eva was recruited through her daughter who was a student of mine at the start of the study. Initially Eva's sister expressed interest in the study, but was unable to make time to participate. Eva attended all three rounds of individual interviews as well as both focus groups. The first time I met Eva was at the first interview. Our primary means of communication over the year was via email.

3.4.2.1 Country of Origin

Eva migrated to Australia from Chile, where she was born and raised, with her husband and three children. During her high school education she learnt both English and French as part of compulsory language education.

She began her university degree in English language teaching. She wanted to study English literature and the only degree in English at the university was in language teaching. The degree was five years and she dropped out a year before finishing, immediately after getting married in 1974. The university had also been disrupted during the 1973 military coup led by General Pinochet. Though she did attempt to return to university to complete her degree in Chile, by this time she had two young children. Her husband was working full-time and they were able to afford childcare, but she was not able to undertake her degree part-time and found full-time study unmanageable.

3.4.2.2 Arrival in Australia

In 1985, Eva, her husband, and three children aged nine, six, and two and nine months migrated to Australia. The economic situation in Chile worsened after the coup and they decided Australia would be a good place to live. In particular they felt it would be a good place to raise their children. Her younger sister was already living in Australia, as was her second sister, who had initially migrated to Brazil at the time of the coup. Her parents also tried living in Australia but moved back to Chile. Her husband's parents and his sister had also already migrated to Australia so it appeared a logical choice for them to follow suit.

It was 17 years before she was able to return to Chile. In 2002, she spent a year living in Chile with her parents. She was unable to return earlier as her children were still dependent and it was not possible financially. Eva talked, throughout the interview process, of the lingering desire to move back to Chile. She was concerned for her aging parents and expressed a desire to live nearer to them.

3.4.2.3 Languages and Language Background

Eva grew up speaking Chilean-Spanish. Eva chose to study English and French. She continued studying English through university and received a degree in English language teaching, as discussed in 3.4.2.1. During her degree some classes, such as literature, were taught in English and some, such as the education classes, were taught in Spanish.

In the home, Eva mostly speaks Spanish to her children, but they primarily reply in English. She says this sometimes leads her to continue in English.

3.4.2.4 Employment and Education

When the family arrived in Australia, her husband only spoke a small amount of English that he had learnt in high school. Eva was therefore the primary income earner in the family. This was a reversal of roles from their life in Chile. Her husband was a mechanical engineer and had always been the primary breadwinner. Eva's first job in Sydney was as a school librarian where the only language spoken was English.

Eva finished a degree in diversional therapy after arriving in Australia. She began working with the elderly in a nursing home but found it difficult because she felt there was too large a cultural gap. Her lack of shared knowledge meant she was unable to feel involved in the stories of the older Australians for whom she was caring.

After leaving work at the nursing home she returned to library work. At the time of interview, Eva was working in the library of a state government department. She completed a graduate diploma in Spanish. She also completed a TESOL certificate during her year of participation and began teaching ESL and literacy to children and adults.

3.4.3 Jutta

Jutta and her husband were old friends and neighbours of my grandmother. Initially I tried to recruit both Jutta and her husband, but only she agreed to participate. She attended all three individual interviews and one of the two focus groups. At the time of the interview, Jutta was travelling interstate frequently to visit her daughter, who was ill. The travel and her job working night shifts meant that it was not possible to schedule time where she could make it to the first

focus group. Our communication throughout the year was either on the phone or through my grandmother.

3.4.3.1 Country of Origin

Jutta was born in Austria in 1947. After her marriage she moved to Berlin with her German husband before moving to Australia. At the time of the study her brother and sister were still living in Austria. Immediately prior to the first interview, Jutta had returned from Austria where she had taken one of her daughters and her grandson to visit the country and the family. She had also previously taken her son to Austria with her before this and he had found it difficult as he did not speak any German. Jutta had acted as a translator between her son and the extended family.

3.4.3.2 Arrival in Australia

Jutta and her husband migrated to Australia in 1970, when Jutta was 23, with their two children, a five year old and a 10 month old. They travelled by ship to the Bonegilla Migrant Reception Centre in Victoria and stayed there until her husband found work in Queensland in the sugar industry. Their third child was born in Australia.

Jutta moved to Sydney in 1981 with her two younger children after she was divorced from her first husband. Her children have minimal contact with their father. Her second husband migrated to Australia from Croatia. They met on a blind date in Sydney that was organized by mutual friends. He has two sons from his first marriage; they have no children together. All three of Jutta's children were living in Queensland at the time of the study. She maintained constant and active communication with all three of them. During the year of participation, Jutta travelled back

and forth to Queensland as much as work permitted, primarily to visit her youngest daughter who

had a recurrence of cancer and was raising her nine-year old son on her own.

3.4.3.3 Languages and Language Background

Jutta grew up in Carinthia speaking German. Her first English lessons were on the boat journey

to Australia. The primary site of her English learning was after her arrival in Australia. She took

some English courses via correspondence once they had settled in Queensland. Her first husband

had had a small amount of formal English learning before leaving for Australia, and according to

Jutta, learnt English more quickly after they arrived than she did. She attributes this to him being

out in the workforce, while she stayed at home with the children. She says in the first interview

that she was primarily around English speakers in northern Queensland, but adds in the second

interview that there were a lot of Germans working there in the sugar industry. She also says that

initially she and her husband spoke German with their children in the home, but slowly this

shifted so that ultimately they only spoke English with their children.

Her second husband migrated from Croatia in 1957 and in 1958 began working in a factory that

hired many of the Croatian migrants in the area. His mother also migrated with him and ran a

boarding house for young men who had recently migrated from their region in Croatia to

Australia. As she grew older, she moved in with Jutta and her husband. She passed away shortly

before the second interview. Jutta's husband was very involved with the Croatian community in

their neighbourhood. Jutta claimed to speak only a few words of Croatian and her husband speaks

no German. They communicate solely, as Jutta puts it, in "broken English".

3.4.3.4 Employment and Education

Jutta completed high school in Austria and attended agricultural college for one year. She stayed home with the children when they were younger. When she moved to Sydney in 1981, Jutta began working in a butcher shop. She then moved on to work in the catering department at an airline, where she had been working for 15 years at the time of interview. She worked the morning shift from 5am to 1pm and at other times worked the night shift.

3.4.4 Paulo

Paulo was a former student of mine and agreed to become a participant. He attended three rounds of individual interviews. Paulo was unable to attend the first focus group, and although he agreed to attend the second focus group, on the scheduled day he did not appear. During the course of the interview process we communicated via the phone and email. I also met Paulo outside of the interview context on a number of occasions as our social circles overlapped.

3.4.4.1 Country of Origin

Paulo was born and raised in Lisbon, Portugal. He grew up speaking Portuguese, and also Spanish, which he spoke at home with his grandmother. He says was very close to his grandparents growing up and spent a lot of time with them. His two brothers, his parents and extended family still live in Portugal. Paulo usually travels back to Portugal every two years and at the time of the study, spoke to his mother once a fortnight on the phone.

3.4.4.2 Arrival in Australia

Paulo arrived in Melbourne in 1993 on a tourist visa when he was 29. Although on tape he says he came "just to travel around" and stayed because he liked the lifestyle, off tape he says he migrated for love (see the discussion of Example 6.10 in Chapter 6). He was in a relationship with an Australian man that ended six months after his migration. He moved to Sydney at the end of 1996.

3.4.4.3 Languages and Language Background

Growing up, Paulo spoke Portuguese with his parents and siblings, and Spanish with his grandmother. Though he doesn't call himself a bilingual, he says he learnt Portuguese and Spanish simultaneously. His other grandmother is a Basque speaker, though Paulo only knows a few words.

Paulo also learnt English, French, Italian, and some German in school and university. His first formal English learning began in the first year of high school. He also went on exchange to Spain in high school. He also says most of his family speak some English. The family had friends in Canada who they would visit and who would visit Paulo's family frequently, which meant there was some English use within the family.

He is an accredited NAATI Portuguese-English translator, receiving his qualification in 1997. He now works as an examiner for people taking the test for NAATI Portuguese translation accreditation. He plans to continue working towards higher translator qualifications.

His partner is an Australian L1 speaker of English, who learnt Mandarin in school and also speaks a small amount of French, as his grandmother is a French speaker from New Caledonia. The couple try to speak some French together, but the majority of the time they speak English.

3.4.4.4 Employment and Education

Paulo's first tertiary degree was in German philology in Portugal. During the interview process, he completed a master's degree.

At the first interview, Paulo was working doing transcription for a company that developed voice recognition software in a number of languages. At work he would speak mostly Spanish. He was also in contact with a number of other languages at work and would attempt to converse in the first language of his co-workers. Concurrently he was working a few nights a week at a gay and lesbian bookshop in the city.

By the end of the year of interviews, Paulo had ceased working at the bookshop and the software company and had begun a position in administration at a university biology department.

3.4.5 Anna

Anna, like Paulo, had been one of my students. She attended all three individual interviews and two focus groups. Our communication was both by phone and email over the course of the year. As for Paulo, I had some contact with Anna outside of the interview context.

3.4.5.1 Country of Origin

Anna was born in 1966 in a small town in northern Italy. At age 15 she went on exchange to Christchurch, England and returned to London aged 22 to work for three months. She says the experience of living in a big city, where she felt she did not need to conform in the ways she had felt she had to in her small-town home, was life-changing.

3.4.5.2 Arrival in Australia

At age 24 Anna went on a holiday to Costa Rica where she met an Australian man, with whom she began a relationship. They met again in the US and he travelled to Italy to visit her. In 1991 she travelled to Australia to visit him and stayed two months, working on her university thesis about the poet Les Murray. She visited a couple more times before the relationship ended. A year later, in 1995, she finally migrated to Sydney. She returns to Italy almost every year where all of her family, including her father and one brother, still live. Her mother passed away in 2001. At the time of last interview, she had no plans to return permanently to Italy.

3.4.5.3 Languages and Language Background

While the town in which she grew up speaks a northern dialect of Italian, the dialect is not taught in schools. Anna says she understands, but does not speak the local dialect. In school, Anna learnt English, French and Spanish. English was the first foreign language she learnt, beginning her education at age seven. In high school she spent a month on a language exchange in English. She continued her education in English language and literature at the University of Milan, where her studies included old English language and literature. After university she spent three months living and working in London, as noted in section 3.4.5.1.

3.4.5.4 Employment and Education

Anna worked as an interpreter in Milan. She had NAATI interpreting qualifications and preferred to work as a scientific interpreter, she explained that she found anything else boring. She has primarily been involved in translation work. The work has been primarily scientific in nature, involving the translation of technical writing. She had also translated personal documents such as eulogies and letters.

About four and a half years before the first interview, Anna started her own language school where she taught Italian two days a week. She teaches both group and private lessons to younger and older adults. On occasions she has also taught Spanish. At the time of interview she spoke of being interested in moving on from language teaching. She had been helping some of her students prepare for their final exams in the International Baccalaureate program. Anna finds this teaching frustrating as she feels her students are not putting in adequate work.

Anna is also involved in language proficiency testing for both large companies and universities.

3.4.6 Pia

I met Pia through university contacts. Pia attended only one individual interview and one focus group interview. Our communication was primarily face-to-face, over the phone or via email.

3.4.6.1 Country of Origin

Pia, like Anna, grew up in Italy, slightly north of Rome. She grew up speaking the local dialect of her town in the Lazio region. The dialect, according to Pia, is unlike those of the surrounding towns, but has a developed literary tradition. At age 17, she spent a year as an exchange student in the United States, finishing high school in Boston.

3.4.6.2 Arrival in Australia

Pia first visited Australia as a tourist in 1996 and decided to migrate more permanently in December 1997. She felt she had reached professional maturity in Italy and wanted to move somewhere to undertake further studies.

She married two years after her arrival in Australia, but has since divorced. Her ex-husband migrated from Mexico. They have one son together. Pia has not yet been back to Italy since she migrated to Australia, but had plans to take her son back to visit.

3.4.6.3 Languages and Language Background

Pia first came into contact with English at the age of four or five. She was living with her aunt who had hired a British nanny for her daughter. She did not enjoy speaking English, she says possibly because she was thrown into a new language situation unexpectedly and her reaction was to dislike speaking the language. She was in the care of this British nanny for approximately three years. Pia began learning English formally at around age 10 in middle-school. During the summers her father, who spoke English in the context of his work, sent her to a private English language tutor.

Pia then majored in English language and literature at university. While there, she also took a year of Spanish. She began speaking Spanish more frequently in 1999 when she married her husband. Her husband's parents were L1 Spanish speakers from Mexico and they spoke no English.

She speaks English and Spanish with her son. He doesn't speak much Italian, but is around people who speak the language. Pia has also noticed he has picked up a few words of Singhalese from one of the employees at his day care centre.

Pia's partner at the time of the study was Italian-Australian and they speak both Italian and English to each other. She also spoke Italian with her officemate at work.

3.4.6.4 Employment and Education

After Pia finished university in Italy, she began working as a teacher of Italian. From there she moved on to teach English as a foreign language (EFL) for a large language school, where she eventually ran one of their centres, primarily providing in-house language training for companies.

When she first arrived in Australia she taught Italian and then began teaching ESL. At the time of interview, she hadn't been teaching Italian for a year, but said she found it less stressful than teaching ESL. At the time of the study she was working for the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) as a teacher.

3.4.7 Milena

Milena entered the project as a participant in the pilot study. Her first interview was conducted during 2001. The second and third interviews occurred in 2004 during the second and third rounds of interviews for the other participants. Our communication over the year was via email and phone.

3.4.7.1 Country of Origin

Milena grew up in the Czech Republic, where her family still live. In the 10 year period that Milena had been in Australia, she had returned to the Czech Republic three times. The first time she returned, in 1996, she took her then husband.

3.4.7.2 Arrival in Australia

Milena arrived in Australia in 1994. She was nineteen. A Czech family sponsored her and she stayed with them in Sydney. She enjoyed being in Sydney and felt the time period of her visa had passed by too rapidly. She renewed her visa and stayed. About eight months after her arrival, she met an Australian man and approximately seven months later they decided to marry. She says the decision was made hastily so that she would not have to return to the Czech Republic. By the time of the final interview in 2004, she and her husband had divorced. Her partner at the time of the end of study had migrated to Australia from Colombia. They met each other through her love of salsa dancing. She is not only a dancer, but also a teacher of salsa.

In the second and third interviews Milena spoke of her strong desire to leave Australia and teach English in a Spanish speaking country. Initially she spoke of moving to Barcelona, but became more interested in living and travelling in South America.

3.4.7.3 Languages and Language Background

At school in the Czech Republic, Milena learnt Russian for seven and a half years, beginning in the fifth grade. At age 15 she started at a business high school and began learning German.

Her English was all learnt in Australia. Before her arrival, she had taken no formal English language classes. Her experience with English before migration was limited to television. She was able to get Polish television at home, which played English films that were subtitled, rather than dubbed. She believes, as a consequence of her highly successful acquisition, that total immersion is the best way to learn a language.

Milena still speaks Czech with her family in the Czech Republic on the phone. She also speaks with a few friends in Sydney. Between the first interview in 2001 and her second interview in 2004 she had begun to speak Czech more often as a consequence of more frequent contact with her Czech family and friends.

In 2004 Milena began taking Spanish lessons with the aim of moving to a Spanish speaking country. She did not find the classes to be effective, which supported her belief that immersion in an environment where speaking the L2 is necessary and is the best way to learn.

3.4.7.4 Employment and Education

Milena completed an undergraduate degree in Sydney. She considered undertaking a TESOL certification, but decided against doing so because of the time and cost. Milena instead planned to work somewhere in South America where she wouldn't need the official qualification.

Milena's first job in Australia was as a nanny to three children who were happy to correct her English. She worked there for a year and then began work in a medical practice. She then worked in university administration and taught salsa dance classes. Through contact with Milena following the interview period, I learnt that she had travelled back to the Czech Republic and around South America after the study and had returned to Australia. I also learnt that she had completed a Master's degree in Applied Linguistics.

The biographies of these participants inform the study, in that they inform the ways participants speak and the experiences they drew from in creating coherence in their interviews. While their backgrounds are very different, they all shared the common experience of migrating as adults to Australia and beginning a life in a new language and society.

I will now turn to the approach to data analysis in this study.

3.5 Data Analysis

The analysis for this study is divided into three chapters. The first, Chapter 4, focuses on the discourses of L2 use and identity, and the second, Chapter 5, on constructions of national identity. The third chapter, Chapter 6, shifts to focus on the larger unit that encapsulates both of

these two identity constructions: narrative discourse. Different approaches to analysis were necessarily adopted for each, with a general basis in discourse analysis.

The first step in identifying the salient themes in the data was to code it according to a content analysis framework (Neuman, 2000, pp. 292-300). Discussions of L2 learning and use, and references to national identity, were identified in the process of transcribing, sorting, and re-reading the data (for the data tables from this coding see Appendix E). Narratives were also coded broadly according to "temporal ordering" (De Fina, 2003, p. 11). Once the general themes and categorisations relating to the three central research questions were made, the particular approaches to analysing the data were developed. I outline these below.

The starting point for the analysis of success and failure in L2 use was an overview of both the pilot study corpus, as well as the corpus used for this current study. In a survey of 26 interview participants' answers to questions of success and failure in L2 learning, including the pilot study participants and the subsequent interviews with eight core participants, the most common themes to account for levels of language success were: 1. Confidence; 2. Love of (the) language and learning; 3. Biological or cognitive propensity; 4. Immersion and use (functional need); 5. Performance; 6. Previously acquired knowledge systems. All of the interviewees used some combination of these to account for their perceived success or failure. These are not unfamiliar themes in the literature of SLA. The focus on affective factors, such as motivation, including instrumental and integrative orientation (see Siegal, 2003 for an overview), has been the key concern of SLA research for a lengthy period. It is also clear that factors such as motivation do not adequately account for identity and belonging, particularly for long-term adult L2 users (see also Chapter 2).

The preceding themes in the larger data were regrouped into the following three categories for the analysis of the core interviews: 1. Learner characteristics; 2. Learning processes; and 3. Language features. Within these categories, I have included the sub-categories of Age (section 4.2.1); Desire (section 4.2.2); Brain function and innateness (section 4.3.1); knowledge of linguistics and language teaching (section 4.3.2) and finally accent (section 4.4.1, 4.4.2, and 4.4.3). In the literature these factors have at times been grouped together under the heading of learner characteristics (cf. Lightbown & Spada, 1999). The division into three categories reflects the focus on discursive construction of the aspects of successful identity.

The analysis of national identity positioning in Chapter 5 was primarily informed by Wodak et al's (1999) seminal research on the discursive construction of national identity. Their focus on Austrian identity identifies three dimensions of analysis: contents, strategies and "means and forms of realisation" (p. 30). In examining the contents of national identity, Wodak et al synthesise and shape Stuart Hall (1996) and Kolakowski's (1995) facets of national identity into their own five tiered model:

1. the linguistic construction of the *homo Austriacus*
2. the narration and confabulation of a common political past
3. the linguistic construction of a common culture
4. the linguistic construction of a common political present and future
5. the linguistic construction of a 'national body'. (Wodak et al., 1999, p. 30)

As their model developed out of their particular data set, it is unsurprising that not all of the aspects identified above are salient in my corpus. Nonetheless, aspects 3 and 5 are particularly relevant to my study. Citizenship, grouped under aspect 4 by Wodak et al, is also made salient, but in a discursive context inseparable from cultural and national body. Although elements of a national being, a *homo Australianis*, appear in my data, they are certain not wholly coherently

constructed, and tend to appear as elements of an 'other', so this is not a focus of the analysis. The political present and future are also largely not explicitly present in my data. The metaphorical "national body" and the "common culture" appear in the constructions that my participants use in positioning themselves inside and outside the national space, though both of these are problematized (for example see Chapter 5, Example 5.8).

Their study focuses on the linguistic realisation of national identity, through the "means and forms of realisation". They look primarily at the construction of sameness and difference through the use of the following:

1. Personal reference (anthroponymic generic terms, personal pronouns, quantifiers);
2. Spatial reference (toponyms/geonyms, adverbs of place, spatial reference through persons, by means of prepositional phrases such as 'with us', 'with them');
3. Temporal reference (temporal prepositions, adverbs of time, temporal conjunctions, temporal references by means of nouns, semi-prefixes with temporal meaning). (Wodak et al., 1999, p. 35)

While making the distinction between forms of reference provides a useful delineation for analysis, it is not a simple separation in my corpus. Certainly, constructions of *us* and *them* (Oktar, 2001; Teo, 2000; van Dijk, 1997; Wodak, 2007) exist in reifying national identity categories and aligning oneself on either side this divide. Spatial and temporal reference are not as easily separated, in that, although national spaces are referenced, they are embedded within such frames as movement towards and away from these spaces. Acknowledging this artificial separation, the data analysis examines personal and spatial reference separately by first focusing on pronoun use and national identity labels (section 5.3.1), followed by an examination of spatial deixis (section 5.3.2).

An examination of narratives in the data began with coding the interview transcripts according to the aforementioned broad definition of temporal or sequential ordering. The prominent narrative discourses in the data were as follows: 1. Accounts of the process of migration; 2.

Transformations of social role; 3. Place of origin stories; 4. Processes of loss. Two further, more specific narrative themes were identified that related to particular participants. For Katja and Nicolas, as a couple participating together, co-constructed narratives of their relationship were particularly salient discursive contexts for identity negotiation. Milena also provided a different perspective as the only participant who had been present for the 2001 pilot study interview. She therefore presents insightful narrative reflections on the interview process itself.

Before moving on to the data analysis, I will outline some of the limitations of my study.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

There are certain limitations to which any study will be subject, particularly a small-scale qualitative study. This section addresses some of the limitations of my approach and the ability to generalize the findings of the study.

As noted earlier (section 3.3.6), the choice of participants was directed in part by who was willing to commit to the year-long study. One of the consequences of this, for instance, was a gender imbalance in my participant group, with only two men and six women. There is also a range of ages and times of migration. Although this is not detrimental to the study, in future projects the possibilities of recruiting a more balanced group might provide different sorts of negotiations in the data.

The interview context, as discussed in section 3.3.1, is a particular data collection site that provides its own limitations. A more in-depth ethnographic approach, including self-taping and shadowing was considered for the study. Although, as noted earlier, interactions outside of the

interview context with a majority of the participants informed the study, considerations of time and resources meant that such broad ranging data collection was not feasible. The research interviews provided a large enough corpus for a study of this size. In the future, further ethnographic study of participants would lead to a more complex understanding of the negotiation of social belonging examined in this research.

While the current study is primarily concerned with place of migration, further study focusing on participants migrating from one national context to Australia, might provide further depth to the study of the discursive negotiation of belonging. In future, an examination of the larger corpus collected in conjunction with this study, including the interview data from the eight Korean participants, will provide a deeper understanding of these negotiations of identity in the Australian context.

There was an interest in the wider discourses of migration in Australia, for example government statements and press reporting concerning migration, and how these discourses relate to my participants negotiations, a close study of public data has not been possible here. For a larger scale project, a systematic study of these public texts, in combination with an interview or ethnographic study will further the initial steps of examining social inclusion that this study has taken.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has presented the qualitative methodology of this research, with its small-scale longitudinal interview procedure. The richness of the interview data allows for a close examination of the actual utterances of highly proficient adult L2 users of English in Australia,

and how they construct their success in language learning and their sense of belonging in regard to the social contexts they inhabit with the linguistic resources available to them.

Interviewing participants over the course of a year, individually as well as in groups, provided for more varied data and allowed time for the rapport between participant and interviewer to develop. Analysing the data on the level of both the lexical and narrative unit enables a multilayered approach to these identity negotiations.

The following chapter begins the data analysis, in which I examine how participants construct success and failure in L2 use through drawing on networks of learner characteristics, learning processes and language features and how these discourses relate to the negotiation of belonging.

Chapter 4

L2 Use, Migration and Success

4.1 Introduction

This analysis chapter deals with discourses of identity, L2 use and success. As outlined in Chapter 3, the discourses of success and failure in the data fall into three broad categories: 1. Learner characteristics (section 4.2); 2. Learning processes (section 4.3); and 3. Language features (section 4.4). Included in these larger categories are the aspects of age (section 4.2.1); desire (section 4.2.2); brain function and innateness (section 4.3.1); knowledge of linguistics and language teaching (section 4.3.2) and finally accent (section 4.4.1, 4.4.2, and 4.4.3). In the literature these factors have at times been grouped together under the heading of learner characteristics (cf. Lightbown & Spada, 2006). While they are overlapping in my data, looking across the data at the shared constructions that participants use enables a way into the data, a way to dissect how highly proficient adult L2 users of English construct success and failure. These discourses are used as a way to create coherence (Linde, 1993) in the negotiation of success and failure.

Each participant in the study uses a different combination of strategies to create coherence. Table 4.1 provides a brief overview of which participants use which of the systems in the analytic categories.

Table 4.1

Participant	Age	Desire	Brain & Cognitive capacity	Linguistics	Accent
Anna	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Eva	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Jutta	No	No	No	No	No
Katja	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Milena	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nicolas	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Paulo	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Pia	Yes	Yes	No	No	No

The table above shows that age and accent are used by the largest number of participants. Anna and Milena both employ all five of the strategies in negotiating success and failure. On the other end of the spectrum, Jutta does not employ any of the strategies. The extent to which these systems appear more indirectly in the data from Jutta is discussed in the analysis. While the table gives a brief gloss of who uses which strategies, it does not provide details of the weighting of the usage, or how participants use them. To do this, I will now turn to a qualitative analysis of the interview data.

4.2 Learner Characteristics

One of the ways that these highly proficient L2 English users account for their language achievement is the manner in which they focus on their attributes as learners. Included in these characteristics is the salience of age and particularly learning English as an adult. For some, age of migration is particularly relevant, for others it is conspicuously absent as a category that warrants attention. Another characteristic that is centrally relevant for participants is desire. Desire, as discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.5.2.1), is drawing increasing attention in SLL

research (Piller & Takahashi, 2006) as a way of providing a more complex understanding of motivation, as well as expanding beyond the focus on identity (Cameron & Kulick, 2003). Using desire provides a framework for examining the love people profess to have for a language, as well as the need to learn a language from a more functional perspective. Desire allows a more interactional approach to how participants approach certain language varieties. In this section I will first examine the characteristic of age (section 4.2.1), providing examples from the data first for those who rely heavily on age as a coherence system, and second for the participants who mitigate the importance of age in creating coherence in constructing success. Following on from the analysis of age, I will turn to discourses of desire and language use (section 4.2.2), looking at the complex ways that participants express and understand their desire in relation to learning processes and L2 use.

4.2.1 Age

Age has been explored extensively in the SLA and SLL literature (for a critical overview see Birdsong, 1999). One of the central concerns, the CPH, problematizes age in the process of language learning, promoting the belief that after puberty, physical and cognitive changes mean that learning an L2 to a high level of proficiency is essentially impossible (cf. Bongaerts et al., 2000; Ioup et al., 1994). The purpose here is not to question that there are certain biological and cognitive factors that change and potentially limit processes of learning, but rather, to look at how relevant these become as ways of discursively negotiating success and failure for participants as highly advanced L2 users. Age is used as an inflexible discourse in creating coherence. It is a system that places the responsibility on the learner in a non-agentive way, rather than one that is interpersonal. It is a more rigid category than, for instance, desire, which will be the focus of section 4.2.2.

The sense that age is overwhelmingly detrimental in learning is prominent in the data. Age is used as an explanation for language loss, for the general difficulty of learning a new language, and for an inability to learn to a point of unmarkedness. The notion of being an unmarked speaker is particularly significant for participants, made most clear in the discourses on accent, to which I will return in section 4.4. Age, because of the limits it places on reaching the ideal, is seen as a factor that restricts the production of an unmarked, successful identity.

The participant for whom age is constructed as most problematic is Katja. In an example from the first interview, where her husband Nicolas was also present, Katja discusses her earliest experiences with English and her lack of interest in the language. She describes the few English lessons she had as a 12 year old in Poland using a "boring" textbook, study that consisted of hours of instruction on how to correctly pronounce the word "the". This narrative of early frustration in English pronunciation is followed by her current attitude towards "perfect" pronunciation as an adult L2 speaker:

Example 4.1

Katja	no but I- I- g- I- I don't think about that anymore, I just gave up?
Emily	[hm.]
Katja	[erm] to speak, correctly because it's impossible after- when you are forty years old, or forty two? and you change countries,
Emily	hm.
Katja	impossible, to speak ... to pronounce perfectly, it's- it's impossible, it's erm again physiology, and anatomy, and everything. you- you can't do that. so now I just erm relax and enjoy @ conversations without thinking about it. [KN1:585]

Katja believes that her age upon migration to Australia, 42, meant it was "impossible" to reach the ideal, to speak "correctly", in the sense that it was impossible to "pronounce perfectly" without an L2 accent. Enjoyment of conversation now supplants this difficulty in attaining this ideal identity. For Katja, her prior migration and language learning experiences in Denmark are

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most relevant in making age salient. She goes on to compare how her approach to learning

Danish was different to her approach to learning English:

Example 4.2

Katja	much better really I- erm in Denmark, I spent a lot of energy and time? to make, erm ... to correct my pronunciation? and all the time in conversation I was aware? that I had to, to be correct? and do, it's erm ... erm ... you can't relax? and you then you can't enjoy conversation and, ... and probably I think erm it's under a lot of stress the conversation, and then maybe affect words? ... erm which you could erm ... I think that people should erm, accept there is erm ... erm,
Nicolas	limitations?
Katja	limitations, yeah. i- it's just impossible to, to- have the language when you're over forty or, even thirty five I think it's too late. [KN1:611]

While Katja continues to produce a vision of a right and correct way of speaking, her view that

age is a limiting factor in regard to "perfect" attainment serves as a mitigating discourse in her

prioritization of conversation. The move away from the limitation is then the acceptance that

pronunciation will not change when you are an adult L2 learner. Contrasting this discourse,

Nicolas immediately follows Katja by saying: "I saw erm fantastic progress in the last two

years," [KN1:625] which he attributes to listening to news radio on his hour and a half drive both

to and from work. Although he does note it may not have improved his speaking, "I'm close to

ninety nine point nine percent of understanding" [KN1:638].

Katja's view that aging has been a detrimental factor in her capacity to learn a new language

recurs in the data. In the first round of interviews, she stresses how important taking subject

classes, such as the beauty course she took, rather than English language classes, were for her

English acquisition. In the third interview she returns to this narrative. In the negotiation in the

third interview Katja attributes her learning difficulties to age, as well as a lack of desire to spend

two years resitting exams in order to practice in a profession she had been working in for a

number of years in Denmark. At the same time, she also says in finding a new way into a related

profession, she drew on a pre-existing knowledge base:

Example 4.3

Katja	[even- even here.] yeah but erm when I came here, erm my papers [were not]=
Emily	[that's right.]
Katja	=recognized [so,]
Emily	[yeah.]
Katja	what they told me at h. erm in s- two years? I should go through all exams in English?
Emily	hm.
Katja	and I was not erm twenty five years old? but forty three?
Emily	hm.
Katja	so I thought oh. hm erm it would be probably be a little bit difficult? so I did this one year beauty?
Emily	[hm.]
Katja	[but] I was erm ... really using my knowledge from Denmark [and erm,]
Emily	[yeah.] [KN3:1512]

Age is used as a way to make sense of feelings of learning limitation. At the same time, for Katja,

using both existent knowledge systems, as well as prioritising enjoyment in conversation,

counterbalances the importance of the age limitation. The boundaries of what is successful in L2

use are constantly in negotiation. In the case of Katja, age is particularly salient as a comparative

factor in comparing her success in Danish compared to English. Age remains a central construct

in regard to not achieving perceived success, one that is inflexible.

Not surprisingly, Nicolas, as Katja's husband and co-interviewee, also uses age to explain an

increased sense of difficulty in the language learning process:

Example 4.4

Nicolas	and maybe because of age? I even found it much more DIFFICULT,
Emily	right.
Nicolas	to go from my erm Polish Danish background to English.
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	erm, ... in Denmark I was much younger? when I moved.
Katja	uhmhu.
Nicolas	so it was like, not easy for me to- it was very difficult,
Katja	was easier,
Nicolas	when I'm saying it was more easy it's just like, apparent case. [/??/]

Katja   [/??/] it's very
                difficult process but erm, ... yeah I think it- we were younger? we learn quicker?
                [KN2:111]

Nicolas also makes clear that, while comparing the relative ease of learning Danish over English,

both were difficult processes. In Example 4.4, from the second interview with the couple, Katja

reinforces her belief that age is problematic in reaching success. Being younger is equated with

learning the language faster, being at an older age than they were upon migration to Denmark

offers a coherent way of accounting for the feeling that success in English use has been more

difficult than that of Danish. Important here too is the stress that language learning is not an easy

process, something that is in contrast to Milena's negotiation of success, for instance, in Example

4.13.

Age is used more generally as an explanation for social exclusion and othering. Eva, in the

context of discussing her difficulty in finding TESOL practicum placement, discusses her feeling

of the impossibility of ever belonging entirely within Australian society. She believes her

difficulty in finding placement is a consequence of discrimination against her as an L2 speaker

teacher. The consequence of these discriminatory practices on the basis of L2 use has been for

Eva to question her place in Australian society, despite her enfranchisement:

Example 4.5

Eva   but when I'm here @sometimes I said@ oh! I wish I could be there. i- it's a very awkward
                situation.
Emily   uhmhu.
Eva   I know that because my children are here I'm [not]=
Emily   [hm.]
Eva   =going to go back there unless, we all go back. a- and go back for what? so there you get
                the other problem. ... but I don't think you- you- you feel, you- it's very difficult! I don't
                think, we my- w-, because I came here as an adult,
Emily   hm.
Eva   I think it's hard for us to get like erm, to feel like hundred percent or eighty percent
                Australian.

Emily	yeah.
Eva	erm even if I have the right to vote and all that but, [E1:1385]

While Katja and Nicolas speak explicitly of the relationship between aging and learning, and thereby attaining an ideal speaker identity, Eva frames the problem of aging in the larger context of socio-cultural belonging. Eva paints herself as outside of both Australian and Chilean society as a consequence of her age of migration. I will address social identity categories in more depth in the following analysis chapter (Chapter 5).

Not all participants use age as a coherence system. Particularly noticeable is the lack of age as a coherence system present in the interviews with the participant who was youngest at age of migration. Milena arrived in Sydney aged 19 and is the only participant to have undertaken her first degree in Australia. She speaks with an identifiably Australian-English accent and when asked about passing as an L1 speaker of English she says:

Example 4.6

Milena	=other people, because they usually say oh because my friend is from so and so, … so yeah Polish or something like that, but yeah, most of the people that I'd- now that I if I say that I wasn't born here … they say they wouldn't tell they couldn't tell, a slight accent. [M1:867]

While Milena does mention her age of migration when she is asked about why she thinks she has been so successful in learning English, the focus is primarily on her love of the English language, and her sense of rhythm (discussed further in section 4.2.2). Jutta, who migrated at age 23, also does not rely significantly on age as a system of coherence in her negotiating success and failure. Paulo remarks that he was "pretty old" to migrate at age twenty-nine [Pa1:79], with the implication that age has a deleterious effect on L2 learning.

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Anna and Pia both talk about the relationship between age and language as it relates to others', but not their own, language learning. Anna, as an Italian language teacher, discusses the age of her students who are on average in their fifties, but again, in the context of her own learning, age is not an apparent coherence system. Pia, on the other hand, discusses age when talking of her son's multilingualism. He is simultaneously learning English, Italian (his mother's L1), and Spanish (his father's L1). Pia believes his multilingualism at a young age has meant he is less articulate than other English-speaking children his age. The central concern in bringing up age is less his ability to be learning three languages concurrently, and more on the developmental issues that Pia believes this to be causing.

Ultimately, age is most significant as a coherence system in the case of Nicolas and Katja. Not only do they use the popular belief that research supports an overwhelmingly negative effect of aging on language learning, as Katja simply says when discussing the effect of age on learning: "so it might- it- /?/ is it true what they write in books" [KN2:220]; in addition, both have salient life experiences with which to compare and contrast the effect of aging on the language learning process. Age is substantial for Katja and Nicolas because they, unlike others in the study, know what it is like to begin life anew in an L2 both in their twenties, and in their forties. While Nicolas makes it clear that migration is difficult at any age, being older is seen as creating more difficulties for language success. The ability to compare personal learning experiences in two migrant contexts means that age of migration and language learning are a particularly salient nexus for the couple.

It is important to stress once again, before leaving the discussion of age discourses, that all participants are highly advanced L2 users of English. What distinguishes age as a coherence system, a way of negotiating success and failure, is that it is a discourse that is speaker centred, i.e. although communication is an interpersonal negotiation, age as a hindrance is placed as a burden entirely on the L2 English user. At what point, when one is a highly proficient language user, can this communicative burden be shared? Age then, unlike desire (examined in the following section, 4.2.2), can be viewed as a non-flexible discourse, whether participants use it to account for success or failure.

Alongside age, language desire as a learner characteristic is particularly important for participants. In the next section I will examine the different discourses of desire in the interviews, including language as the object of desire, and the relationship between desire and success. Following this, I will draw these two learner characteristics together, before moving on to examine learning processes (section 4.3).

4.2.2 Desire

This section of analysis focuses on desire, success and L2 use. In comparison to age as a characteristic made salient in participants' discourses, desire is relational, fluid and contextual. Age, as we have seen, is the responsibility of the speaker. The discourses are not interpersonal and age is viewed as a rigid and solid category, even where participants' knowledge and views of the extent of the critical period differ (cf. Example 4.2 where Katja frames 35 as the age after which it is impossible to speak correctly). Desire, viewed as a longing for knowledge and

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learning, is one way this aspect is embodied in the data. Anna frames her desire for multiple ways

of seeing and knowing through inquisitiveness:

Example 4.7

Anna   .h I have a very inquisitive mind @I'm not sure if you realised@ @@@@@@@ .h @ at
              at all .h erm so, no I- I have a very inquisitive mind. I try always to see things from
              different perspective, and that for me that's a good /?/ for languages. [A1:1489]

This desire for a wider perspective and understanding is something Anna sees as contributing to

being a good language learner. Desire, in combination with an innate ability: an "inquisitive

mind", have been part of her language success. Anna, immediately prior to this example,

discusses her love of a challenge as contributing to her construction of success. It is not

motivation to be successful, as much as desire to have a deeper understanding of the ways others

see the world, which is neither instrumental, nor integrative in approaching learning.

Desire is flexible as a means of negotiating and accounting for success. The transformation of

desire for a language, for instance, is linked to an increased feeling of success. Nicolas ties his

improved understanding to an attitudinal change towards the local variety:

Example 4.8

Nicolas   well what I noticed is that, I have now not so many problems to understand the Australian
              slang.
Emily   hm.
Nicolas   I had, a few years ago!
Emily   uhmhu.
Nicolas   but this is not because the Australian changed, it's because m- my erm,
Katja   understanding.
Nicolas   understanding are, one of the part of my brain started to [really listen to it you know to the
              signals.] [KN2:1123]

As with Anna, there is a relationship to innateness, which I will examine further in section 4.3.1,

where the brain is also drawn in, agentlessly, to account for success. Nicolas sees his improved

understanding of Australian-English, and in particular Australian slang, as being due in part to a

change in attitude. Because he no longer believes the only English to learn is the "Oxford"

variety, he began to pick up the "signals" of the Australian-English around him in the workplace:

Example 4.9

Nicolas	[...] because when I came in I WANTED to speak English with people, but I wanted just to speak this so called oxford type of lang- eng- [English,]
Emily	[right.]
Nicolas	very CLEAR you know like /?/ the bbc?
Emily	uhmhu.
Nicolas	type of- and the newreader.
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	but here in Australia most people don't speak [THIS]=
Emily	[no.]
Nicolas	=type of language, they speak Aussie or, they speak Aussie with some other cultural backgrounds.
Emily	uhmhu.
Nicolas	and that was really difficult for me to understand what they wanted.
Emily	yeah. ... but so your- you think- you feel your attitude to that's changed?
Nicolas	that my [att-]
Emily	[yea-] yeah to- to [the]=
Nicolas	[yeah!]
Emily	=sort of the slang and that,
Nicolas	yeah yeah yeah.
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	I, I mean I still will, erm not understand very often I will look at the person and try to- to imagine what he wanted to say to me? [but,]
Emily	[right.]
Nicolas	in eighty percent I will understand yeah.
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	what he wants.
Emily	yeah.
Katja	hm.
Emily	do you find do- like do you find yourself using, any of the slang? that you,
Nicolas	me?
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	I would like to.
Emily	yeah? you want to.
Nicolas	I did even purchase a book. a few years ago, many years ago, somebody took it from us, the Australian slang.
Emily	oh yeah.
Nicolas	and I wanted erm really to- to learn some of the,
Katja	uhmhu.
Nicolas	words? [to]=
Emily	[hm.]
Nicolas	=use to use them? because some of them are really funny?
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	but erm, erm we lost the book, somebody just,
Katja	borrowed.
Nicolas	borrowed. [KN2:1146]

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Not only does Nicolas use desire for a language, he "wanted to speak English with people", but the desire and subsequent shift are variety specific. The authentic object of desire for Nicolas upon arrival was the Oxford or BBC newsreader variety. Acquiring this variety was the mark of success. Nicolas constructs this as the high prestige form through a view of the variety as a more "clear", inherently better form in comparison to Australian-English. He does distinguish the BBC variety as distinct from what is spoken by "most people" in the Australian context: "they speak Aussie or, they speak Aussie with some other cultural backgrounds", which he has come to understand. He expresses a transformed desire to speak "Aussie", supported by the purchase of a book on Australian slang, although it was not used and has now been lost.

Important is the objectification of Australian-English, or in particular the objectification of slang as both authentic and inaccessible. While a prestige form of English in an international or foreign language context may be desirable, Nicolas's desire has shifted in the context of actual use and comprehension. Speaking Oxford English did not present itself as a useful form in local sites, and in Nicolas's case specifically, in understanding and building solidarity with work colleagues. The narrative discourse of purchasing the language book provides evaluation of Nicolas's shift in desire, including a desire for Australian-English, and a resistance to it: the book has not been replaced, and it was seen as useful to acquire humorous forms rather than as a language learning tool per se.

Anna, in Example 4.10, makes use of a parallel discourse, situated more closely within a literary notion of language:

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Example 4.10

Anna	erm there's also I think a a language matter there, because I do- I'll never be able to speak, .h erm colloquial Australian.
Emily	uhmhu.
Anna	and I'm not interested,
Emily	[@@.]
Anna	[@@@] @@ and that's my choice.
Emily	yeah.
Anna	I I really like, I like language, but I love when, you know, the beauty of the language.
Emily	hm.
Anna	I'm very selective there, you know big snob.
Emily	@.
Anna	but I just love you know, but I think it's really because I study literature. [A1:725]

While Anna has the desire for language, her desire is particularly directed at literary language, which she sees as meaning a degree of separation from a larger societal belonging. Example 4.10 above comes in the context of a discussion about feeling *Australian* (see further discussion Chapter 5). Anna is choosing, in her eyes, to hold to language standards above the national that, in the context of Australian belonging, mean that she will never learn to speak like an *Australian*. Similar to Nicolas in Example 4.9, Australian-English is objectified as the form carrying most authenticity in the local context. On the other hand, a romantic notion of literary English is upheld as being the more globally prestigious form. Anna expresses active resistance to incorporating "colloquial Australian" [A1:727] into her language use as this form does not embody her desire for the "beauty of language" in her use. It is worth noting that her construction here relates to lexical items and idioms, language that is flagged as colloquial.

Anna goes on to discuss where and when she does find herself using Australian-English terms, supported by two consecutive narratives:

Example 4.11

Anna	[.h when] I'm with the with the people of the Q region you know, I use erm more Australian expression. just one example, I was thinking last night in bed of course, not sleeping, that I wanted to write XY an email, asking her bec- erm she's the coordinator of erm the m a?

Emily	hm.
Anna	asking about her course for the next year of media analysis,
Emily	right.
Anna	.h and erm, I can't remember what I- you know, I create my emails in my @mind@ so, .h so I can't remember exactly what I wanted to say to her, but it was something like, .h you know because my life at the moment @is@ a shocker,
Emily	@.
Anna	@and I was just@ like oops, [perhaps]=
Emily	[@.]
Anna	=perhaps I shouldn't, I say I better not write it, you [know,]
Emily	[hm.]
Anna	erm lots of expression I had a ball and so, .h I use this expression but because, once again, I'm erm I'm quite a novice in erm Australian English, and the colloquial expression of certain English, so I just pick them up? you know,
Emily	[hm.]
Anna	[.h] and and I know, with whom I can use them, and erm ... with whom I @can't@ [@@@@.]
Emily	[@@@@.]
Anna	.h, but also because I still remember an erm an experience that I had years ago,
Emily	hm.
Anna	erm because my full immersion language was erm still with G? my my Australian boyfriend? .h and I remember that I was it was yeah I was in Milan, I had to give these erm .h interpreting job? and it was a group of orthodontologists something like that, and erm in marketing research, and I had to, summarise what the people interviewed in Italian eh, I had to summarise what they were saying, in English, the group of marketers,
Emily	hm.
Anna	yes, and I remember that I use erm oh yes that guy @trying@,
Emily	@@@.
Anna	.h @ is trying to be, smartypants? [@@@@@@@@@@@@@] .h
Emily	[@@@@@@@@] oh. that must have made them laugh?
Anna	[no.]
Emily	[no.] oh @[@@.]
Anna	[@@] no actually, they didn't, but they didn't even reacted you know, badly? it was well-
Emily	hm.
Anna	they didn't bat an eye [@@@@]=
Emily	[/right/.]
Anna	=.h so .h that wasn't, but I still remember it, and that's what matters.
Emily	right.
Anna	@@ that I still remember .h so yes. [A1:762]

In both of these narratives, Anna makes note of her use of Australian colloquialisms, supporting her earlier argument that she is unable to use such language fluently. There is greater distance between the real world time and the unconscious and contextually inappropriate use of "smartypants", than there is to the first narrative where during the story time, Anna reflects that she immediately laughed at her desire to use "shocker" in a message to a professor. Anna also

makes use of the quotative discourse marker "like": "@and I was just@ like oops," which, while it is primarily associated with American-English, is noted as a feature of Australian-English (Winter, 2002). The problems raised in Anna's narratives are in regard to inappropriate register, rather than incorrect usage in a syntactic or semantic sense. The discourse of success here relates to desire for a non-local variety that also thereby involves a distancing from local belonging.

Milena, similar to Anna in Example 4.10, expresses desire in the form of love for the language. On first being asked why she has been so successful in learning English, she suggests her good sense of rhythm as a dancer. Before concluding with uncertainty: "so, … I don't know really". Following this, Milena turns to enjoyment of the language itself:

Example 4.12

Milena   you know when I- I just learned it easy, and I liked … I liked the English, I've always
                liked it, like it sounded nice to me,= [M1:556]

Milena's repetitive response is a less than strong expression of desire for the language. Example 4.25 provides additional context to the above example in which Milena expands the number of discourses of learning success she draws upon. Loving the language, as well as rhythm, melody, and brain function, all appear in this section of the first interview in attempting to compose a coherent understanding of her highly advanced proficiency. As discussed in the previous section (4.2.1), Milena only mentions age in passing, rather than as a focus of coherence, despite the age of her migration being marked in the interviewer's question about language success: "I mean that's quite- you know that's a surprising feat to only start with nineteen and really". The construction of desire for the language, in conjunction with other discourses of the good learner, are in part a response to the need to account for her high level of success, when she herself doesn't have a coherent, straightforward answer. Concurrently, the answers she provides offer a

survey of the discourses that appear across the participants, discourses that are commonly used to account for language learning success.

Pia, on the other hand, has experienced a transformation from "rejection" and resistance through to a love of the language and learning English in adolescence and early adulthood, to a language desire more deeply embedded in the difficulties of social process and self-translation. Pia's first contact with English was as a child, when she began to hear it spoken by her nanny, aged four [Pi1:449]. This then became a love for the language as she studied through high school, supported by positive time spent in English speaking countries. Her later discussion focuses on her feeling of not achieving success. While Pia does not talk about a lack of interest in the language itself, she frames her lack of success through a resistance to larger discourses of social belonging. I will come back to Pia's desire for and resistance to belonging in the discussion of Examples 4.14 and 4.15.

In Katja's discussion of her enjoyment of English, there is an apparent hierarchy. Example 4.1 shows the original priority of language perfection. Katja sees age as presenting an insurmountable obstacle to reaching this goal. Now, desire for enjoyable conversation has become of greater import since "giving up" on the ideal. Although this enjoyment has not led her to her original goal, it has taken its place. The sense is, though, that giving up on the ideal of language perfection, has meant letting go, in some part, of the possibility of entirely embodying success.

Liking or loving the language then is used for coherence by Nicolas, Katja, Pia, and Anna. This love is directed towards particular prestigious forms, for instance literary and Oxford English. Rather than localised language, at least initially, language desire is entangled with English as a global language and the objectification of language as separated from contextualised use. While Anna does not desire a shift towards a more clearly local form, Nicolas does. In the context of daily life, Nicolas's workplace is the site where Australian-English has become particularly useful as a variety. Anna, in contrast, inhabited an academic and teaching environment where using "colloquial Australian" did not arise as a site for creating solidarity with those around her.

Desire is expressed not only as a want for a particular form. Language success is also linked to identity through desire. More overtly than Nicolas's shift in desire for Australian English, Pia links her perceived failure in language learning to a lack of desire to identify with the dominant L1 English-speaking group in Australian society. Her lack of success too she feels is relative to the access she has had. As a language teacher, she says she knows 'all the tricks' to learning an L2. At the same time success is still illusive. In a complementary discourse, while being reversed in its sentiment, Milena accounts for her success through a feeling that it is unremarkable considering the length of time she has spent in Australia:

Example 4.13

Milena   (...) you know, but now it isn't really I- I think seven years is a long enough time for people to speak it properly so, [M1:883]

Pia feels she should be more proficient in light of her education and time in Australia. Milena, on the other hand, feels she has reached proficiency equal to her access. The context of this is a discussion of passing for a native speaker. Milena says it happens, and initially it was exciting, but now her success is unremarkable.

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Pia's sense of failure is tied to desire, but the focus is on the societal level:

Example 4.14

Emily	hm. what about for yourself? how- why do you think you've been so successful learning English?
Pia	I don't consider myself successful at all.
Emily	you don't?
Pia	no.
Emily	[why?]
Pia	[considering] all the ad@vantages@ [@]=
Emily	[@]
Pia	=@@@.h I @don't@ consider myself, like ... no,
Emily	no.
Pia	I don't think so. I mean, yeah.
Emily	hm. wh- why is that?
Pia	well h. ... ... I think I had, well this is probably to relate- it is related to my personal erm experien- here in Australia, experience in Australia, .h erm ... at one stage I wasn't really ... happy to be here,
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	[so] I almost rejected the whole, erm erm I- I could see my English went really bad!
Emily	hm.
Pia	I could hardly, you know I was erm erm erm it- it looked like, it seemed as if, I was really rusty? and I hadn't spoken for- it for a long time [and]=
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	=yeah.
Emily	hm. but you stayed anyway?
Pia	@I stayed [anyway@.]
Emily	[@yeah@] @@@ .h oh.
Pia	@@
Emily	so erm,
Pia	yeah erm ... yeah. yeah.
Emily	uhmhu.
Pia	hm, but it has to do, I think mainly with my erm ... personality I think, [rather]=
Emily	[really.]
Pia	=than language skills. [Pi1:1172]

While the desire for the language and learning was in place before migration: "I quite like it when I studied it at school? yeah" [Pi1:452], the hardship of negotiating the social context of use as an adult has produced other difficulties. Pia had developed a liking for the language, but her lack of positive personal life in Australia then had a negative effect on her language skills. Desire is not only about a want to learn the language. In the above example, language desire is linked by Pia to a desire and resistance to belong to a perceived social in-group. She also turns the focus away from language towards her character. Immediately following this utterance, Pia clarifies that she

believes these feelings of losing her English language proficiency relate to "identity". While she

does not provide further details of the relationship of language to identity, her next utterances

provide answers. Following Example 4.14, the conversation fell into a lull and I moved on to the

next question in the protocol, asking Pia what she does or felt she could do, to improve her

language use:

Example 4.15

Emily	and- so w- how would you go about improving? like are there things you do,
Pia	I believe that to, ... to actually speak it ... almost as a native speaker, erm or as a native speaker, one has to a- ... in some ways, or, ... even on specific erm erm situations, erm identify with the people erm with the native speakers, or the people of the country he lives, or she lives in. erm yes.
Emily	yeah. hm.
Pia	in some ways, yeah.
Emily	hm.
Pia	or converge towards their, perception of reality, in a way. and I don't think I do @h.@
Emily	yeah?
Pia	@so@ it's simple as @that@.
Emily	oh.
Pia	yeah. /hm./ ... [and]=
Emily	[/?/]
Pia	=erm the fact that I feel much more comfortable, for example, erm to speak with, people who use English as a second language [for]=
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	=whom I know, have a different background than actually native speakers, may probably erm explain also [that,]
Emily	[/?/]
Pia	hm. m- more comfortable in the way, not ... personality wise but erm ... erm on a comprehension level. [Pi1:1220]

In this second example above, Pia gives a fuller explication of the relationship between in-group

identity and high proficiency. Of particular interest is her generalisation of the question.

Although my intended direction for the question of improvement strategies was towards Pia

specifically in using the second person singular pronoun, the response treats the pronoun

reference as indefinite. Pia believes that for anyone to improve to "native-like" status there must

be a level of social identification. Pia reiterates that this accounts for her feeling of a lack of

success. She then goes on to frame her communicative comfort as being the highest when

speaking to other L2 English users. This, Pia says, relates to the awareness that L2 English users

have of the necessity at times for repeating and or rephrasing and utterance. Pia then broadens the

category from L2 English users:

Example 4.16

Pia	erm how to, yeah what- what is what, .h but I find that people who have an ethnic background, are much much better communicators.
Emily	hm.
Pia	so that's my perception.
Emily	right.
Pia	like,
Emily	/?/
Pia	even if they are not erm fluent speakers of the other language, they still have that erm, yeah. [Pi1:1396]

The use of "ethnic background" is a similar distinction to one used by Pia earlier in the same

interview where she explicitly distinguishes between "English speaking background" and

"Australian background" [Pi1:646] with similar force. Ease of communication is facilitated by

other language awareness. It is of interest that Pia chooses to use a national identity marker to

distinguish between these in and out-groups and I return to this in Chapter 5 where my focus

turns to the use of national identity terms. Bringing this back to learner characteristics and desire,

Pia draws on discourses of desire, and in this case a resistance, to affiliate with those that are seen

as the authentic speakers of the language, the native speaker model.

Focusing on language ownership, and how it arises in conjunction with desire, expands this view

of the native speaker model as the model of success. In the following example Paulo discusses

the external perspective of his English use nearer to the time of migration and his perspective at

the time of interview:

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Example 4.17

Paulo	yeah- no I ca- you know! it's like- I do get tired! less and less? but erm if you had asked me five years ago maybe? six years ago? erm, ... it was a f- people didn't understand that, and they were quite unforgiving because I seem to have a a vast vocabulary in English, which is you know above average. but, people don't understand it was a- was a physical effort to speak English was physical it took a lot of, ... calories burnt in my brain @to@ [erm]
Emily	[right.]
Paulo	to speak in English! because it was- it was really really not my language, it was,
Emily	hm.
Paulo	nowadays I don't, ... conceive of spea- you know speaking anything else unless, I realise that you know I need to or someone else talks [to me]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Paulo	=in another language it does,
Emily	[so-]
Paulo	[just] comes out as the first thing in the morning. [Pa2:237]

The context of the above example is a discussion of relationship talk. Paulo is relaying the communicative practices between himself and his partner. His partner is an L1 Australian-English speaker. His grandmother is a French speaker from New Caledonia, so he and Paulo speak a small amount of French together as a private language. His partner also speaks Mandarin, which is the only language he has learnt in a formal setting. Paulo has taught him some basic phrases in Portuguese, for instance, greetings for when they visited Paulo's family, but that is the extent of his proficiency. In response to the discussion of these language practices I asked what role he felt language played in their relationship. Paulo's immediate response is in the form of a question:

Example 4.18

Paulo	(...) apart from me- from me kind of using it as an excuse and saying I'm very tired I can't speak English I'm too tired. [Pa:232]

The above example raises the process of transformation and the gap between a speaker's feelings of competency and a hearer's expectations due to perceived proficiency. Paulo has moved from finding the process of speaking English to be physically arduous, to producing English as an owner of the language and not being able to conceive of speaking anything else when someone

speaks English to him. Paulo now uses this discourse of physical difficulty as a silencing or placating strategy with his partner. It is the L2 user equivalent of claiming to have a headache. The physical difficulty of speaking English has become a discursive strategy. Rather than reflecting a physical state, Paulo frames this as using his and his partner's shared understanding of the difficulties of L2 use to get what he wants in a conversational context.

Desire is used as a discursive strategy to account for perceived learning success, as well as failure. These highly proficient L2 speakers use desire as a way of constructing their language use and aspirations. It is not enough to be motivated to learn, among things, through a love of the language. Participants also attach success to language variety. Nicolas and Anna both talk of slang as being a way into a societal belonging. Pia's resistance to affiliating with the dominant L1 English speaking society in Australia links perceived lack of language success with identity construction. Finally, Paulo's language desire has transformed into language ownership. Approaching language use and learning through migrants' discourses of desire, reveals an important site of resistance and negotiation.

In contrast to desire, we can see then that age is a characteristic that is less flexible when used as a coherence strategy. Katja still holds up the limitation of age as the factor that led to a need to focus on something other than speaking "correctly". Nicolas also emphasises age as a limiting factor in learning, increasing the difficulty of an already problematic task. Eva, rather than focus on the link between age and language learning capacity, frames age as an obstacle for reaching a higher level of belonging. Milena, in contrast, pays little attention to age, only to say that she feels her proficiency should be at the level it is having spent, at the time of first interview, seven years in Australia.

Age and desire present two very different sides of the learner characteristic discourse. Looking at them side by side allows for a perspective on discursive categories of highly advanced L2 users. Age, on one side, places the burden on the L2 speaker. Desire, on the other, presents a fluid and contextual understanding of the complex networks of social belonging navigated by highly proficient L2 English speaking migrants. Desire relates to the want itself, as well as the wanted object and the relationship between these two. It provides a frame through which to view power and long-term L2 use. Desire must be for the perceived successful language object in order for it to be fulfilled.

In the next section I will examine how participants construct their learning processes, both in their use of cognitive faculty and theories of innateness, and in their use of linguistics and language educational understanding.

4.3 Learning Processes

Discourses of learner characteristics arise in conjunction with other ways of creating coherence in the construction of L2 user identity. Innateness is used to create coherence in negotiating success and failure as already seen in examples 4.7 and 4.8. The notion of innateness will be explored in more detail in the following section (4.3.1). My participants, as highly proficient L2 English users, draw from common sense and expert knowledge about the brain, and how innate capacity functions at the nexus of such social identities as age and gender, to negotiate success and failure.

The second discourse of learning process prominent in the data to account for success and failure is linguistics knowledge (section 4.3.2). A particular feature of this set of participants is that the majority, Pia, Anna, Paulo, Milena and Eva, have spent some period of time studying in the discipline. In addition, Pia, Anna and Eva have all been language teachers. The knowledge that they have gained in their studies and through their teaching is an important way in which they assess and construct their identity as L2 speakers.

In this section of analysis I will first examine discourses relating to the brain, and will then move on to discuss how participants use linguistics knowledge systems.

4.3.1 The Brain and Innateness

A particularly salient discourse of success and failure is that of brain function. The way the brain is viewed to work in relation to both facilitating and disrupting the language acquisition process appears throughout the data. The brain, similar to age, is a learner centred category, one where the speaker takes the entire responsibility for the communicative burden, rather than using an interactional construction. The brain is linked to innateness in learning processes, and like age, is less flexible than other characteristics in these negotiations, for example desire, and linguistics knowledge. Reference to the brain occurs as a system for understanding feelings of both success and failure. The brain is often brought in as part of the evaluation in L2 narrative discourses, and is also used as a method of accounting for notable changes in learning processes.

The location of the L2 in the brain is one system of explaining difficulties in language learning and use. Katja, in Example 4.19, initially raises brain function and L2 learning as a way to

explain her difficulties in the office skills class she took when she first arrived in Australia. When she was discussing the difficulty in attempting to get her typing speed up to the same level as other women in the class, I asked her how it compared to her experiences in Danish:

Example 4.19

Katja	so erm for me it took a little bit longer time, the same thing with the writing, erm you never master, speed writing in second language unless you really write for a long- long time maybe twenty years? because what you learn, in the methodic system from brain and, and speech centre from brain, they are not as coordinated this way?
Emily	hm.
Katja	so erm, it probably takes longer time for second language,
Emily	hm.
Katja	to erm, to coordinate those thing? so erm I was a little bit slower, with erm with /an abc/ my fingers were very well and I, worked as much hours as they did, so I was a little bit slower typewriter.
Emily	was that the same for Danish? or- or, did you, do you find that [that about the same?]
Katja	[even worse, even] worse because erm it's why I asked you if you know a third language. when you learn a second lang- language? erm you ... like use up mid centre in the brain? for second language. when you learn third language? ... you are very likely to mix it up, your second centre o- of speech, you mix up with the third one? so what happened to me when I came to Australia, I just started to mix up Danish and English, erm sometimes I even didn't know, I try s- spoke to people? and I, from time to time I put Danish words in between? and first when I erm saw or said- some- sometimes it's happening I said oh! I'm sorry it's Danish, and I should fi- again find English word, you get a little bit confused? **[KN1:385]**

Katja uses the physical location of her L2 and third language, Danish and English, to further explain her difficulties in increasing her typing speed in English. The languages are not seen as compatible or to satisfactorily coexist in the brain. The construct here is biological and cognitive, rather than social.

The spatial location of language in the brain is also used by Paulo, locating L1 and L2 in different places:

Example 4.20

Paulo   [I- I'm- I'm- I'm,] confabulating but I think that it's, probably because the- the, the part of the brain where the language resides? so,
Emily   hm.
Paulo   English does not reside in the same ... spot allocated to Portuguese? [Pa3:27]

The wider context of this example is Paulo's discussion of his tendency to raise his speaking pitch from one language to the other. His explanation for this behaviour, rather than drawing on noted differences in speaking pitch range from one language to another along social identity axes (see Coulmas, 2005 for an overview of pitch and gender variation), relies on a similar brain metaphor and the separation of languages as Katja's discourse. Paulo notes that it is a matter of performativity, and links this changing pitch range in speaking English, to learning to sing and perform as a tenor. It links to his discourse on language ownership in Example 4.17. Feeling more relaxed speaking Portuguese or Spanish, he believes his pitch range is the same. He also draws attention to the effect of awareness, he is now able to notice when he is using a higher speaker pitch than he feels he would in Portuguese, and lowers his voice. His assessment of this increasing awareness is to claim increasing ownership:

Example 4.21

Paulo   but I don't know why it happens it's kind of fluctuating.
Emily   huh.
Paulo   I think it's because, English is becoming, A first language. not THE first language [because]=
Emily   [hm.]
Paulo   =I still, Portuguese is still the first language but,
Emily   yeah.
Paulo   it's becoming A first language or something. [Pa3:53]

English is redefined as nearing L1 status. Paulo does not reintroduce the brain metaphor, or offer a reassessment of how the changing priority of English fits into the schema.

Other participants in the study use location of language in the brain to create coherence in their language learning accounts. Both Katja and Nicolas, in talking about learning second and third languages and their place in the brain, also talk about the location of the first language:

Example 4.22

Nicolas	like this first language, is ... in- in your brain? it's like it's something like very fixed?
Katja	[uhmhu.]
Nicolas	[where] the other one Danish, it was ... and it's just went away? now it's replaced by English! [KN3:2414]

Rather than, for instance, turning to decreased usage of Danish in daily life as a manner of finding a coherent system for understanding their language loss, Nicolas returns to the use of brain function and language learning. What is relevant here is that this metaphor for language learning processes relating to the brain is called forth to account for the continued fluency of their Polish. The discourse relates Paulo's claims to increasing ownership and security in English, reflected in his discussion of language choice and pitch (Example 4.17 and 4.21). He refers to an L1 as something that is immoveable, that is part of you and does not change in your lifetime. This is held up in contrast to languages that are acquired after the L1, for example here the competition between Danish and English. In Example 4.23, contrasting Example 4.22, Katja talks about her elder daughter's loss of her Polish L1. Although Katja and Nicolas use the brain as a coherence system for their own retention of Polish, the same does not apply to their daughter Magda.

The claim that the L1 is fixed in the brain is not necessarily transferable as a coherence system. Katja's testimony about her daughter Magda, who she says has rapidly acquired English since marrying an Australian and moving to Sydney, is one example where a system of understanding ones own progress is not applied to others. In the first interview, Katja says that Magda's English acquisition has been accompanied by a notable loss of Polish, her L1. Magda migrated with her

mother from Poland to Denmark at age seven and a half, and at the time spoke only Polish.

Magda still speaks Polish to her parents, and they speak Polish to her. She speaks Danish with

her younger sister and English with her husband. Katja believes that Magda's L1 is in fact

Danish:

Example 4.23

Katja	that's erm Magda? erm it's my first daughter, she left erm Poland when she was seven and a half? to Denmark? and- and she was until thirty five. in Denmark. erm so I would say her first language was erm Danish [I]=
Emily	[hm.]
Katja	=think because she erm, master this language really really well? all the people in the office came to her and she- erm and ask her to write a letter to solicitor, and to organise everything she- she was absolutely, hm better than a lot of Danish people. and erm, and I- one day I ask her how will you feel when you change one language to another and she said I don't! feel like I change languages? [KN1:1415]

When discussing her daughter, Katja defines L1 by age of acquisition, fluency, capacity, and

positioning above Danish people in literacy level, but there is no mention of the relationship to

brain function. Having a close relationship to her daughter, she has both observed and heard

stories of Magda's language use, but Katja is still an outsider to Madga's relationship to her L2.

Paulo uses a similar metaphor to Nicolas (Example 4.22) of fixedness of the L1 in the brain:

Example 4.24

Paulo	[which] is, a different thing, like you translate when you start to learn a language very young. but then you don't translate you- you just use that bit of the brain but because it hadn't been exercised to, cert- such big extent, you know I- I- I was never immersed twenty four seven in an English context.
Emily	hm.
Paulo	erm, ... it became quite- quite a physical! and painful! like headaches and,
Emily	really?
Paulo	it's- it's quite quite demanding. using i-, because I have to make erm- erm you know this effort to- to- to speak English and the more tired I get, ... or the more tired I got! erm the more the brain wanted to erm, ... reboot to the- you know to the default,
Emily	uhmhu.
Paulo	language which was,
Emily	was,
Paulo	Portuguese. [Pa2:275]

The computer metaphor, where Paulo is rebooting his brain to the default L1, reinforces this understanding of language innateness. The L1 is the normal operating mode when extended periods of English use become exhausting. This complicates, or perhaps deepens, the relationship between speaker and L2. Paulo feels both that he is increasingly an owner of the English language and this narrative discourse arises shortly after Example 4.17. Paulo has explained that he gets less tired from speaking English for extended periods than he did five years prior. The orientation of this story does not place the experiences in a clear past or near present time frame. Paulo blurs the line between lacking a claim to the language and complete ownership. When he felt less proficient his vocabulary meant that interlocutors assumed he had no difficulty using the language. Now, while he admits it is less strenuous to speak, English "just comes out as the first thing in the morning", there are times, for instance after a day of speaking only English, that the brain wants to restart.

Milena and Nicolas both link a positive change in language use to an inexplicable shift in brain function. In Example 4.8, Nicolas, in discussing his increased understanding of Australian slang, explains the change through a sudden reception of the particular signals of Australian-English into his brain.

In Example 4.25, Milena also uses the brain and language attitudes as an explanatory system, in her case explaining how learning English was a smooth and easy process for her:

Example 4.25

Milena   @@@ @@@ no, I think some like some /of them/ can learn languages would be able to learn eastern European languages and Russian as well, but, … yeah I am not sure what it depends on really, I think some thing in your brain that kicks off, but for me it was simple- just simple it /wasn't/ simple, but I think the melody of the language an- … that was, quite nice so, I mean some people can't learn German because it sounds too hard for them= [M1:988]

Milena uses a similar metaphor to Nicolas (Example 4.8) in accounting for ease or ability in learning. They both view the brain as "starting to really listen" or "some thing in your brain kicks off". Both believe there is a point of change that allows the brain to take input signals in a fashion that allows for ease of learning and understanding. The brain is constructed as relatively autonomous in this discourse where the agency of the speaker is separated from the cognitive changes that have occurred. It is also relevant to note the hedging and hesitation in this example. When asked, Milena, immediately prior to this example, puts her success down to rhythm as she is a dancer. Her evaluative support is through a comparison to other Czech L2 speakers of English (see Example 4.43). This is in part indicative of the interview context. Milena is asked to account for her learning success and produces fragments of common learning discourses. The hedging indicates that Milena is unsure of how to explain her exceedingly high level of proficiency and provides an answer that is a concatenation of musicality, rhythm, time, and the brain.

When it comes to learning styles, brain function is used again as a method of coherence. Here instead we find a co-construction whereby Katja and Nicolas agree that they have "different brains":

Example 4.26

Katja	we have a different, ... erm ... type of brain I think.
Emily	hm.
Katja	Nicolas is learning erm language in different way? than me?
Emily	yeah?
Katja	and erm, ... he first very quick, very quick, understand? everything? and then he start to learn to speak. .h and I opposite.
Emily	[uhmhu.]
Katja	[first] I start to learn to speak? and erm, ... to understand so and erm erm what people are talking about, if they talk quickly?
Emily	hm.
Katja	it- it took me always erm longer than, [hm.] [KN3:2601]

Again, Katja is not turning to differing education backgrounds, or socialisation, she turns first to the location of language and learning systems in the brain. Nicolas continues, saying that he very quickly learnt Danish upon arrival in Denmark, and that similarly in Australia he rapidly learnt English:

Example 4.27

Nicolas	[and I think] the same happened here with English.
Emily	hm.
Katja	I p- probably I am thinking it's not only about erm language! probably, ... general his brain is working a little bit in different way.
Emily	hm.
Katja	maybe if he [should learn erm]=
Emily	[@@@.]
Katja	=maths or whatever,
Emily	[yeah.]
Katja	[so] it would be in different way [than]=
Emily	[hm!]
Katja	=me? probably. [yeah.] [KN3:2658]

The brain is primarily Katja's coherence system, rather than Nicolas's. She is insistent that the brain and the differences in their brains are responsible for the differences in their language abilities and learning styles.

Paulo, in contrast, turns to a combination of training and capacity as the major factor in changing brain function. Whereas Katja is drawing on an innateness discourse, Paulo follows are more interactionist approach to create coherence:

Example 4.28

Paulo	I don't know, it's a question of training. hm, and I think the more you flex, your brain the more, it's like muscles you just have memory and it just kind of,
Emily	hm.
Paulo	builds up. and there's lots of things, I I was a I was always into .h mathematics and chess and, music and singing and stuff, so I guess through all those things, you do use a part of the brain, your brain associated with sound that,
Emily	yeah.
Paulo	helped? realising those sounds? I don't know? speculation. [Pa1:533]

Childhood education is seen as a way to train and flex the cognitive muscles. While language is located in the brain, here it is a more general cognitive ability that must be used throughout your life in order to keep up the knowledge acquired. Similar to Milena, Paulo links musicality with high proficiency. He also, like Milena, rests at a conclusion of uncertainty, of "speculation". Neither is willing to pin down an exact explanation of their language learning success.

Participants also talk about the reverse relationship, not only that using the brain is good for language learning, but that language learning is good for general cognitive development. Similar to the understanding of the brain as a muscle that needs to be flexed, Milena sees language learning as a cognitive facilitator. More explicitly, Milena says she draws her explanation from her psychology education:

Example 4.29

Milena	so yeah. and certainly I think that the more languages you speak, somehow the w- the brain works better,
Ingrid	uhmhu
Milena	if you- if you can speak more than one, … if you LEARN speaking more than one.
Sheila[1]	Is that something you learnt from linguistics /here/? @That's what I learnt from linguistics /anyway/@ /or did you [always think that/]
Milena	[I'd like to] believe that it's the case @@@@ @but I don't think it is@ the case my brain works better but no, I don't know, yeah I suppose, but in psychology actually, I came up with that idea. and I certainly believe it's true because it's been proven so many times that you know kids growing up in bilingual families or I was biling- ah m- monolinguals and bilinguals, they do better in education… I think [M1:1500]

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[1] Sheila was the research assistant for the 2001 pilot study, from which Milena's first interview was taken.

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Milena uses ideas she has learnt in psychology and claims these ideas as her own. I will address

the use of expert knowledge systems, in particular linguistics, in the following section of analysis

(section 4.3.2)

Anna's use of cognitive function is tied to having an "inquisitive mind" (Example 4.7). Her

framework is seated in desire for understanding and perspective. The understanding of the brain

and language is located somewhere between innateness and interactive approach. While she is in

possession of a mind that is inquisitive, removing the agency from herself, she also creates

agency on the other hand, through her active desires. Anna uses the same discourse in the focus

group. In this instance, the mind is opening beyond the restrictions of a national perspective:

Example 4.30

```
Naomi          and I felt a bit sorry for him yeah.
Anna           see but your mind has changed, you're [looking]=
Eileen                                            [yeah.]
Anna           =at [that from a different]=
Naomi              [I think so, yeah.]
Anna           =perspective which is not a Korean [perspective anymore.]
Naomi                                            [that's right.] [FG1_1:3568]
```


Example 4.30 above comes from the first focus group where Milena and Anna met with Naomi

and Yoo Kang, two of the participants from the wider study focusing on Korean L2 English

users. The focus group was open ended with the general topic of gender and language learning.

Anna uses the same coherence system for Naomi, as she does for herself. In this case, Anna sees

the widening perspective as bringing Naomi outside of the national identity that she has been

socialised in.

There are further overlaps between the discourses of characteristics and learning processes. For instance Example 4.31 below comes from the second gender focus group that included Eva, Pia, and Kang Sun. Eva ties together brain function and age:

Example 4.31

Eva	so in that regard it was too draining for me? and I was getting too attached? and too tired and too sick. and in that sense you need to be younger to do that job.
Emily	hm.
Eva	see when [you]=
Eileen	[hm.]
Eva	=are more- your brain is more flexible, .h and things /are-/ things don't effect you that much? so then /? no/ I should go back to my old passion. [teaching! @@.] [FG1_2:343]

Eva left her job working with the elderly in nursing homes, because she found it was difficult to find commonality with the older generation in a country she had not grown up in. As she explains in the above example, it was also exhausting work. She attributes part of the difficulty to the inflexibility of the brain as she has grown older. The inflexible coherence systems of age and the brain are drawn together.

Some participants do not use the brain as a coherence system. For Jutta and Pia, the brain is not used specifically as a method of making sense of L2 learning and use. Instead, they rely on other systems of making sense of language learning and use.

The brain, like age, is used primarily as an inflexible system of accounting for success and failure. Language, in particular the L1, is constructed as having a precise, fixed location in the brain. There is some degree of contradiction in these discourses, whereby change must be accounted for. In this way, through education, experiences or by accident, the brain begins to "listen", to send the right "signals". In both cases, the construction of innateness allows agency to be handed over to the biological. Success in relation to the brain is not constructed agentively by

participants, rather it is something one is able to reach because they have the right sort of brain, or that the brain functions innately in a better way to accommodate languages.

The next section of analysis deals with the ways participants use their knowledge of linguistics and language systems to account for their success and failure.

4.3.2 Linguistics and Language Teaching

Participants draw on existing knowledge systems to create coherence. A particularly salient discourse that arises in my data is knowledge of linguistics. The majority of the participants had completed tertiary education. Only Jutta did not have a degree, having only completed one year of agricultural college. Apart from all being people who live in an L2 and who therefore regularly reflected on issues of language learning and use, five of the eight participants had pursued some study of linguistics or applied linguistics at university. For all of these participants, an understanding of language systems and use was a relevant discourse in making sense of their SLL and L2 use.

Anna, when asked what advice she would give to someone learning English, frames her discussion of success in terms of her experience as a language teacher and her knowledge of sociolinguistics literature:

Example 4.32

Anna	I I can see lots of variables there.
Emily	hm.
Anna	we- which are, what is your motivation. uhmhu. what is your target.
Emily	uhmhu.
Anna	what does successful mean to you.
Emily	uhmhu.
Anna	because we've got different, in my prescriptivist mind,
Emily	yep.

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Anna	successful means, flawless. in my Argentinian friend @mind@ @@@ it means, who cares. just communicating, .h communication ability, DAILY communication ability,
Emily	yeah.
Anna	yeah so. so then, I would also ask them, these are the things that I would ask a person, and make them think about all these things, .h also how hard are you willing to work? ... towards the language. ... erm and erm ... and it goes back to the motivation? when are you going to use the language? so because a, like you know, in Ingrid Piller's paper on erm, on the intermarriage couples, the motivation was also a partnership erm and so on, so it depends. you know what is, so, what did we just say? I forgot, anyway @erm@, I'm getting to the end .h [@@.]
Emily	[@@.]
Anna	erm, what else? so you /want/ success do do do[2], what erm erm, I think /no/ how hard are they willing to work? when ok when and where they're going to use it? .h erm, ... no, I think it's mainly that,
Emily	uhmhu.
Anna	what resources and so on, .h because, see learning a language, is als- it's also a financial investment. [A1:1691]

Anna separates her version of success from that of her friend. Anna's advice to the potential learner depends on whether their model of success is closer to her own model or to that of her friend. Similar discourses appear in relation to accentedness (see section 4.4.2). Do they want Anna's unattainable "flawless" model? Her experience as a learner and teacher means that she is informed by multiple and complex discourses in offering up a path to success. In this example Anna's advice, like the systems of age and the brain, is learner centred: how much money, motivation and drive does the learner have? The interactional, communication based model of success is something that Anna sees as imperfect (see also Example 4.10), is left to her Argentinean friend.

Milena also draws on her experience of studying language. She completed an undergraduate degree in linguistics and uses this knowledge to claim authority over her L1 English speaking husband:

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[2] The 'do do do' here is said in a sing-song voice.

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Example 4.33

Sheila	=when /you met/ your husband did it really improve after-
Milena	yeah oh I think … I mean it's day to day contact, you know almost twenty-four hours, with someone who speaks Australian-English and who can tell you oh no it's not this it's this although there are still few words that he just can't understand what I mean when I say @because they- they sound@ exactly like another word which means something else, so we're getting to this continuous but thanks to language and identity I can explain to him @why@
Ingrid	@@@@ @@@
Sheila	@@@@ @@@
Milena	@and he said@ oh really you shouldn't take- you shouldn't have taken up linguistics, now I can't have proper @conversation with you@ /ah so/ it's good
Ingrid	@@oh well I'm glad to hear it@ has a practical application@
Milena	[It does very much] @@ I win now. I win the- I win the conversation. but yes it did, a lot … I think … so, I think that's erm a lot of problem with other people who even come here and try and learning English, it's if they come as a couple erm that's a lost cause, because they'll never speak English at home, which is the most important thing … so, [M1:570]

Linguistics is seen by her husband as confounding the course of normal conversation. Milena, on the other hand, finds it a powerful method of claiming authority, of winning the argument. She sees the knowledge of language she has gained and the ability to apply this knowledge in interaction as giving her the upper hand in this competitive conversational environment where her husband is the L1 English speaker and thereby has power. Embodied in a Foucauldian sense in Milena's utterance, informed by linguistics, we see knowledge is power.

Although these are few examples, Example 4.32 and Example 4.33 provide instances in which expert knowledge is used to inform understandings of both self and other success. More than coherence systems in Linde's (1993) sense, it is not merely populist discourses that Milena and Anna draw from, but formal study in the field. It is of course, unsurprising that people would draw from their existing bodies of knowledge in accounting for their success. What is of interest, however, is that while success becomes more complex for both Anna and Milena, there still remains a "flawless" model for Anna, and a right way for Milena, i.e. speaking English in the home.

The learning processes examined in this section, the brain and expert knowledge systems, are discussed as central discourses in negotiating successful L2 user identities. For these highly proficient adult L2 English users, the brain is a prevalent discourse. In the majority of cases, the brain is used as an inflexible system, whereby language is seen as fixed in a particular location in the brain, particularly in the case of the L1. This does not account for change in the wake of L2 learning and language loss, in which case, sudden or accidental shifts in brain function are used. Most consistently, using the brain as a discourse in negotiating success allows participants to remove agency and interaction from the learning context. Expert knowledge on the other hand, is used by participants in claiming agency in learning as well as in claiming the right to be heard as an authoritative speaker.

The next section will address accentedness in the data, and the ways participants make accent salient, particularly as a discourse of failure.

4.4 Language Features

Accentedness is the most complex and prevalent of my participants' discourses of success and failure in L2 use. In this section of analysis I will focus on the different axes along which accent becomes salient. Participants talk not only of their own accent as a relevant point in assessing their success (section 4.4.1), but also place themselves within a hierarchy of accentedness by referring to the accents of others (section 4.4.2), and the ways in which they are categorised in interaction due to L2 accented English (section 4.4.3).

4.4.1 Accented Self

Success in language learning and use, as I have shown in the analysis so far, are contextually based and relational. Conflicting discourses of success and failure express the intersection of networks of belonging and identity. While discourses of desire for the language may intersect with increased feelings of success, inflexible constructions of innate capacities may contradict these feelings.

The coherence system of accent in regard to negotiating success is a particularly complex discourse. A remaining L2 accent is often named as the remaining sticking point in attaining success. Paulo puts this most bluntly:

Example 4.34

Emily	do you think you've been successful in learning English?
Paulo	oh no absolutely not.
Emily	why is that.
Paulo	because I still have a very thick accent. [Pa1:975]

While talking about the process of becoming an L2 English user, Paulo provides explanations such as his musicality and childhood training for his ability as a good language learner (Example 4.28). Being a good learner, though, is not equated with success. Soon after Example 4.34 above, Paulo follows with an attribution of his agency in this process:

Example 4.35

Paulo	=in terms of, .h perfecting my accent I think I'm just either a bit deaf or just too lazy to, ... to kind of try to erm enunciate. [Pa1:984]

It is not a matter of lack of capacity that has, in Paulo's view, limited his success. Instead, he places the responsibility of the lack on himself. The yes/no interrogative of Example 4.34 directs Paulo towards agreeing or disagreeing with the question of feeling successful. At the same time, Paulo's response is emphatically negative. There is a contrast between success as process and

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success as stative. For example, in discussing his L2 use in the context of the third interview, Paulo notes the changes he is seeing in his English use. He accounts for his lack of clear enunciation or "mumbling" as a positive prosodic feature that has transferred into his English from his L1:

Example 4.36

Paulo	and I'm starting to mumble in English which is some@thing@ I do [naturally.]
Emily	[@@.]
Paulo	in Portuguese because,
Emily	just running words [together.]
Paulo	[yeah] because you don't- you don't have y- you can make yourself unders- understood, so you don't have to ma- put [so]=
Emily	[right.]
Paulo	much effort into, ...
Emily	[yeah.]
Paulo	[making] yourself under[stood.][Pa3:81]

In this example, Paulo reframes the "laziness" he presents in Example 4.35 as a part of his remaining L2 accent. In the earlier example, Paulo attributes his lack of perfection in regard to his accent as being likely due to his lazy enunciation. In Example 4.36 the same factor is used as an indicator of increasing ownership and authenticity in the language. His L2 use is following the patterns of his L1 in becoming a "natural" way of speaking. The difference in these examples is one of state versus process. While Paulo is not willing to commit to the label "successful" when asked directly, when talking in the context of L2 performance he is able to frame his way of speaking as part of a successful speaker identity. When he catches himself speaking in a higher pitch range than he finds himself using when speaking an L2 (cf. Example 4.21), he is now able to consciously speak "in my normal voice which is a lot lower" [Pa3:3]. As he says immediately before Example 4.36, English is in the process of becoming normalised in prosody, if not in "accent". Further examination of Paulo's discourses of resistance according to accent and positioning will be presented in sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3.

Accent is also interlaced with desire. Eva relates accent to clear communication, talking both of

an unfulfilled desire to improve, while also placing herself at the top of a hierarchy of

accentedness. She relates her accent to both a migrant in the abstract, as well as a real example in

her sister:

Example 4.37

Eva	I mean the the thing is never give up. because I- I don't know it must be something to do with your, erm, I don't know how important for you it's to communicate? for me it's very important to to speak well, and I still have problems and I wish I could have done, a course in which I could erm, get rid of some of my accent? I mean to improve pronunciation and all that kind of thing? but but I think, I know it's must be difficult when you come to Australia and you don't, speak the language in the first place and you have to, to to start from zero it must be much harder than when you you are half way through and you only have to keep going.
Emily	yeah
Eva	but I think the only thing is it's just to persevere.
Emily	yeah
Eva	because the problem is not going to go away. I mean unless YOU can go away bu- @@@@
Emily	@yeah@
Eva	you see /but/ I have problem with my sister, the- in the same way oh /it's/ so hard for me to make her understand that this was Australia and you speak English here. and she said @why@ do I have to speak @English@? @but can't@ they speak Spanish? and I said no they can't! @ so you have to.
Emily	yeah
Eva	and it's that's it's al- always holding her back. [E1:1708]

Eva, while lamenting her own accent, downplays her struggle with success by relativising her

difficulties. She has had the privilege of language education before arriving in Australia, and

compares her situation to many others who may not have had this access. Eva also provides the

example of her sister, who has expressed resistance to the dominant belief that she should have to

speak English. Eva places herself in the role of advocate for English learning in Australia. Her

short narrative in which she tells her sister that she must learn the language, is support for Eva's

belief in perseverance, tied together by the coda that confirms her resistance is "holding her

back".

Following on from this example above from Eva, I will now turn to discourses of relative accent, and how participants focus on the accents of other L2 speakers to place themselves along a continuum of accentedness. I will follow this with a discussion of how participants use discourses of accent and otherness in negotiation stereotypes and discrimination.

4.4.2 Accented Other

Not only do participants reproduce discourses of accentedness in relation to their own L2 use, participants also use examples from the speech of others to construct a hierarchical network of accentedness in which they place themselves.

Paulo and Anna narrate a very similar story about people they know who they perceive as not having been able to attain a successful language level. Paulo, in discussing when and with whom he speaks different languages, positions his friend an "Australian":

Example 4.38

Paulo	but hm not really. I speak I speak Spanish with a friend? who's actually born in Australia but went to Spain when he was three, then came back to do his PhD so,
Emily	oh!
Paulo	he speaks appalling English.
Emily	oh!
Paulo	@despite the fact that he's Australian@. @and@ he speaks with a very thick /erm/ Spanish accent, .h it's very funny, but erm, yeah if we- if I don't want to be understood, like if we're, talking about something, .h a bit private in a public space we probably speak Spanish. [Pa1:1122]

The central evaluation of the story, the purpose of telling it, is to provide a relative position for Paulo to speak of his own accent and language use. While the context of the narrative is in response to a question of where and with whom he uses the other languages that he speaks, Paulo provides a strong evaluation of his friend's language use.

He repeats this same story, with some variation, in the third interview:

Example 4.39

Paulo	in some [cases. i- it]=
Emily	[that has something to do with it.]
Paulo	=depends on the ca- I mean it depends. my friend M, was born in Darlinghurst?
Emily	uhmhu.
Paulo	he lived, ... his li- his you know erm, primary school ... in Sydney? and he went to primary school in Sydney.
Emily	yeah.
Paulo	and he got transplanted to Spain when he was about seven?
Emily	yeah [I think you've mentioned him. yeah.]
Paulo	[and then he- he did yeah?]
Emily	yeah.
Paulo	he did- he did his- his erm, degree? came back to do his Phd? which, he did very well.
Emily	[hm.]
Paulo	[but] he has the most- the thickest! erm- Spanish accent in English that you [can]=
Emily	
	[/?/]
Paulo	=imagine. and he speaks perfect English.
Emily	hm.
Paulo	perfect English it's just the, ... accent.
Emily	he has an accent hm.
Paulo	it's just the- the,
Emily	and he was seven when he left is that what?
Paulo	oh something like that.
Emily	yeah. [quite young.]
Paulo	[six or somethin-] yeah.
Emily	yeah.
Paulo	so he ki- he kind of got the @Spanish@ inability to speak English.
Emily	@@.
Paulo	which is hilarious.
Emily	.hh
Paulo	but erm it's- it's a very difficult erm, ... oh it's a very- very difficult ... language for Spanish people because they- they do miss a lot of, they have a lot of ... sounds missing and /?/,
Emily	hm.
Paulo	that they don't need basically. [Pa3:297]

The factual details of the story from one account to the other are not the central focus: in the initial account, his friend returned to Spain, aged three; in the second account, his friend attended primary school, at least in part, in Australia. There would then be a difference of either none or at

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least a year of formal education in English. In contrast to these inconsistencies, the points of the story that remain the same are the presence of a Spanish accented English, and the placing of Paulo himself in a position above that of his L1 English speaking friend in creating this hierarchy of accentedness. There are also direct contradictions across these two narratives. In Example 4.38, Paulo says of his friend "he speaks appalling English". Compare this to Example 4.39, where his friend now "speaks perfect English", the problem now being only his accent in the second of these two examples. Despite the factual contradictions, or in fact, because of them, it is clearer that the narrative is being used as a resource, rather than as a statement of truth, per se. The narrative is doing slightly different discursive work in the two contexts. In the first instance, Paulo is using his evaluation of his friend's English use in the context of language choice. He chooses to speak Spanish because it is a more comfortable code. Example 4.39, the central concern is the accent itself, which is attributed to a wider problem of being a Spanish speaker, albeit a problem that Paulo himself doesn't have. In both cases he is using the narrative to position his English use above that of his friend. This hierarchical positioning occurs in other narratives Paulo produces.

Paulo also positions himself in relation to Anna, who is also a friend of his. He begins this narration by directly discussing the frustration of speaking English with other L2 speakers of English, which is the opposite of what we see from Pia in Example 4.14. The importance of this, similar to Examples 4.38 and 4.39, is that it allows Paulo to place himself above other L2 speakers by dismissing their ability to make themselves understood. In the following example this is bolstered with the opinions of others:

Example 4.40

Paulo	[but] erm I guess I get, I'm getting ... ... a bit annoyed someti- I- I get annoyed sometimes, when I'm trying to speak English to someone, and I'm- ... can't get through?
Emily	right.

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Paulo	because their proficiency in English is not that high? and,
Emily	hm.
Paulo	and I get frustrated because I'm trying to get the message through? and it's,
Emily	yeah.
Paulo	it's not going anywhere?
Emily	so that's more with s- other second language speakers.
Paulo	hm. [yeah.]
Emily	[yeah.]
Paulo	but I don't think I, see I don't think I speak like them! which, most people tell me I don't.
Emily	hm.
Paulo	and yeah it's kind of /?/ odd.
Emily	yeah.
Paulo	I [/?/.]
Emily	[yeah.] so them as in ALL other second language speakers of [English?]
Paulo	[yeah.] well not all of them,
Emily	@.
Paulo	but, but a lot of- of other language speakers. I mean,
Emily	yeah.
Paulo	if you compare, and accent say, Anna has been here for a while?
Emily	hm. ... yeah.
Paulo	and she still speaks like your, stereotype Italian person. and has that rhythm of Italian coming through.
Emily	hm.
Paulo	in her English. she speaks very good English. but people kind of, pick on the fact that she's different kind of thing and that's- I think that's the,
Emily	so you think it's maybe prosody? like, [Pa3:259]

He defines himself as outside of a stereotypical category of L2 English speaker by using an example of someone with whom I was familiar with, whom he then places below him in the hierarchy.

Paulo is not the only participant who uses others' narratives to position their own language use. Anna also talks of a friend who had language difficulties moving from Greece to Australia as an adolescent. In Anna's narrative, the problems this woman encountered as a teenager in the face of migration and a new language caused depression that resulted in her parents returning to Greece. When her friend returned to Australia, she had met a man that her parents disapproved of, and she had since been ostracised by her family. The story functions similarly to Paulo's discussion of other L2 English speakers, in that Anna places herself in the authoritative, evaluative position:

Example 4.41

Anna	and they- erm- she lives in Byron bay she- but I [met her]=
Emily	[oh okay.]
Anna	=down here, yeah and erm but the funny thing was that, she speaks a very funny English?
Emily	hm!
Anna	with a, strong really really strong accent? and she still speaks Greek? but she's forgotten, because the only language that she speaks, having t- cut these ties,
Emily	yeah.
Anna	with her family, the only language that she speaks is English? to her .h husband and son? [A2:833]

Like Paulo's evaluation of others' accents, Anna focuses on a negative evaluation as a relativising strategy. She begins her narrative, prior to the above fragment, by asking what the criteria were for recruiting research participants. Anna then offers her friend's story. She closes this discursive thread with a coda-like statement:

Example 4.42

Anna	so yes, so I haven't thought much about my language? but I thought about l- lots about the people I've got in touch- in contact [with.] **[A2:907]**

Anna's focus on accent is explicitly through the language use of others. The creating coherence, in the examples from both Anna and Paulo above, is relational. Reflection on ones own language use and success involves positioning oneself in the context of other L2 English users.

This hierarchical positioning occurs in other participants' utterances. Milena discusses other Czech L2 English users that she knows, comparing her own language use and drawing on length of time in Australia as a coherence system for her success (cf. Example 4.13):

Example 4.43

Milena	but yes, I agree that some people have very heavy accents, like th- the family that I first came to visit, the person's been here, both of them have been here for twenty-five thirty years and their accents are really pretty heavy,
Ingrid	uhmhu.
Milena	but it's because they speak Czech at home, … although he deals with English people most of the time, it's very hard for them to lose the accent, so, I'm not sure how, that's what I said if … I- I believe that I would speak different English if I had stayed in Czech and learned English there, because you get to hear only, you know, whoever the teachers are, now they are from English speaking countries but … you don't get to erm … you don't get them at schools you get them in /courses/. so I think I'd- I'd have a heavier accent, if I learned it there
Ingrid	it's really a question [of exposure]
Milena	[so, yeah I] think it depends if they have- if they are pr- erm exposed to the second language in their first language environmental classes then I think it's very hard for them to le- to lose it as well?,
Ingrid	uhmhu.
Milena	because the people that erm that's two young people visiting Australia now trying to learn English and they've learned English in Czech for two years, well she has … and she has a very heavy accent, although she has been hearing it now for three months she just doesn't- lose it she just doesn't hear the difference, or maybe hears it but can't, make it out, because she's already learned for so many years to say it in that accent, no one's, I don't know whether- you know, if you if you speak it that's fine erm, [M1:937]

Milena compares herself to both a couple who have been in Australia for a long period of time, as well as friends that have been learning English in the Czech Republic and have been in Australia for a short amount of time. In both cases, Milena points out the errors that have caused these other Czech users of English to maintain an accent that prevents them from success: On one hand, speaking your L1 too frequently, and on the other, learning in a foreign language context. Milena also reinforces the discourse that language learning should be easy, and yet her friend has learnt English as a foreign language for two years and has been in Australia for only three months. Like many of these hierarchical, relational constructions, success isn't claimed directly, but defined by what it isn't and what one isn't. Milena positions herself as more successful in drawing on the discourses of others.

Participants use narratives of others' accent to create and reinforce a hierarchy of success. Making a comparison to other L2 users of English whereby their usage is seen as flawed or unsuccessful, allows participants to promote their own success, while not explicitly or directly claming a successful identity for themselves.

In addition to assessing their own accent as well as the accent of others, participants produce narratives of othering that relate specifically to their accent being identified in interpersonal interaction. I will now turn to examine these discourses of otherness.

4.4.3 Accent as Otherness: Categorisation and Stereotype

Similar to the use of the brain as a coherence system to assimilate language ideologies, the brain and its functioning are also used to account for how participants are positioned, and specifically how they are othered in interaction on the basis of accent. Paulo, for example, uses cognitive categories to interpret the stereotyping he encounters in interaction:

Example 4.44

Paulo	like they say oh! you have an accent! ... or you know where are you from? and I say why do you ask? and they say oh because you have an accent, and I say does that @bother you@.
Emily	@ah@.
Paulo	oh! no no no no no! they make very apologies they become very apologetic [and]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Paulo	it's just for erm ... I mean it's just out of interest and it's not out of interest because I know, you know, how the brain works and it, they're trying to, categorise and insert me in the appropriate slot in the list and,
Emily	hm.
Paulo	you know we make lists of everything so, it's kind of where do I put this one? and because I don't think it's any of their business? because I don't know them, it's mostly customers,
Emily	[yeah.]
Paulo	[over] the counter so I don't know them from a bar of soap. oh! colloquialism. [@@]
	[Pa1:1027]

Paulo is identified by people as having a marked accent which is attached to an outsider position by his interactants. He resists this by saying it is due to the necessity for the brain to categorise. His defensive reaction forces his interlocutors to reassess their question, to apologise. Paulo places himself in a dominant position in this narrative. He challenges the assumptions that are normalized for these customers asking the question, but that are far from straightforward to answer. The seemingly innocuous questions, present challenges Paulo's claim to belonging. In this case he actively resists their positioning. In the example above, Paulo also flags his use of the idiom "know them from a bar of soap". In part, this can be attributed to a discussion of slang usage shortly before in the same interview. Paulo claims he only uses Australian slang when he is making fun of something or somebody, specifically employing his approximation of a broad Australian-English accent.

Although participants resist accent positioning, it is also used to build solidarity and understanding. For example, Paulo uses his ability to identify accents, to provide information in the L1 of tourists who come into his workplace:

Example 4.45

Paulo	[/??/ percentages,] .h cause there's a lot of tourists that come in and look for information?
Emily	oh ok.
Paulo	so erm, mostly ... Spanish? actually. they speak, because I recognise the accent so I kind of go for the Spanish the Italians and French.
Emily	uhmhu.
Paulo	bit of Italian, [Pa1:1554]

While Paulo takes customers' identification of his own accent as negative categorisation, which he challenges, his own use of this identification processes is constructed as positive. Rather than drawing attention to accent by way of explicit reference, he instead uses accent information to make overt language choices, making an effort to speak in the interlocutor's L1.

Contrasting Example 4.44, Paulo also claims in his third interview that he does not do the sort of positioning that others do on the basis of accent, drawing from his experience of people asking where he is from [Pa3:1187]. In this second telling, he refers again to the cognitive necessity to categorise people. In this second instance though, he positions himself as lacking this need, as he believes he does not make this sort of categorisation. Like everyone though, Paulo does make these sorts of categorisations as seen in his willingness to pigeonhole Anna (Example 4.40) in the first interview. These contradicting claims are worth examining in and of themselves as they reveal what sort of discursive function these stories have in different contexts. In Example 4.40, Paulo talks of Anna's accent as a way to indirectly define his own success. In the earlier example (Example 4.44) however, the generalization of categorization being something everyone does mitigates the use of marked accent as an othering discourse.

Nicolas raises the problem of "other" L2 accents in comparing the differing approaches to learning English and learning Danish he and Katja both took:

Example 4.46

Nicolas	I learned language very similar way, erm I have done with English actually during my work, but I went to some erm erm classes, also to learn Danish. the problem was that in-c- in this class we have few people from different countries, everyone spoke with different accent. I was not able to learn Danish this way. because at the end, ... we maybe learn to understand a few words, and maybe like a few sentences, very close to this where is the nearest something, [post]=
Emily	[hm.]
Nicolas	=office and, the shopping centre.
Emily	@yeah@.
Nicolas	but when we tried to talk to the Danish people,
Emily	uhmhu.
Nicolas	big problem, because of this different type of accents. we heard in the classes we were not able to, because Danish is very special, it's not like English. you really have to say things very very Danish way, [KN1:313]

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Nicolas stresses the importance of the proper, unmarked accent for communication, particularly in the Danish context. Rather than focusing on the difference in social context that may lead to the differing attitudes between Australia and Denmark, the feature is attributed to the language itself. This narrative is repeated in FG2_1, though this time primarily by Katja. She stresses the importance of being native-like in the Danish context. She also provides new narrative support for this claim, in the form of a story about her daughter Magda, who shocked her primary school teacher because she spoke Danish as a native-like speaker, despite being an L1 Polish speaker. The surprise of the teacher reinforces the discourse that learning Danish is particularly difficult because of the requirement to sound *native* in order not to be othered in society.

The otherness of accent, and who is seen as accented by whom, is also present in negotiations between Nicolas and Katja:

Example 4.47

```
Nicolas      [relatively's a] Danish word sorry. ... erm you said this in Danish. [/?/.]
Katja                                                                   [/??/.]
Emily                                                                  [really?]
Nicolas      [relatively.]
Katja        [it's English!]
Emily        relatively, is that what you- I think that's what you said?
Katja        yeah.
Emily        yeah.
Katja        English!
Nicolas      ah but you have a Danish accent @sorry@ [@@@ @@.]
Katja                                                [@@ @sorry@.] [KN1:1631]
```

Nicolas first questions Katja's usage, and then questions her accent. I had heard the word as "relatively". Nicolas, on the other hand believed that Katja had switched to Danish. The couple do provide word help to each other at other instances in the interview. In this instance, humour is

used to repair the questioning of Katja's usage, with both apologizing to each other after Nicolas

blames the misunderstanding on a Danish accent.

Othering on account of one's accent occurs not only in the L2 context, but also becomes

significant upon return to the country of origin. Eva and Nicolas both tell stories of interactants

marking their accent as L2 in the L1. Nicolas tells the following narrative:

Example 4.48

Nicolas	the most funny thing was when I, o- once I went back to Poland? and erm, I went to shopping, to buy something and the lady said oh! you learnt so good Polish.
Katja	yeah.
Emily	[@.]
Katja	[you] are speaking so [good Polish.]
Nicolas	[you go- yeah] you- you are speaking so [good Polish.]
Katja	[she thought?] that he's erm, tourist? who learn Polish language. so it's /me/ and you- you change your [accent.]
Nicolas	[so- so] she heard that something changed, so something was not, really Polish?
Emily	[yeah.]
Nicolas	[in my] language? ... even I- I spoke Polish?
Emily	yeah!
Nicolas	BUT I- I probably didn't have this aggravat- ag- aggravation that /?/ play of the words.
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	of the accent.
Katja	yeah accent. yeah [/?/]
Nicolas	[/is it/] accent? or,
Katja	yeah.
Nicolas	yeah.
Katja	accent pronunciation change.
Nicolas	yeah.
Emily	yeah.
Katja	a- after [many]=
Nicolas	[yeah.]
Katja	=years. hm. [hm.]
Emily	[yeah.] is that a strange feeling? to have someone ask you, or tell you [that-]
Nicolas	[it was] a little bit strange but there I realised yes of course I- I'm from other country so, hm. [KN2:874]

While Nicolas is othered by this shop assistant complimenting his use of Polish, he transforms

this discourse by claiming space in English. He agrees that he is from another country and that it

therefore makes sense that he would be marked as a foreigner. Whether Nicolas is referring to

Denmark, Australia, or both, is unclear. In either case, he identifies himself apart from Poland in

the moment of realisation captured within this narrative.

Nicolas is not alone in experiencing identification as an L2 speaker of his L1. Eva has

experienced a similar othering:

Example 4.49

Eva	n? well depe- well, I suppose if I, if I don't keep in contact with people who,
Emily	hm.
Eva	speaks English I might, lose a bit?
Emily	yeah.
Eva	but, .h it's the same as with Spanish you know?
Emily	hm.
Eva	because when I went there? everyone said to me you have a funny accent,
Emily	[huh.]
Eva	[and] I said oh! sh- jesus Christ I've got the funny accent both ways now [@@@@.]
Emily	[oh no.]
Eva	yeah! because, your accent in Spanish changes!
Emily	yeah.
Eva	even if you don't- I don't notice it. it's the same- erm but people DOES notice it.
Emily	yeah.
Eva	and because you start emphasizing sounds that you didn't do it before. and maybe because of the influence of English?
Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	[you] are more careful when you speak Spanish, [I mean pronouncing]=
Emily	[it transfers over.]
Eva	=the bees and the dees and you know? and then they look at you, do you come from Uruguay? I say, erm no!
Emily	@.
Eva	but you have a different accent! you don't speak Spanish as Chilean do. [E2:340]

Eva is discussing the time she spent living back in Chile with her parents, and her desire to return

to Chile to live. In contrast to discourses of innateness (section 4.3.1), here the fixedness of the

L1 is questioned. Eva's example of othering above is more in line with the utterance produced by

Anna, given as an example at the start of Chapter 1, than that of Nicolas in Example 4.48. The

construction of this in-betweenness, where othering occurs in both contexts, will be discussed in

further detail in the following chapter (Chapter 5), for example in Eva's discussions of difference

(Example 5.11). The example above and Example 4.50 below, both reveal the nexus of L2 use and success with the negotiation of social belonging and exclusion in interaction.

Another example, before leaving the discussion of national identity specifically to Chapter 5, relates national identity and belonging to accent. The following example appears in the second interview with Anna:

Example 4.50

Anna	because I would never be Australian, .h [one]=
Emily	[hm.]
Anna	=hundred percent.
Emily	yeah.
Anna	so wha- what it means I'm not sure, perhaps b- b- because I have an accent, perhaps because I don't share .h erm certain values?
Emily	hm.
Anna	and erm, @ don't like rugby [@@@@@]
Emily	[@@@@] [A1:542]

Anna draws attention to shared values, adding jokingly that she doesn't like rugby. In light of the recent introduction of a citizenship test in Australia (for a discussion see Chapter 2), where national values are tested through a set of ascribed social values, this mention of national values is particularly relevant. While this interview took place four years before the 2007 institution of the test, Anna's discourse, while humorous, is not an unreasonable assumption in regard to the approach this citizenship test takes in the inclusion of national sport questions as a basis for shared values and belonging (see also Chapter 1).

Eva ties accent and otherness to discrimination she has experienced in finding work placement as an L2 English speaker teacher:

Example 4.51

Eva	[yeah, yeah] yeah no accent, no funny surname. so- that's, a- and [my]=
Emily	[hm.]

Eva	=teacher said to me Eva he said look I said I didn't want to see it that way, because even some people you spoke, tafe one of the people I spoke to tafe, he spoke with an accent same as [I do.]
Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	and I thought, and he's giving me- oh they said everyone is too busy or, we don't have I cannot force the people if they want then we will do it then they said, ring me in October,
Emily	hm.
Eva	and and the funny one was this place which all- a- all /uni/ students have ring because I said North Sydney? just I can't imagine North Sydney? I [said,]
Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	=I just wanted to go and observe, I didn't want to teach there, because they say we have to do a certain hours of a certain amount of hours of observation?
Emily	uhmhu.
Eva	and then we have to do observation and practicum in one place. /oh yeah/ so I said I can go and observe there how do they the international students and all that! so I rang, some other girl had said oh it's very good he's- it's a very nice place blah blah blah [I said]=
Emily	[uhmhu.]
Eva	=okay! I'll try, she said I finished so there's no body there!
Emily	yeah
Eva	yeah so I rang. and the fellow on the phone he was VERY nice, a gentleman very polite, n- you you couldn't tell from the sound of his voice or anything? and he said to me oh he said I'm so sorry, but we are so busy this year it's no possible maybe next! year. alright? this was only Monday morning, we have classes on Wednesday. and then talking to Michelle, another girl? and she said to me why don't you call the let's say, the Smith's college because the fellow said to me that I wanted I could even teach there. and I said M when did you call him she said this afternoon! and that was Wednesday afternoon? and [I]=
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	=call him Monday, and I said Mary do you want to know something? she said no, I said I called that fellow on Monday, and he said to me that that was impossible that he didn't have any place until next year. and then Mary is a very nice lady she said oh because I am so beautiful yes I know you are beautiful! you are very beautiful and you're Australian! [that's]=
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	=the main thing. and then I go to my teacher and I say I give up, I'm not trying, [and]=
Emily	[oh.]
Eva	=she said why don't you try this and that, EVERY PLACE! I cannot believe it every place I have rung? they say they're totally busy, or they are going to call me back they never call be back! it's the same when you [apply]=
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	=for a job [@@]=
Emily	[yeah?]
Eva	=but but why don't they just say to people, [I'm not going to go,]
Emily	[probably because they'd get sued]
Eva	I'm not going to go and complain [but]=
Emily	[oh.]
Eva	=that's what they are doing! they're discriminating. [E1:1264]

Eva's interaction with language schools, primarily over the phone, has confirmed her belief that

there is discrimination on the basis of L2 accent. She is particularly frustrated that this

discrimination, while systematic, is covert. Eva finds that she is unemployable, not because she doesn't have the appropriate qualifications, but because she is not constructed as the right sort of speaker. This othering on the basis of accent, despite Eva's high proficiency and education and the fact that this is in the end only a practicum placement, has consequences for how Eva constructs social belonging and exclusion. The insidious and pervasive nature of this discrimination is stressed by Eva's construction of the man at the language centre as "VERY nice, a gentleman very polite". The power remains in Eva's hands through her knowledge and education. By the end of the study Eva had completed her qualifications and was teaching. I return to address issues of national identity in this example in Chapter 5 (Example 5.37).

When Eva repeats this narrative in the second interview, the focus is more specifically on accent and nativeness:

Example 4.52

Eva	[but that's- that's fair a- and] that's being honest. if- if- if a fellow said to me look, I cannot have people teaching in my school with an accent because I charge cla- erm /the/ people PAY to be taught, and they want to be taught by- by a native speaker? [I]=
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	=would say f- fair enough that's your business.
Emily	yeah.
Eva	because erm there's more than teaching English as a second language it's a business. and it's a good business.
Emily	hm.
Eva	so I agree! if [he's]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	=honest with me? and I say thank you very much? not a [problem.]
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	but the people don't tell you.
Emily	hm.
Eva	and that's what annoys me. because they say we are going to ring you, [how this woman?]
Emily	[and then they don't.]
Eva	I left like a hundred messages.
Emily	@ oh no.
Eva	why doesn't she call me? and I said look, I don't want to be dealing with people who speak with an accent, she CAN'T say that (…) [E2:1919]

Eva claims that the central concern is that the necessity of being an L1 speaker of English to get teacher placement ought to be made explicit. She goes on to say that she is aware that other institutions, such as TAFE and universities, lecturers speak "English with- with an accent" [E2:1968] and that this can create difficulties for students, L1 and L2 speakers alike. Unlike Pia (in Example 4.16), Eva doesn't believe that L2 users are necessarily easier to communicate with or understand, and that being an L1 English speaker means you have a listening advantage when it comes to understanding L2 accents: "it could be my ear? because I'm not like a native speaker so I don't imagine what they're saying?" [E2:2009]. Again, Eva stresses the covert discriminatory practices involved in these interactions.

A final example of othering through accentedness also comes from Eva. She tells a narrative of a phone interaction with someone who has not understood the street name she is providing:

Example 4.53

Eva	I moved to this street. and it's called parliament road.
Emily	yeah.
Eva	how difficult is it to understand parliament road [over the phone, alright?]
Emily	[it's pretty simple. @.]
Eva	so he started to ask me to spell it.
Emily	hm.
Eva	okay? and I said okay. and I th- and I- and when I finished spelling I said oh and I- and I said .h luckily that I thought this was an easy one to- to say.
Emily	hm.
Eva	oh he said to me, yeah but sometime he said with the accent. and I said yeah! I've got the same problem. you're accent, when you first answered the phone I didn't understand a word what you were saying.
Emily	hm.
Eva	and you speak English, it's your accent. see accent goes both ways I said.
Emily	yeah! [everyone has an accent.]
Eva	[if you don't understand] me? I don't understand you and it's BOTH ways!
Emily	hm.
Eva	not because you- you- you speak English as your first language you are perfect.
Emily	hm.
Eva	and he said sorry he said don't get me wrong. I said no- no I'm not getting you wrong, because I was very calm.
Emily	hm.
Eva	if I get you wrong I'd be [/?/. but I]=
Emily	[@@@@@.]
Eva	=said it's the same way!

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Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	[you] said it's hard for you to understand me? over the phone, because of my accent.
Emily	hm.
Eva	and I said the same plays to me. if you don't speak properly, even if your- English is your first language? I don't understand you! so it's the same!
Emily	yeah.
Eva	we're in the same boat!
Emily	yeah.
Eva	and he changed totally, he was nice and polite? [and spoke]=
Emily	[hm @.]
Eva	=very we- young bloke.
Emily	yeah.
Eva	you can't understand what young people speak [these]=
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	=days.
Emily	yeah. is [it sort of,]
Eva	[they don't] modulate?
Emily	too quickly and, [yeah.]
Eva	[and] they mumble the words?
Emily	hm.
Eva	a- and they don't speak English!
Emily	@.
Eva	I don't know what they speak!
Emily	[@@@.]
Eva	[the lingo] they speak? I don't understand. I don't have problem with old people?
Emily	hm.
Eva	but I have much problem understanding young people.
Emily	yeah.
Eva	and nobody corrects them. [E3:2764]

Eva produces a powerful narrative of resistance. In this report of interaction she has called into question this L1 speaker's right to place the burden entirely on his interactant. To support these claims, Eva uses age. In this case age is not used as strategy for discussing L2 learner difficulties, but instead to separate the speaking style of younger and older people in Australia. Generational difference is made more salient in the story than L2 success or failure. As part of this resistance, Eva problematizes the way young people speak, rather than placing the focus on herself as an L2 user.

The use of accent as a coherence system for both success and failure, as well as to place oneself in relation to others, is pervasive in the discourses of advanced L2 English users. Drawing this

back the wider social space, my participants, as invisible migrants (see the discussion in Chapter 1) remain audibly different as adult L2 users in relation to the Australian-English context. It is not surprising then that accent receives the most attention from participants. Accent is made salient as a marker of not attaining success (Example 4.34). This can be mitigated by relating one's own usage and accent to others, placing oneself in a more preferable position (e.g. Examples 4.37, 4.38, 4.39, 4.40, 4.41 and 4.43). Participants also tell stories of othering in relation to accentedness. These create both an acceptance of being othered on the basis of accent (e.g Examples 4.46, 4.47, and 4.52), as well as resistance to being marked by accent (e.g. Example 4.44, 4.48, and 4.53). Accent as a discourse of failure, or not having reached success, is narrativized more than other aspects discussed in this chapter. Accent becomes relevant in interaction, and is therefore exemplified through a retelling of these experiences in narratives of personal experience. While there is little contention in the literature that attaining an L1 accent as an adult L2 speaker is near impossible, what is at issue in examining these discourses is the place of interaction in these discourses. The work of Rubin (1992; Rubin & Smith, 1990) and Lindemann (2002), for example, has shown how attitudes to L2 speakers can influence understanding, with negative attitudes of L1 listeners being linked to lower levels of comprehension. Attitudes of listeners play a very important role in creating meaning and understanding. Placing this in the context of global English use and transnationalism, shared communicative burden is something that must become normalized. For the majority of participants, accent remains the sticking point in regards to claiming a successful L2 user identity.

4.5 Summary: Negotiating Success and Failure

In this chapter I have explored the ways that participants construct and negotiate success and failure in L2 use. As adult L2 users of English, participants in this study have encountered complex systems of discourses surrounding language learning and use. They have encountered existent discourses of, among other things, who is and isn't a good learner, what this speaker should sound like and what successful language use means. They have also been othered in interaction as being audibly different in the Australian context. They have reflected extensively on what belonging means in the context of migration and how it is tied to language use.

In creating identities of success and failure, participants draw from networks of learner characteristics, learning processes, and language features. These discourses function in varying ways, some more flexible than others, in contributing to how participants create coherence in the L2 use. Age and the brain, for example, provide similar grounds for understanding oneself and one's level of success or failure as an L2 English user. Both discourses are inflexible and speaker centred, taking the construction of success away from the interactional process that it is. These place the burden of communication on the L2 user, rather than focusing on communication as an interpersonal act.

Desire and accent provide a contrast to the inflexibility of age and the brain. Desire, unlike traditional categories used in examining L2 success such as motivation (Naiman, 1996; Spolsky, 2000), can be seen as something that constructs and is constituted by the speaker. It incorporates

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both the wants of the speaker, as well as the larger social context and access to resources. The shift in attitude towards a specific local variety is one way in which success and desire are intertwined. Resistance to conforming to the dominant norms and values in the society is another way that desire is tied to L2 use (Examples 4.14 and 4.15). Accent is the most prevalent discourse in constructing success, and particularly in constructing a lack of success. Participants point to accent as the specific sticking point in the negotiation of belonging and success. In overcoming these markers of failure, participants create hierarchies of success. Stories of others' accentedness allow participants to claim greater success, while not directly claiming a successful L2 user identity.

It is important to look at these complex systems of belonging to develop a more subtle understanding of the complexity of identity negotiation by highly competent, long-term adult L2 English users. Examining these discourses of othering can help make more transparent the ways the migrants themselves view the process of creating and claiming authentic space in an L2 context. As Norton (1997) states, identity is "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (p. 410). It is an interactional process that is closely tied to how belonging can be negotiated. In the case of my participants, success and belonging are attached to a perceived unmarked language use. In the case of migrants who arrive in Australia as L2 users of English, this societal belonging frequently requires an "unaccented" identity (Lippi-Green, 1997). Participants in this study frame markedness as a lack of success, in that they are, for example, othered in interaction through the seemingly innocuous question "where are you from?" These otherings in interaction, though banal, raise the question of who is seen as being able to claim space within a community and specifically a nation (Hage, 1998, p. 42). In the next chapter

I will focus specifically on how national identities are constructed by my participants and how they position themselves in regard to social belonging and exclusion on the basis of national categories.

Chapter 5

Constructing National Identity

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I examined the ways in which participants construct themselves as L2 users, and how these long-term residents in Australia negotiate notions of a successful L2 speaker. The negotiation of discourses of language learning and use are one part of the constant contextual rewriting of self and negotiation of belonging that occurs in the space of migration. Another thread of identity construal in discourse is that of navigating a position of self to the construct of nation. Continuing from where the previous chapter left off, this section looks in more detail at the discursive construction of national identity.

Taking discourses of national identity to be both constructed and constitutive, that we have agency in negotiating and are limited in building by the discursive resources available to us, this chapter examines the linguistic strategies used in the contextual positioning of self to national space. How do we speak of the constraints of national identity in this age of migration and mobility? What hold does the nation have in the negotiation of place and belonging? Does national identity remain a salient category?

The basis for the analysis in this chapter, as discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.5, are the categories employed by Wodak et al (1999), also taken up in more recent literature (cf. Meinhof & Galasiński, 2005; Petersoo, 2007), in their examination of the linguistic realisation of national identity. As outlined in the literature review, these researchers find that the most relevant elements in the discursive construction of national identity in their data are:

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1. Personal reference (anthroponymic generic terms, personal pronouns, quantifiers);
2. Spatial reference (toponyms/geonyms, adverbs of place, spatial reference through persons, by means of prepositional phrases such as 'with us', 'with them');
3. Temporal reference (temporal prepositions, adverbs of time, temporal conjunctions, temporal references by means of nouns, semi-prefixes with temporal meaning). (p. 35)

Of interest in my data are the uses of personal reference terms, in particular the intersection of personal pronouns and national identity terms such as Australian, Czech and Italian, and how and where they appear in the data. Spatial and temporal references are viewed as inseparable in my corpus, in that the central constructions, such as the deixis of *here* and *there* and the tropes of movement between the two, rely on both a spatial and temporal relationship. Temporal aspects will be addressed from the perspective of narrative discourses in Chapter 6, where the focus is on the narratives surrounding the process of migration. Finally, beyond the categories presented by Wodak et al, my focus will turn to the important nexus of language use and national identities.

I will begin my analysis in section 5.2 by presenting an outline of the different citizenship status of each of my participants. Research into national identity tends to examine how and where the divide lies between an institutional national belonging linked to citizenship, and an emotional affiliation with the imagined community of the nation. Each person in this study has a different relationship to both Australia and their nation of origin in regard to citizenship and emotional belonging. The choice to take up the new passport or remain a citizen of the place from which one migrated is made on the basis of, among other things, the value and attachment to one's original citizenship, its relative value to Australian citizenship, and to the possibility of dual citizenship. Any separation made between citizenship and emotional belonging to the nation are necessarily artificial. At the same time, because of this interconnectedness, outlining the status of participants' citizenship is relevant to the further examination of issues of belonging. I will address the creation of sameness and difference in building and reifying national identity in the

discursive positioning of my participants in section 5.3, focusing on the aspects of personal and spatial reference (sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2) and language practices (section 5.3.3).

5.2 Citizenship and National Belonging

In part, the differences of national affiliation that have their basis in citizenship and institutional belonging are closely connected to both the varying citizenship status of each participant, as well as the formal relationships between countries, for instance, who may or may not retain their original citizenship when they take up Australian citizenship. These relationships play an important part in the discourses of emotional belonging that participants produce.

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, citizenship and its links to language and codified national values have been an issue of public debate and policy development in Australia in the early 21st century. The Australian government published a discussion paper, *Australian Citizenship: Much more than a ceremony*, in September 2006 calling for submissions in response to the potential introduction of a "formal citizenship test" (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2006). Key issues in the paper included the development of English language skills, where levels of competency are not clearly defined; "integration" (pp. 5,11,12,17, 24 & 25) where there is no modifier to disambiguate political from social integration, and "[c]itizenship as a unifying force of our Australian way of life" (p. 12). A computer-based multiple-choice test for those applying for citizenship was introduced on October 1st, 2007. From its introduction until December 31st, 2007, 9043 people had sat the test, and 638 of these had failed on the first attempt (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2008). The Labour government, elected in November 2007, called for a review of the test, but as of July 2008 had made no suggestion that they plan to repeal the policy.

The introduction of such naturalization tests, both in Australia and elsewhere (Piller, 2001a) have historically been developed and implemented for the purposes of exclusion. For example, in Australia not one person that sat for the official language dictation test between 1910 and 1957 passed, in part because the test was designed to be unpassable (McNamara, 2005, p. 359). Increases in global migration have raised the issue of citizenship and who should be eligible for access to it (Castles & Davidson, 2000), as well as debates about the role and function of multiculturalism and the role immigration plays in perceived threats to social cohesion (Gunew, 1997). The notion of national belonging and its link to citizenship, as evidenced by my participants, is flexible and contextually negotiated. All of them participate in multiple communities in a number of languages and none of these can adequately be evaluated in terms of contribution to the nation, or feelings of belonging to the nation that a values test is in essence attempting to test. Looking at the discourses in my data, at what participants themselves construct as relevant to social belonging, provides a more subtle understanding of the complexities of a contemporary discursive negotiation of national identity.

Table 5.1, below, provides an outline of participants' citizenship statuses, the length of time they had spent in Australia at the time of the first interview in 2003, and examples from the data to exemplify their responses to questions of national affiliation. The details of national affiliation are further expanded section 5.3.

Table 5.1: Citizenship and National Identity Overview

Name	Country of Origin	Citizenship Status	Length of time in Australia at 1st interview	National Identity Overview
Anna	Italy	Italian citizen, Australian permanent resident	8 years	'I feel an expatriate'; 'identifying myself like an Australian, it will never happen.'
Eva	Chile	Australian citizen	18 years	'I mean you kind of didn't belong there @either@ (...) so now you don't belong here @it doesn't matter@'
Jutta	Austria	Australian citizen	33 years	'I'm Australian'; 'my home'; 'my children are here'; 'my country'.
Katja	Poland	Danish citizen, Australian permanent resident	14 years	'we are not Polish not Danish not English'; 'something inbetween'.
Milena	Czech Republic	Czech citizen, Australian permanent resident	9 years	'I don't plan to become Australian.'; 'I feel at HOME anywhere? well I'll just stay there and live there.'
Nicolas	Poland	Danish citizen, Australian permanent resident	14 years	'you're not Polish you're not Danish'; 'internationalist'.
Paulo	Portugal	Australian and Portuguese citizen	10 years	'I'm an Australian citizen'; 'do I feel @Australian@, no you tell me.'
Pia	Italy	Italian citizen, Australian permanent resident	6 years	'a year a ago, I don't know, I started being able to actually move across cultures quite easily.'

Table 5.1 shows that Jutta, who had spent the most time living in Australia, and who had also taken up Australian citizenship, is the only participant to pronounce, as a declarative, her state as an Australian. As for other participants, relationships to national identity lie in the interstices, where national affiliation is "in-between" or defined by supra-national category.

None of the participants produce declarative statements about being of the national identity of their country of origin. It is relevant to note that while participants were asked about their citizenship status and their emotional attachment to Australia, they were not asked directly about their attachment to their country of origin. At the same time, a discussion of feeling a now partial

identification with one's nation of origin were raised by all participants but Pia, who only participated in one individual interview and one focus group. There is a correlation between Jutta's *Australianness* and her length of time living in Australia as a citizen, being the participant who had spent the larger part of her life living in Australia. As for other participants, length of time can only be equated with a constant process of realignment with both nation of origin and Australia.

Other than the relationship of time in Australia to a sense of *Australianness*, participants' relationships to the nation differ in regard to whether they have retained their original citizenship or become Australian citizens. Participants can be divided into three groups, those with Australian citizenship, those with E.U. citizenship, and one participant, Paulo, who had dual citizenship.

5.2.1 E.U. Citizenship

Katja, Nicolas, Milena, Paulo, Anna and Pia all remain citizens of E.U. countries. Of these six, only Paulo, Anna and Pia are eligible for dual citizenship. I will return to Paulo, as he has taken up dual citizenship (section 5.2.3). Anna, Nicolas, and Milena all discuss the desirability of their E.U. passports and the mobility this provides. Each is in a slightly different position in regard to citizenship. Nicolas, Katja and Milena are all unable to hold dual citizenship. It is not possible to hold both Danish and Australian citizenship, and the Czech government only allows dual citizenship when Australian nationality has been acquired through marriage, or as a child born in the country with Czech parents. Milena says of taking up Australian citizenship:

> (...) and I could, you know ask for it and take it out no problem but, then on the other hand you think oh! how's it going to work for me when I go to Europe! [FG1_2:1641]

Holding an E.U. passport provides greater utility than other citizenships because of the access it provides. Nicolas also relates the retention of his Danish citizenship to his employment:

> cause I work for international company? (...) and they can ask me to move to other country (...) I still keep this as a security in case they will ask me to move to Europe. [KN1:1480]

Nicolas adds this functional perspective after Katja has been discussing their Danish citizenship in relation to their status there as political refugees. Her contrasting reasoning for the desire to retain Danish nationality uses a much more emotive frame:

> erm in some way? you- you feel it is not right, ... to give them back the citizenship, erm it will be not polite from our side because they gave us citizenship? [KN1:1464]

Katja stresses the importance of the process of asylum and being granted citizenship by Denmark. The anthropomorphising of the institutional process, with *they* as metonymic for the Danish government, along with the emphasis that gaining Danish citizenship "i- it's just was like a present" [KN1:1475] moves the attention from the utilitarian perspective, to one of civic duty and emotional obligation to the nation of refuge.

Anna had been on the verge of taking up Australian citizenship, saying "I have had the papers for one year" [A1:516], carrying them in her bag even at the first interview. As an Italian citizen who can hold dual citizenship, applying for Australian citizenship superficially offers only gain. On one side, Anna retains the benefits of her Italian nationality. On the other, acquiring Australian citizenship provides, among other things, access to social services and enfranchisement. Anna says explicitly that she would not have even considered the possibility of taking on Australian citizenship if dual citizenship were not an option: "otherwise I would never have thought about it" [A1:539]. Unlike Milena and Nicolas, who have chosen not to take up Australian citizenship because their E.U. membership offers more potential mobility, or Katja's lack of desire to be rude and return a gift, Anna's access to dual citizenship makes an Australian passport desirable. Yet,

at the end of the third interview nine months later, Anna had still not processed her citizenship application. At this point, she had misplaced her Italian passport and needed to get a replacement before submitting her citizenship paperwork.

Pia, like Anna, planned to take up the opportunity of dual Italian-Australian citizenship, saying when asked:

> probably yes, I'll probably, I'm planning to do it in the next few months. [Pi1:936]

She had also not done so by the end of the study.

5.2.2 Australian Citizenship

Eva and her husband became Australian citizens when they migrated in 1985. As Australia does not have an agreement with Chile, they were not able to get dual citizenship. They did not renounce their Chilean citizenship, which makes the process of potentially regaining Chilean citizenship easier, something that Eva has considered:

> oh yeah! because I can- I can fix my- my papers? (...) because erm, there is erm, like everything else erm, I didn't resign my nationality, it just happened that way when you change your nationality we don't have double, (...) but that doesn't mean that I resigned. [FG2_2:32]

At the end of the interview process, while still discussing the possibility of moving back to Chile and getting her papers in order, Eva had not made a definitive decision to return to her country of origin.

Jutta and her husband took up Australian citizenship in 1975, five years after migrating together. They were living in a small town in Queensland and sat the tests for citizenship. An immigration official came to their home and chose passages from the newspaper for them to read in order to prove basic knowledge of English. It was also at this point that they made the decision to change

their last name. Jutta reports that their decision to do this was made on the basis of harassment due to the resemblance of their family name with the name of an insect in English. She tells a story of being laughed at by a woman in a department store, as well as the difficulties her daughter faced from other children at school, as support for the change. When I asked where their new last name had come from, Jutta explained only that her then husband chose it. Australian naturalization marked a point of departure with their country of origin not only in the change in citizenship, but also in their new choice of naming.

5.2.3 Dual Citizenship

Paulo was the only participant eligible for dual citizenship who had gone through the process and is both a Portuguese and Australian citizen. His narrative of Australian naturalization also uses the utilitarian argument:

> well the thing is that I've been a resident and I was very happy to be a permanent resident, .h and then I was studying at university postgraduate and then said, OH if you have been a postgr- erm permanent resident for, more than two years and you have not become a citizen? or you're a New Zealander, you are liable to pay upfront fees, [...] and I said, well ... just become a citizen, it's much easier. [Pa1:553]

Unlike Anna and Pia, who are both in a position to become dual citizens, Paulo provides a personally compelling financial rationale that drove him to become an Australian citizen. Drawing this back to Ong's (1999) notion of flexible citizenship, Paulo's choices have been driven by utility and the best use of transnational positions and resources.

In sum, Paulo, Nicolas, and Milena see their decisions about their citizenship, whether they have chosen to take up Australian citizenship or not, as based on a functional need. Their current citizenship status provides them with what they see as clear and definable benefits. Pia and Anna are able to take up Australian citizenship without altering their status as Italians, and while they

express the desire to do so, neither of them have completed the process. Jutta and Eva are the only two participants to have taken up Australian citizenship and by so doing, have lost their Austrian and Chilean citizenships respectively. While Jutta directly claims national space as an Australian, Eva's talks of Australian citizenship in relation to a desire to return to Chile and reclaim her citizenship, as well as during a discussion of foreignness and othering (for instance see Example 5.11), despite the papers. Katja's discussion draws least on utility in relation to her citizenship. Her desire to remain a Danish citizen is based in a feeling of reciprocal obligation. This is unsurprising due to the special case of herself and Nicolas being accepted into Denmark as political refugees. It is also worth noting that Katja is the only participant that stresses this reciprocity of citizenship, despite no longer living in Denmark and having no intention of returning. It again highlights the complexity of the meaning of citizenship and contribution to a society in this era of transnationalism.

While citizenship is an integral part of an examination of national belonging, it is certainly not easily or one-dimensionally tied to the ways participants construct their sense of a national identity. Milena, for example, sees no clear relationship between becoming an Australian citizen and a direct consequential increase in *feeling* a certain national identity:

Example 5.1

Sheila	do you feel Australian though? I mean, cause you- you're talking about practical [things]
Milena	[yeah.]
Sheila	about travelling and /???/, going to school here, but do you feel Australian to take out a citizenship?
Milena	no. no, already, I'm think- only it'd make me feel only more Australian if I had one, but ... I suppose I could stay in Australia then, because I have a passport to show, but no I don't feel Australian, [M1:702]

In the next section I will begin to address these questions of emotional affiliation with the nation. I will first look at the places in the interviews where participants make explicit reference to the nation, national identity, and entities related to the nation (section 5.3). Following this will be an analysis of personal and spatial reference in the data (sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2), as well as an examination of the link between language use and national identity (section 5.3.3).

5.3 National Positioning: Discourses of Sameness and Difference

In the previous section I presented an overview of how people construct a relationship to the nation on the basis of the citizenship they hold and their desired status. In this section of analysis I will address the following questions:

1. How are personal and spatial relationships to national identity constructed discursively?
2. Where do participants position themselves and others?
3. What are the linguistic resources employed to create these positions?

The central goal of this analysis is to gain an understanding of how positions to the nation are created discursively and what these positions are, where positioning is seen as a part of our meaning making, our understanding of self and other (Davies & Harré, 1990).

In order to answer the above questions I will draw on two of the three categories outlined in Wodak et al (1999, p. 35): Personal reference (including pronoun use and national identity terms), and spatial reference (such as the deictic terms *here* and *there*). Participants use these linguistic resources to manage notions of national identity. In using these references to self, other and national space, there is an opening up of third space (Bhabha, [1994] 2007), a hybridity that offers a way to rethink how we inhabit a national society.

Examining personal reference, including both the use of pronouns and national identity categories, shows how participants construct discourses of sameness and difference surrounding national categories. Participants create alignments, essentialising and homogenizing others on one hand and creating a complexity of self on the other. In making these complex and sometimes contradictory discursive alignments, participants in part reify existing stereotypes of national identity, while also contesting the ways these group identities are applicable to themselves. Pronouns have been a particularly fruitful site of analysis since Brown & Gilman's (1960) seminal work on the interpersonal function of formal and informal pronouns opened up a sociolinguistic interest in the function of pronouns in indexing self and other in interaction (Silverstein, 2003). The way in which pronouns link to national group references, and the ways these group labels stand on their own, also provides an understanding of how participants align themselves in relation to the nation.

Linked to personal reference is the use of spatial reference to align oneself with different national spaces. The deictic references *here* and *there*, similar to pronouns *us* and *them*, create discourses of differentiation (for a discussion of ideologies of differentiation see Gal, 2005) that discursively separate national spaces and become part of the reification of national identities. Alongside these deictic references are tropes of movement that identify spaces in-between these separated national categories. Participants move *across* cultures, inhabit places *in-between* and above the nation as *internationalists*, which both offer agency in moving outside of traditional homogeneous categories of national belonging that offer no adequate room for my participants, while in some part concurrently reifying traditional monocultural and monolingual aspects of national identity.

In the final section of analysis (section 5.3.3), I will address the intersection of L2 use and national identity. In Chapter 4 I addressed the ways participants construct themselves as L2 users of English and what that means for identity and long-term residency. In section 5.3.4 I will draw these chapters together by focusing specifically on where this construct meets terms of national identity through the use of metonymy, for example Australian for L1 English speaker, and the linking of language practices with national belonging.

5.3.1 Personal Reference

We construct national identity discursively through our references to self and other, to the values, behaviours and beliefs that distinguish *us* from *them*. In the case of national discourses in the context of migration, personal reference serves to locate our in-group and out-group memberships, where we belong and with whom. This construction is done through the use of national identity labels, such as *Australian* and *Chilean*, and their collocations, which reify the boundaries of these identities. In creating these boundaries it is also necessary to define where and why one belongs. The context of migration creates a space where the mundane elements of banal nationalism are challenged. Participants contest homogenous national identities through the use of identity labels outside of the nation, and through hybrid/hyphenated reference terms. While the borders of national identities remain in place, these discourses of resistance and differentiation challenge who belongs within these spaces.

The majority of occurrences of *Australian* in the individual interviews are as a social identity label where the term collocates with the following nouns in the data: *people*, *men/man*, *girl*, *boyfriend*, *students*, *citizen*, or appears as a noun or hyphenated noun, for example *Italian-Australian* (for a full list of uses see Appendix E). There is an uneven distribution of usage across participants, and the types of usage vary widely. For Katja, Eva, Jutta, Paulo, Pia, Anna and Milena the most frequent use of *Australian* is as a social category. Nicolas is the only participant who makes use of *Australian* primarily in reference to discussion of language and rarely as an identity referent. Pia, Anna, and Paulo are the only participants to make use of hyphenated, hybrid national identity terms: Italian-Australian and English-Australian. Pia is also the only participant in this part of the study to use the term *Anglo-Australian*. The term did arise in the larger corpus that included the eight Korean participants. Above all though, *Australian*, in the majority of instances, is used to refer to particular groups of people that are attributed particular behaviours and values according to their group membership.

Nationality of origin is also a part of the alignment and realignment of identity in the context of migration. Of all participants, Anna most frequently refers to her nationality of origin. Jutta, on the other hand, only references nation of origin once in her individual interviews and the use is a hyphenated label. Other instances of note that stand out in the data are those that collocate with *Italian*. *Italian-Australian*, as well as *typical* or *typically* Italian, and *third generation Italian* are collocations that occur in the interview with both of the participants who had migrated from Italy, but do not occur as similar collocations with other nationalities of origin for other participants. This may relate to the prominence of the Italian community (for example see Hugo, 2000) in Sydney and the therefore more frequent and historical public discourses of what this community is, how it acts, and whom it comprises (for a discussion of related data, see section 5.3.2.3).

In this section I will first present the ways that participants reify national categories, whilst also opening space for themselves between these essentialised identities. Following on from this, I will provide examples of how this hybrid space is named, what identities are attributed to this space in-between the national (section 5.3.1.2), as well as looking at how this space can also move towards essentialisation (section 5.3.1.3).

5.3.1.1 Drawing the boundaries of us and them

National identity is constructed discursively, in part, through the boundaries that are drawn and reproduced using available linguistic resources. That is, we align and position ourselves not only through the naming of a nationality, but also in the ways we assign and attribute particular, essentialised sets of values to these group identities. This attribution of values and behaviours, in regard to negotiating national identity in the context of migration, is done for both self and other, *Australian* and nation of origin. Pia, for example, reifies stereotypical behaviours she attributes to Italians in her narrative discourse about teaching English to business people in Italy:

Example 5.2

Pia	in general well, the funniest situations were definitely when I taught English .h erm when I used to teach English in erm in Italy?
Emily	uhmhu.
Pia	erm within companies. that you know ma- I mean our- our- our, students were adults and erm ... and this- this- /?/ this is typical Italian is the- the fact, the- the actual, ... habit to mix work and erm ... and erm ... how can I say erm ... to I mean to- to actually joke in- in erm .h in professional settings it's [typically]=
Emily	[oh!]
Pia	=Italian yeah, we never take anything seriously.
Emily	@/???/@@.
Pia	.h so that- that I remember yeah- in general I mean I could, ... yeah /in/ some some jokes that, recurred erm, erm, ... during the lessons and especially because, it made, the fact that

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	I the fact that they knew, that I was Italian and could speak Italian, .h made it very difficult to,
Emily	h.
Pia	to get them to be serious, @so@, [Pi1:517]

Pia, in the role of educator, places herself in the position of resisting "typical Italian" identity, but the in-group status her students assume contests the repositioning. Concurrently, Pia's telling of the narrative itself, as well as the first person plural in "we never take anything seriously" shows an inclusive construction, with Pia placing herself within the boundaries of what defines an Italian identity.

Anna uses the same construction, reifying the existence of "a typical Italian person", for different ends in the following example:

Example 5.3

Emily	yeah, so you think that influences her relationship to the language.
Anna	well she's not a typical Italian person,
Emily	hm.
Anna	she's not she's not a typical Ital- erm she's not a typical person at all.
Emily	@@@.
Anna	no she's very- I always say that there's a- a- a group of off beat people?
Emily	hm.
Anna	and it's good! when you find each other? [@so@,] [A2:1800]

Here Anna is discussing a close friend, who is also Italian, but in part what defines their friendship is that, according to Anna, she does not have normative Italian qualities. While there is no clear definition of what *typical Italian* is, Anna still distances herself from group membership. There is a construction of sameness-in-difference, a similar construction of which is found in Example 5.11 below. In feeling other, one joins the group of like-minded people who are also outsiders.

In an unintentionally humorous way, Milena strongly dissociates herself from the desire of becoming or taking up an Australian identity. In the following example from the first focus group, there is a use of *Australian* that becomes humorous in its double reference to citizenship, as well as to emotional affiliation:

Example 5.4

Anna	is the Czech Republic part, I mean with your passport you got, Czech? and Australian passport?
Milena	no.
Anna	only Australian.
Emily	[so you had to give it up.]
Milena	[only Czech.]
Anna	[only Czech @@.]
Naomi	[@@@@.]
Milena	I'm not an Australian.
Yoo Kang	oh okay.
Milena	and I don't plan to become Australian.
Anna	[@@@@.]
/?/	[@@@@.]
Naomi	[oh.]
Milena	or I don't plan to take on,
Anna	yeah.
Milena	the passport, [/take on as a/ citizenship.]
Anna	[but you had to give away] your cit- erm your,
Milena	because I would have to give away my Czech one yes, automatically, which is not fair! I think.
Anna	no I agree with that. [FG1_1:486]

Milena's utterances that she is not an Australian and will not become one are both in reference to taking up citizenship. These refusals also carry the possible interpretation that in terms of *becoming* an identity, Milena is resistant to becoming an Australian, which causes laughter. The laughter could be seen in response to the absoluteness of these statements, there is for instance no modality to mitigate this lack of desire. While the lack of mitigation can be seen as appropriate for the sense of citizenship, in reference to identity, it appears unnecessarily strong.

These constructions of national identities are also done for national groups beyond the *Australian* and nation of origin. Jutta, for example, discusses her observations of the difference between the

Austrian community, and the differing relationship she holds in comparison to her husband in regard to their respective country of origin communities. In doing so, Jutta creates a projected sameness, of homogeneity, for her husband's Croatian community that contrasts to her view of the Austrian one:

Example 5.5

Emily	amazing! so do you ever get that, like if you go into say the erm, the Austrian club, even I know you don't really go, [very often but,]
Jutta	[not much no.]
Emily	do you ever get that, is it that same sort of community? or is it,
Jutta	uhmhm. I think they stick more together,
Emily	yeah.
Jutta	the Croatians.
Emily	hm.
Jutta	specially erm ... like they're from that island, you know?
Dorothy[3]	oh yeah?
Jutta	they're so proud!
Emily	oh.
Jutta	so proud of it. you know? [like,] [J3:283]

Jutta had recently been to a special religious mass to celebrate the visit of a group of Croatian nuns to Sydney, attended by a large number of people in the Croatian community. Here, held up in contrast to an Austrian community, the Croatian community is bound to its national identity. The Croatian community are homogenized through pronoun usage, *they*, as well as *the Croatians* with the definite article, though mitigated to some degree by the epistemic modality of *I think*.

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[3] In this interview, Jutta's neighbour Dorothy was present. She had accompanied Jutta to the interview. I had recruited Jutta through Dorothy.

Similarly, amid a discussion about experience of Polish use in Denmark, loneliness and language

difficulties, I raised the topic of seeking a language or cultural community upon migration in an

interview with Katja and Nicolas:

Example 5.6

Emily	do you- I can't remember whether you've- you- we talked about this before but erm, have- have you really sought out any Polish communities in Sydney? for that sort of reason? like, [looking]=
Nicolas	[no.]
Emily	=for, no.
Nicolas	hm.
Katja	no erm,
Emily	sort of on that [more intellectual s-]
Nicolas	[we- we were actually] not looking for, for this. we-
Emily	no.
Nicolas	no because, /?/ we came from Denmark so [we-]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Nicolas	=we really, we had some friends? from Polish background? and Danish people in Denmark we-
Katja	uhmhu.
Nicolas	it was not our priority to,
Emily	no.
Nicolas	look for some Polish erm people here.
Emily	hm.
Katja	uhmhu.
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	also, Polish people who moved in erm sixty eight,
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	seventies. nineteen sixty eight and nineteen seventies like Katja and me.
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	are, they are very much different,
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	/?/ different pe- erm person who moved from this time? and Polish people who moved late- ten years later.
Emily	yeah. was that because of the different experience in the country? [or,]
Nicolas	[different] experience in the country also the- the level, the intellectual level,
Emily	[hm.]
Nicolas	[all] the people who run away from Poland ten years later were rather, workers,
Katja	erm not erm not erm more economical [migrants? /or/ just wanted to /?/]=
Nicolas	[erm, more economical migrants.]
Katja	=where we are erm political.
Emily	right.
Katja	erm, so more erm, we- we HAD to g- leave country in some way?
Emily	yeah.
Katja	erm not, erm just something which [we erm wanted. yeah.]
Emily	[not a choice. yeah.]
Katja	yeah. hm. ... erm ... but erm, when we came here to Australia? we were already, fifteen years. out of Poland.

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Emily	[right.]
Katja	[so] you- you- you- after fifteen years you are not hundred percent Polish any[more?]
Emily	[hm.]
Nicolas	yeah.
Emily	yeah.
Katja	it's- it's- people change and- and,
Nicolas	the- the other thing is that the Polish community? erm for example you have a club in Bankstown, and Ash- erm Ashwood [I think.]
Emily	[yeah.]
Katja	hm.
Nicolas	erm it's very, erm religious. [to a /point/. where we]=
Emily	[oh is it! oh okay.]
Nicolas	=are not religious. [KN2:1635]

In the above example, Nicolas and Katja use discourses of difference to describe the hybrid space they inhabit as people who have migrated twice. Their forced migration differentiates them from Polish people who were voluntary, economic migrants. The interstitial space for Katja and Nicolas highlights shared experience of Polish identity that is focused on a shared religion or lack of religiosity, shared class and education, in addition to a shared time of migration. They see little commonality with people who were not refugees, despite shared nation of origin and language. The 15-year space between their departure from Poland and their arrival in Australia has meant social change, a change in the "people", which has removed a desire, whether it existed initially on first migration or not, to search out a Polish community. Similar to Jutta's construction in Example 5.5, there is a perception of *them* as a more homogeneous group than *us*. In the case of Katja and Nicolas, the national group is split along religious, economic, and temporal axes. The positive in-group construction is one of complexity and individualism, versus an out-group of one-dimensional national categories.

To provide some context, my mention of an *intellectual* community in the above example is in reference to Nicolas and Katja's immediately preceding narrative about a Polish director in Denmark who had committed suicide (for the full narrative see Chapter 6, Example 6.22). Katja

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stresses that they found out after his death that he had lived two streets away from them. Her

sense was that if only they had been able to reach out to this man, as fellow Polish intellectuals, it

would have fulfilled each person's desire for contact with intelligent people in their L1.

Continuing on immediately from Example 5.6, I asked the couple whether they desired a Polish

community at least on the basis of shared language. A further discourse of sameness is created

through language use, not on the basis of a national language community, but on the basis of a

shared private, couple language:

Example 5.7

Emily	yeah I guess erm but you don't really have any, desire to- just for language sake? or, because you [speak Polish with each other!]
Katja	[no.]
Nicolas	[no. we speak Polish] and we speak all the time.
Emily	hm.
Katja	hm.
Nicolas	we will not be very happy if @somebody spoke Polish to us@ @@.
Emily	@.
Nicolas	stopping us talking to each @other@. [KN2:1714]

Polish language is not an indicator of Polish belonging as much as it is a signifier of the intimacy

of their relationship. Interestingly, after the interview process, Katja began publishing on the

Internet some poetry she had been writing in Polish. Through her poetry, she gained contacts in

the Polish community in Sydney and has widened the community in which she interacts in

Polish. In this case, it further supports the hybrid space that Katja and Nicolas both inhabit and

desire, as well as the flexibility of these positionings. It is not merely a language community or a

national community, but one of Polish-speaking artists living in Australia that gets closer to a

useful context in which to perform these multiple identities.

Paulo distances himself from an Australian identity by setting himself and the values he believes to be important in opposition to essentialised notions of belonging to the nation. He draws on stereotypes to place himself outside of *Australian*. Paulo, as discussed in section 5.2.3, is the only participant to hold dual citizenship. While he does make the stative pronouncement "I'm an Australian citizen" [P1:549] it is clear that for him there is no simple correlation between a feeling of belonging to an Australian national identity and holding an Australian passport. In this first interview Paulo, who first answers the question of whether he feels Australian with "do I feel @Australian@, no you tell me" [Pa1:578], followed by "@do I feel Australian@, .h erm ... ... hm no. not particularly" [Pa1:580], continues this existing construction of himself as not only distanced from an Australian national identity in affiliation, but also above this identity on the basis of what he perceives this reified category to signify.

Not only does Paulo say that he does not *feel* Australian, he furthers this discursive distancing by pulling apart the notion of an Australian national identity that exists beyond common stereotypes. On being asked whether he feels Australian, he responds:

Example 5.8

Paulo   no not particularly. especially because there's no, ... Australian as such I mean, there are some travesties and some exaggerated kind of, you know like the crocodile man and stuff like that, [Pa1:574]

What may appear initially contradictory is that Paulo does in fact use the category of *Australian* to point to specific values and shared group behaviours at other points across the data (see Example 5.10 below for example). In Example 5.8 he claims that such a category does not exist. In essentialising *Australian* as a category, both on the basis of a lack of identifiable 'real' national attributes, as well as at other points in the interviews, monolingual English use (Example 5.35) and language comprehension (Example 5.36), Paulo aligns himself outside of these language

practices and cultural attitudes. Paulo also places himself outside of a default Portuguese identity leaving himself in the liminal spaces where he can align himself closer to or further from these separated national identities or in the supranational, joking category of "earthling" below:

Example 5.9

Paulo	[no] no and people ask me erm erm so are you- whe- whe- where are you from, blah blah blah and I say oh! Lisbon. and some know, some don't and, the ones that know say oh! Portuguese. and some people say where is that and I say Portugal oh! you're Portuguese. and I'm going, ah yeah I guess!
Emily	[yeah.]
Paulo	[does] that make me Portuguese?
Emily	hm. I still like the erm, [the /?/]=
Paulo	[you know,]
Emily	=answering like where are you from with,
Paulo	yeah it's like where were you born,
Emily	yeah.
Paulo	I was born in Lisbon. but that, ... doesn't automatically make me Portuguese.
Emily	hm.
Paulo	you know it's just, .h yeah! I guess I- I have Portuguese passport I must be Portuguese! but I have an Australian pass- passport as well so,
Emily	yeah. [it's quite nice that]=
Paulo	[it- it doesn't,]
Emily	=that you get to keep both?
Paulo	yeah but it doesn't make sense to me? the,
Emily	hm.
Paulo	really doesn't the- there's no,
Emily	yeah.
Paulo	there's no association with either Australia or Portugal in terms of, feeling a national, it's useful for terms of you know international relations and having a passport, but [otherwise,]
Emily	[hm.] and working wherever you [want and,]
Paulo	[hm. I'm an] earthling! [@ greetings earthling.] [Pa3:1137]

There is a distancing from the naturalised understanding of what it means to belong to a national identity. Paulo contests the idea that because you are born somewhere, you necessarily feel within that national identity. This contestation also appears from Milena (Example 5.13) in the focus group context and from Eva (Example 5.21) and Anna (Example 5.22). He also resists the positioning that occurs due to citizenship and places himself outside of national affiliation. His recourse is to a supra-national, global category, though in Paulo's case, the choice of *earthling*

over other tokens in the data such as *internationalist* or *expatriate*, stresses his feeling of the

irrelevance of these alignments.

Further national identity reification occurs in Paulo's discourses at the intersection of national

identity and gendered behaviour. Prior to Example 5.10 below, Paulo had been speaking about

his partner's family, saying that he finds himself speaking more often with the women in the

family than the men. This leads to a discussion of differences between men and women along

national and gendered axes:

Example 5.10

Paulo	but then- then again it's the Australian men we're talking about.
Emily	yeah.
Paulo	erm,
Emily	do you think that is it? though? like do you think, that it has to [do with the stereotypes]=
Paulo	[oh Australian men are,]
Emily	=of Australian men? or the,
Paulo	so far I've met very few Australian men that are actually able not! to- to speak about their feelings because they try? but to articulate, and to be,
Emily	hm.
Paulo	articulate in- in expressing their feelings.
Emily	huh.
Paulo	it's just, chaos.
Emily	@@@.
Paulo	it's a mess.
Emily	.hh oh poor Australian men.
Paulo	but mo- but most men would be like that.
Emily	hm.
Paulo	I- I don't think it's particularly Australian.
Emily	no.
Paulo	I mean the English are the same as you know?
Emily	[hm.]
Paulo	[and] you know, Portuguese men would probably, ... speak a bit more? ... then, Spanish men won't.
Emily	hm.
Paulo	and Basque men will.
Emily	yeah?
Paulo	and the funny thing is because they're, they are a matriarchal society! they're [not,]
Emily	[hm.]
Paulo	patriarchal at all!
Emily	right. [and you think that that social hierarchy,]
Paulo	[traditionally it's, you know the creator is a] goddess and- and- that- that [all]=
Emily	[uhmhu.]
Paulo	=that kind of, [Pa2:1243]

Australian men, as well as other nationalised men, are homogenised through pronoun reference, *they* and *their*. There is also a hierarchy of communicative ability and gender, which in Paulo's discourse is topped by Basque men. The essentialisation in this utterance serves the purpose of supporting the discourse of difference between himself and national categories of men who are unable to articulate their feelings. He aligns himself with Basque men at the positive end of the communicative hierarchy, matching the communication ability of these men with those he describes himself as holding. The ability to talk about emotions is feminised further through Basque mythology. The above example contributes further to the exclusion of himself from the category of Australian national identity on the basis, in this case, of differences in gender norms. What differentiates him from an imagined Australian belonging is his use of feminine language practices.

A further homogenising discourse in the data is that of a sameness-in-difference through the use of a generalising, synecdochal *we*. Eva, for example, uses a generalising we to create a similar sense of difference felt by all migrants:

Example 5.11

Emily	today do you feel like, more do you feel Australian? being here? do you have citizenship? or,
Eva	yeah.
Emily	yeah.
Eva	erm ... well, in a way but [not]=
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	=really.
Emily	yeah.
Eva	I mean it's a it's like, tha- that's a bit of a problem, I think it's a, it's-, you don't notice it until you go, out of Australia again.
Emily	hm.
Eva	because here? we are the foreigners, no matter what the papers say. I mean you are foreigner and and you feel it most of the time. okay?
Emily	yeah.
Eva	so u- unfortunately? i- in silly things people make you feel it.
Emily	[yeah.]

Eva   [I] don't have problem at work and not in any of the works I've been, but, little things that you think oh, yeah and why why is it so? I suppose just because you are not born here! [E1:1181]

Eva's hedged response explains further her understanding of the notion of "feeling" Australian in contrast to holding Australian citizenship. *Australianness* is relational: It is not only a matter of how one feels towards Australia, but also in the case of Eva, how this differs from a sense of belonging in Chile. Earlier in this interview, Eva had discussed the year she had recently spent in Chile, studying and living with her parents. Although she does not further explicate what she means by the statement "you don't notice it until you go, out of Australia again", it appears as an intertextual reference to her experiences of return.

The use of *we* in "we are the foreigners", as Wodak et al (1999) name it, is a form of "linguistic annexation" (p. 47). Eva is speaking for herself and for a wider range of others. The pronoun is "addressee-exclusive", but the scope of the inclusive group is more difficult to decipher. It potentially includes all L2 user migrants that find themselves in a similar position of discrimination in this narrative discourse, or possibly the smaller range of only Eva and her husband. Looking at this usage in the wider context of the utterance and to the final *you* in "you are not born here", the pronoun deixis can be attributed to having a close semantic equivalent of "migrants". The sameness-in-difference in this utterance is the levelling of migrant experience to the same plane. The lexical choice of "foreigner" supports further this outsider position. It is also relevant to note that *papers* or citizenship is particularly referenced as irrelevant in regard to identification, of self or by others, with the nation and a sense of national belonging.

The context of Example 5.11 is a discussion of discrimination Eva has faced on the basis of being an L2 user of English. In trying to find practicum placement for her TESOL certificate course,

she found it exceedingly difficult to find a school that would give her a position (see also Chapter 4, section 4.4 for a discussion of accent and L2 use), despite all the other students finding placements. After the utterance in Example 5.11, I asked Eva whether she felt that these diminutive "little" or "silly" things, which are clearly quite significant, were related to language. Eva continued to frame her feeling of outsiderness in terms of access, "professional career", while the discrimination has been on the basis of language, it is the consequence of this exclusion that makes Eva feel outside of the society. Reduced access, on the basis of being an L2 speaker teacher, buttresses feelings of being a foreigner in the Australian societal context.

The example from Milena below sums up well the complex intersection of the personal, as well as spacio-temporal dimensions of aligning oneself to a single national identity:

Example 5.12

Milena   what am I? … and I don't know I suppose … thinking of my childhood memory an-, you know the nice and easy life that everyone thinks back, yeah I wish I was a kid again, I don't know erm I feel Czech I suppose and all all the things I am used to there … and I don't know really. [M1:718]

Milena locates an answer to the difficult question of identity, an uncomplicated relationship to national identity, as being in the past, in her childhood. The assumption is that the only way to have a straightforward affiliation is in the naivety of youth. Ultimately, there is no possibility of closing the third space that has opened in the process of migration.

5.3.1.2 Creating hybridity

In producing discourses that draw lines between traditional categories of what it is to be a particular nationality, participants also find themselves in the spaces in-between. The discursive

construction of these spaces includes lexical items above and between the national scope, as well as modifiers that signify partial, shifting and contextual belonging.

Hybridity is performed in the data both through the construction and opening up of what one is, and in defining what one is not. This hybridity also occurs in finding difference *intra*-personally, within oneself. In describing conflicting affiliations and the multiple, potentially incompatible, practices that are part of our repertoires, one response is a discursive splitting of self into entities that belong in varying degrees to these existent national categories. For example, Anna talks of "my Australian part" [A3:1582] being responsible for having decided to bake a heart shaped cake at a party in Italy with her family that was "half heart with the Italian flag and half heart with an Australian flag?" [A3:1568]. On this same occasion she also gave a speech "in the good Australian tradition" [A3:1578]. These practices become part of an enacting of an *Australian* identity, in this case in the Italian context. This fits well with a discursive banal nationalism (Billig, 1995), not merely in the symbolism of the flag, but in the attributing of behaviour to a nation. These practices contribute to a becoming, a moving towards and between constructed national identities. This notion of spatial metaphors of belonging will be explored more fully in the following analysis section (5.3.2).

Transnational identity labels are another discursive construction of hybridity. Milena, in Example 5.13, discusses both the change in affiliation and the shift towards global belonging that she had come to in the time between her first interview as part of the pilot study in 2000 and her second interview in 2004:

Example 5.13

```
Milena        when Ingrid mentioned if, ... sorry Sheila asked if I feel Australian,
Emily         uhmhu.
```

Milena	and then I went on this, spiel about ... how ... Australian I felt and I didn't feel @Australian@ [and]=
Emily	[hm.]
Milena	=I wasn't quite sure? and I didn't know? I think at that time we did a class with Ingrid, about erm, @ @identity@.
Emily	uhmhu.
Milena	and it was all playing in my mind, and I thought oh no! it- I'm lost in the world, I don't know where I belong.
Emily	@@.
Milena	it was really funny.
Emily	hm.
Milena	two years make a big difference. now I completely don't feel Australian and I don't feel Czech anymore either.
Emily	really.
Milena	so I call myself an International@ist@.
Emily	yeah. I like that? @@.
Milena	I can be at home anywhere! I want to.
Emily	yeah.
Milena	and that's probably why I want to, go and [live somewhere else]=
Emily	[try somewhere else.]
Milena	=as well?
Emily	yeah.
Milena	completely different language? why not! [M2:920]

Milena uses supra-national affiliation to categorise her sense of belonging beyond the boundaries of a national identity. Part of this identity is this quality of internationalism, of mobility, the capacity to move any place in the world. Important here too is the notion of a moveable home, which I will address in more detail later in this chapter (see section 5.3.2.2).

This notion of mobility and affiliation beyond the national is also expressed in other, albeit similar, terms by Anna:

Example 5.14

Anna	I feel an expatriate. I got this great .h greatest privilege, of being able to move around and erm, once erm my job the job that I have of my life that I got in my mind is finished? well, I'll see I'll see. but I di- I don't feel the urge to go back to Italy, [A1:1054]

The sense and desire for global life is also present here. Affiliation with Italy and Australia exist, but are not binding in the scope of possible homes. Both *internationalist* and *expatriate* are words

that come loaded with particular histories, in part tied to colonialist discourses and embodying a particular privilege of movement that is in fact tied to one's national position. Anna and Milena, both with E.U. passports, have the ability to inhabit these transnational spaces in ways to which not everyone has access. Anna acknowledges this privileged position. Nevertheless, mobility beyond even merely two nations becomes primarily desirable.

Katja and Nicolas also draw on discourses of mobility beyond the nation in responding to questions of national affiliation:

Example 5.15

Emily	=or do you speak Polish with other [people?]=
Katja	[no.]
Emily	=apart from at home?
Nicolas	oh when we meet s- someone on the street erm, yes we do but, /?/ yeah not that often.
Katja	after so many years, we left Poland,
Emily	yeah.
Katja	thirty years ago. we- we,
Nicolas	the people [/?/ there's not po- you're not Polish you're not Danish.]
Katja	[we are not Polish anymore? we are not Polish not Danish] not English you are just [something,]
Nicolas	[just] internationalist.
Emily	yeah.
Katja	ju- something inbetween @@.
Emily	yeah. do you ever feel Australian?
Katja	[I-]
Nicolas	[erm] we feel [that we]=
Katja	[I think-]
Nicolas	=are home?
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	and- which is a very fantastic good feeling?
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	we feel that we are very far away? which is sometimes very good feeling too?
Katja	/?/
Nicolas	erm but, ... but /?/ about one percent? hm ... yeah
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	I mean it's my personal opinion [I feel much /better/,]
Katja	[but I yeah,] I- I feel more home here than in Denmark. [KN1:1187]

Paralleling Milena's utterance in Example 5.12, Katja and Nicolas both define their space beyond the nation as an extension of not feeling a strong sense of belonging, of in-group status, in the

imagined communities of the nations they have inhabited. Important here is the different frames that Katja and Nicolas use. Katja's category is interstitial, Nicolas's is supra-national. Both also draw on discourses of home, another way in which belonging is defined away from a national categorisation.

Hybridity also appears in quantification metaphors in the data where participants use metaphors of wholeness to explain the sense of feeling some degree of affiliation with an Australian identity, and some with a country of origin identity. For instance Katja in Example 5.6, Nicolas in Example 5.15 above and Eva in Example 5.20 and 5.21, and Example 4.5, Chapter 4, all refer to the split identities with some percentage of themselves being attributed to an Australian or nation of origin identity, with the remainder sometimes named and sometimes not. These hybrid identities are defined in relation to existent national categories, while also functioning to open up alternate ways of viewing transnationality.

5.3.1.3 Essentialising hybridity

Similar to the use of terms such as *expatriate* and *internationalist*, categories beyond the nation come with particular histories of usage. In some cases, hybrid categories have become stable enough to carry with them extensive and rigid stereotypes. The stabilization of these identities changes the functioning of hybrid spaces, in that what may have originated as a contestation of traditional national categories due to migration and contact begins to solidify in new types of essentialisation. This appears particularly in the data in relation to the Italian or Italian-Australian community in Sydney. Anna, for example, mentions watching a popular comedy television show, *Pizza*, that plays on stereotypes of Lebanese-Australians and links this back to her attitudes towards Italian-Australians:

Example 5.16

Anna	but the- the funny thing is the people, @ @in@ Australia, exist. and they're exactly like them! you know just there are, there's- the- the second generation erm, third generation Italian that are, with the erm gold necklaces and so on. .h but they're so proud to BE you know before it was just erm,
Emily	hm.
Anna	but just they're so proud to be, .h even too much! because [erm, no no]=
Emily	[@@@.]
Ingrid	[@@@.]
Anna	=there is a generation the- the third generation for instance Italian, they're really arrogant.
Emily	hm.
Anna	REALLY arrogant. for me I'm not really /?/ arrogant?
Emily	[hm.]
Anna	[spoilt] brat, in the end. that's what it is, affluent erm you know,
Emily	yeah.
Anna	and so on just- but they- they're like that! you know I'm- I'm here, I'm Italian. I'm erm, you know look at me. [A3:1216]

The *us* versus *them* in this example becomes a first generation Italian migrant versus second and third generation Italians in Australian. The out-group is stereotyped and homogenised through comparison to the comedy show that purports to be challenging these stereotypes through humour. The liminal space that may have initially been a space of contestation in relation to traditional notions of *Australian*, loses its power in the stability and reification of these stereotypes.

Pia also clarifies hybrid terms in her discussion of working with the Italian community in Sydney:

Example 5.17

Pia	=@@ .h, so there's this committee, this board on which erm ... I am and erm it's mainly it's made up of Italians, or Italian-Australians, Italians that were born here, [Pi1:1584]

Pia narrows the hyphenated Italian-Australian to the category of those who were born in Australia, but are Italians, presumably on the basis of their family heritage.

In referring to themselves and others according to national categories, participants both create positions for themselves, as well as defining qualities and behaviours of *us* and *them*, who belongs and where one fits in the scheme of national identification. Personal reference works in conjunction with spatial reference in building relationships to nation.

5.3.1.4 Summary

Personal reference is one layer of the discursive construction of national identity. Linking national identity terms to reified, stereotypical behaviours, participants draw discursive borders between these identities, essentialising what belongs within and outside of them. On occasion participants place themselves within these reified categories, including themselves in the *we* group, for example Pia in Example 5.2. Most commonly, these categories of typical national behaviour are part of a discourse of differentiation, an *us* and *them* separation, that creates a homogenous national other group. The lines that create this separation are drawn both around the categories of *Australian* and around nation of origin, as well as between assumed national in-groups. For example, for Nicolas and Katja (Example 5.6), time of migration, class and religion become more salient than a belonging defined by Polishness. Participants negotiate the interstitial identities by drawing on supra-national categories, such as *internationalist* and *expatriate*, or even *earthling*.

Participants also use metaphors of wholeness in carving out this hybrid space, quantifying fractions of self that belong to one national identity or the other. In the case of long standing hybrid communities, such as the *Italian-Australian* hyphenation, these identities that once contested the stereotypes of Australian national identity have also become essentialised.

The second of the two referential categories addressed in this chapter is that of spatial reference. I will now examine the ways participants align themselves in relation to national space, how these spaces are created and how movement is an essential part of constructing national identity in the context of migration.

5.3.2 Spatial Reference and the Nation

Spatial metaphors and deixis are another layer of the construction of national identity. Participants separate national identities and thereby create interstices in which they live and move discursively. In this section of analysis I will first look at how national categories are separated by looking at alignments to *here* and *there* in the data. I will then look at how these boundaries, and the spaces in between, are reinforced through tropes of movement.

5.3.2.1 Here versus there

Discourses of differentiation between *here* and *there* are primarily created in the process of discussing a lack of alignment or affiliation with a national identity. Very frequently in my corpus, participants in fact reify *here* and *there* not only in discussing a physical separation of the nations and the differences between them, but also in differentiating themselves from both ends of the spectrum, from either country of origin or country of migration and the assumed identities they construct in their discourse.

Katja produces discourses of difference using spatial deixis, in this case, using her two countries of migration as comparison:

Example 5.18

Emily   hm.

Katja	and erm, I don't know if you are, is it because I'm more relaxed? here with people? or erm, people are more erm tolerant? erm probably more tolerant.
Emily	yeah?
Katja	/?/ hm /people/ more erm, ... some feeling of acceptance. erm /?/.
Emily	hm.
Katja	and, actually it's quite /?/ if you don't understand me? erm, e- even I don't know how much /cost/ them to understand me but @@@.
Emily	must be /tea/ time I think.
Katja	yeah but they- they erm know what I'm talking about? and they, ...
Emily	yeah.
Katja	it's quite, very very seldom that they ask me erm to repeat.
Emily	yeah hm.
Katja	but in Denmark all the time, all the time they ask me to repeat erm question or erm, or they answer? erm di- erm different question! so I realise after ten minutes that they are talking about something else [and]=
Emily	[@@.]
Katja	=that they don't erm really understand.
Emily	yeah.
Katja	what I'm saying. hm I /feel/ really, hm sad. hm. [KN1:1222]

The spatial deixis in the above example functions through personal reference in that it is the distance in behaviour between people *here* and people *there*, in this case Denmark, which creates the discourses of differentiation. *Here* is characterised by understanding and tolerance, *there* you are made to feel different in everyday conversation. Importantly, these varying levels of inclusion and exclusion are defined by the language practices of the people from the two nations. The link made between language use and nation will be explored in more detail in section 5.3.3.

The separation of *here* and *there* can also been seen in Example 5.19 below from Anna. There is a shift of focus to *here* from *there*. An emotional separation from *there*, in this case Italy, is supported by a disconnection from *Italian people*:

Example 5.19

Anna	.h but a funny thing yes- actually, yes something funny thing that happened this year is that, at the moment? I've got thirty-eight emails on my computer? which I haven't replied yet.
Emily	hm.
Anna	and lots of them are from Italian people? and erm I don't really feel like doing that?
Emily	yeah.

Anna	I don't know why?
Emily	it's just time to, ... s- think more about here than there or something. hm.
Anna	yes.
Emily	yeah.
Anna	you see I did not have that li- longing.
Emily	hm.
Anna	which I usually have when I come back? you know and after a while I burst in to tears and just release all .h I have inside, actually but I did burst into tears one day? but it was very cathartic? [A2:1493]

The spatial deixis is not only about tracing the lines of an existent geographical separation of these two nations. The relationship of these spaces created through people, also creates a spatial alignment of self, a discursive construction of spatial belonging. It is important to note the difficulty of these negotiations, the emotional and psychological strain that relating to difference and distance places on an understanding of where one belongs. While the physical distance may be intractable, managing how one relates to national space and societal belonging is flexible, situational and discursive.

Most interesting is not only a separation of *here* and *there* through spatial deixis, but also the frequency with which participants place themselves in an in-between space in relation to both national spaces, while still occupying one or the other. For instance, this can be seen in personal reference (see 5.3.1.2 on hybridity), as well as in how this in-between is framed in terms of space. Eva, in Example 5.20 below, shows one instance of how this interstitial gap is realised discursively and how participants align themselves.

Spatial deixis is salient in Eva's discourses of nation belonging as she is discussing her experiences of discrimination in Australia. She uses these experiences of *here* and *there* and the movement between to reinforce the separation, both physically and psychologically between the nations and the gap that has opened between them post-migration:

Example 5.20

Eva	(...) but it sometime it gets, so it's hard to to feel yeah I don't think you feel, you never feel hundred percent, belonging here.
Emily	yeah.
Eva	see and when I go to my country I don't belong there either. and maybe- and then when I go there I understand why I move here. [E1:1376]

There is a strong contrast in the possessive *my country* and *don't belong there either*. The claim to membership in the imagined Chilean national society is countered by a sense that a prior wholeness no longer exists, expressed through the quantification of belonging in the above example. This belonging becomes spatially relational, being *there* makes sense of *here* and vice versa, but neither location feels whole in itself. There is a space that Eva now occupies that is neither *here* nor *there*, but is bordered by both. Following the above example (see Example 4.5, Chapter 4), Eva contextualises her sense of being outside of an Australian belonging, despite being a citizen, as being caused by being an adult at the point of migration.

Eva also relates national belonging to a lack of desire for involvement in the cultural clubs to which her Chilean friends like to go. In Example 5.21, she draws on similar tropes of belonging as in Example 5.20, in this case specifying the national identity term, *Chilean*, as the spatial reference rather than *there* in conjunction with the quantification metaphor:

Example 5.21

Eva	so here we've got some more friends so ... ... and these friends are funny because they ... they they like to ... ... to ... ... erm ... ... yeah they are more like they like they belong to the clubs and all that thing but we don't. we go with them sometimes so, they don't get offended.
Emily	@@@@
Eva	yeah. oh because sometimes some people take it very seriously,
Emily	yeah
Eva	and we don't I mean, we we just erm we were never that kind of erm, /ah what is it that my ??/ maybe what it- made it easier for us to adapt is that we were not hundred percent Chilean when we were in Chile.
(...)	

Eva	you know you how you get that feeling? I mean you kind of didn't belong there @either@ @@
Emily	@yeah@
Eva	so now you don't belong here @it doesn't matter@ @
Emily	@ @@
Eva	yeah! it kind of feels weird.
Emily	hm.
Eva	but some people are very attached to their roots [a-]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	=and to everything that is traditional but I never liked that bit.
Emily	yeah?
Eva	I mean that piece of thing, it didn't appeal to me. so for me I didn't lose that,
Emily	yeah=
Eva	=cause I didn't have it in the first place. so for some people it is important they are very attached to their roots, but MINE? what'd I lose? [@@@@]
Emily	[@@@]
Eva	so in that sense I suppose it it- it- it becomes easier!
Emily	yeah.
Eva	than when you are very very strongly attached to your native country [(..) [E1:1882]

Eva produces a unifying discourse of *here* and *there* by putting them in opposition to her belonging. She diminishes the importance of these clubs in the exclusion of herself from the group of people who take these community clubs seriously, attending them only in order not to offend her friends. Most important in the above example is the contestation of the naturalised discourse that one *belongs* automatically to the nation in which they were born (see also Example 5.9 for another example this contestation from Paulo, as well as the excerpt from Anna in Chapter 1), and instead naturalises a sense of inherent difference. The construction of not belonging strongly *here* or *there* both reifies the existence and separation of these spatial categories, and in part functions to negate a sense of loss. In Example 5.21 above, Eva creates a space where a common trope of migration, that of the loss of something (whether culture, language or identity), no longer holds relevance. There is both agency in the lack of appeal and dislike of tradition, alongside the innateness of never quite fitting in.

Anna also uses this naturalisation of a distance from nation of origin:

Example 5.22

Anna	and erm, it's not only that, I really, I really feel different in a way,
Emily	hm.
Anna	sometimes, but I think it's /?/ in Italy as well. [A1:554]
(...)	
Emily	hm. y- you said when you go back you don't, y- you feel Italian? [/??/]
Anna	[.h no] it's not it's not
	really when I go back, it's always been like that, I've always been a little bit different.
Emily	hm.
Anna	and that's a feeling, but that's something I think you're born with? [A1:640]

In the above example, I use the spatial deixis to contextualise the discourse of difference, whereas

Anna turns to the naturalisation of national differentiation. There is an ahistoricisation in the use

of *always* as resistance to the spatial reference *go back*.

In the focus group on national identity, Katja again links spatial belonging to language practices,

with Jutta in agreement:

Example 5.23

Katja	big difference yeah. yeah. and if I should say? where I belong I think, my heart is in Australia. [definitely.]
Emily	[hm.]
Katja	I would never think about to come back or, even for three months, ... erm ... I like erm, ... people here? I like the way of living I, erm ... I like this people are very tolerant and accepting,
Emily	hm.
Katja	others and different people and erm, erm definitely I think I belong here? but my language erm of course is the [best]=
Emily	[hm.]
Katja	=is Polish. yeah I was twenty seven when I left? ... and [erm,]
Jutta	[it's,]
Emily	yeah.
Jutta	that's a barrier, [the]=
Katja	[yeah.]
Jutta	=language it is. [FG2_1:154]

The ownership is of *my* heart and *my* language. The epistemic modality of *I think* diminishes the

claim to belonging *here*. Interestingly too, this claim of belonging *here* is followed by a

contrasting coordinate clause. There is an implication that, while Katja belongs *here*, her

language does not. Jutta, in completing this example, reinforces this contrast using the spatial metaphor of a border or *barrier* to communication, but also intimating a connection to an increasing difficulty in belonging.

The negotiation of this interstitial space between *here* and *there* is frequently done through the use of tropes of movement. I will now examine these spatial tropes, after which I will look at the construct of *home* in the scheme of this spatial reference to the nation.

5.3.2.2 Tropes of movement and stasis

Part of the discursive construction of nation identity is the drawing of national boundaries that one necessarily negotiates relationships towards, away from, and inside of. In examining discourses of belonging and exclusion, a number of questions arise about the linguistic resources that are used in erecting these boundaries. Where do the boundaries lie? How porous are they? Who can and cannot move over and beyond them? Tropes of movement are particularly prevalent in the construction of national identity in the context of migration. As Gal (2005) discusses in her cross-comparison of public/private metaphors in the United States and Eastern Europe, in examining ideologies it is important to look at how concepts are anchored to each other. In the case of my data, using spatial metaphors in constructing national identity allows the speaker to draw on the notion that two physical entities cannot inhabit the same space at the same time. This spatialization then allows participants to locate themselves in the gap they create between these two (or more) mutually exclusive national identities as examined in the previous section. It also becomes relevant to examine in which direction the movement is constructed as occurring and who is responsible for the motion.

Pia employs tropes of movement in her discourses of national identity both in relation to self-construction, as well as to the construction of the identities of those around her. In the example below Pia discusses her current partner who she sees as being in a more hybrid position than she is:

Example 5.24

Pia	[we] speak, Italian.
Emily	was he born here? or,
Pia	he- he was born here, [yeah.]
Emily	[yeah.] so his parent- his parents are Italian.
Pia	his father is Italian, his mum is Australian.
Emily	oh! okay.
Pia	but he's been ... @@@ .h erm his model has always been, it's quite a- a- unusual but, has always been his father.
Emily	oh okay.
Pia	so he's erm, @@@ .h yeah I'd say he's, yeah he's ... naturally inclined towards @@ .h erm being an Italian, [although]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Pia	=he would deny it.
Emily	[really?]
Pia	[he would] deny- yeah he @would@ h. .h h.
Emily	why would he deny it? do you think.
Pia	@@@ @I don't know@ .h [because]=
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	=I think he's conscious of the, so big difference between- between cultures.
Emily	right.
Pia	and he's really, he's ... @@@ .h actually it- it would be a perfect case study for you,
Emily	oh [yeah? @ @@@.]
Pia	[/?/ he's really interesting,] erm ... he's, yeah he's been erm, he's he's ... he's grown up, between these two cultures.
Emily	hm.
Pia	it's really interesting like he's he he knows both cultures so deeply,
Emily	yeah.
Pia	and, but he still I don't know, he's still inclined @@ @towards the Italian@ @ .h so but he thinks, I mean he- he- I probably he- he refuses some of the Italian, Italians idiosyncrasies,
Emily	uhmhu.
Pia	so, I think it's a convenient thing for him to say no no I'm Australian,
Emily	right.
Pia	but in, I'd say altogether I found, I find him s- him more Italian than me.
Emily	really? [@@.]
Pia	[and] it is quite, I mean yeah quite interesting.
Emily	oh. do you [/or/ does he, or,]
Pia	[in the way he] thinks.
Emily	really?
Pia	yeah.
Emily	ah.
Pia	@. [Pi1:805]

In the above example, the Italian and Australian cultures are separated in Pia's discussion of the relationship her partner is navigating, he is "between these two cultures" [Pi1:834] and "knows both cultures so deeply" [Pi1:837], or most explicitly "I think he's conscious of the, so big difference between- between cultures" [Pi1:826]. Pia uses spatial metaphors to place her partner in this gap between cultures, and in particular, in motion towards the Italian side. He is "naturally inclined towards" [Pi1:805] an Italian identity. This trope of movement is also apparent along the axes of high and low, more and less, where Pia claims more *Italianness* for her partner than for herself, which contradicts her reporting that his self-identification is as *Australian*.

These boundaries are reinforced in a further example appearing later in Pia's interview. When I ask her about *feeling* Australian, she qualifies her initial "no" using tropes of movement:

Example 5.25

Emily	do you feel like you're an Australian? like do you,
Pia	no.
Emily	no. not at all?
Pia	erm ... no. @.
Emily	@@.
Pia	.h no- I can erm well I- I started relating to, the culture, a bit more in the last ... ... probably year and a half, [year]=
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	=year and a half- year year year and a half two, less than two actually, year and a half I'd say, erm yes but erm, ... no I wouldn't say.
Emily	hm.
Pia	hm.
Emily	in what- what ways do you, or- have you started to relate?
Pia	erm, ... well ... relationships wise, I think relationship wise I mean know, ... l- I've been relating to the fact that Australia is a multicultural society, and erm ... ... and at the- erm yeah a year and a half, a year ago I would say, yes, a year a ago, I don't know, I started being able to actually move across cultures quite [easily.]
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	I co- erm when I say across cultures I mean the Anglo, Anglo Australian Anglo Saxon culture and the Italian culture and I- mer- marginally also other cultures?
Emily	hm.
Pia	so it's been ... yeah quite easy for me to actually move across cultures while before, I was ... erm I think I, I was pretty much confined to the Italian community, or the ... erm other communities.
Emily	hm.

Pia	erm yes. although work wise I mean I always had to, erm I always had contacts with, the Australian erm Anglo Australian,
Emily	hm.
Pia	erm let's say community. [Pi1:973]

As in the prior example, Pia is constructing both an Australian, or specifically Anglo-Australian, identity and an Italian one. In the above example Pia confirms the boundaries between these national cultural categories by her metaphorical movement across the space between the two. Her *no* in response to questions of Australian national affiliation and following explication creates a discursive vector where the directionality points from the Italian construct towards the Anglo-Australian one.

There is also vectorial movement in metaphors of *integration*. Pia uses this trope of movement in discussing her ex-husband. He was born in Lebanon to a Lebanese father and Mexican mother. The family moved to Mexico when he was very young, and he migrated to Australia around age 22. In the focus group discussion on language and gender, which Pia attended with Kara (a participant in the Korean group of the study) and Eva, Pia talks of ingrained values framed by a homogenous national culture. The women had been discussing their partners and the difficulties they find in the rigidity of traditional male roles that they see their partners enacting. Kara asks "When do they grow up?" playing off an earlier discussion about having to care for their husbands like they were children. In response, Pia discusses her ex-husband:

Example 5.26

Pia	I think it would probably take another couple of generations? before,
Eva	@a couple of [generations@]
Emily	[@@.]
Kara	[@@@@@@@@]
Pia	[no I] mean of,
Eva	we have [no hope,]
Pia	[like in] the [case]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Pia	=of my husband, I think it's so ingrained in his way of thinking?
Kara	yes yes.

Pia	that it would, h. I don't know,
Eva	but the problem [is? is,]
Pia	[to be honest, it's not,] you know, if you- if you ask [him,]
Eva	[yeah.]
Pia	they would say [no no no]=
Eva	[no no.]
Pia	=I'm not like that.
Eva	yeah.
Pia	and, ... even on a superficial level you can see he's, quite integrated in- in- into the Australian society?
Kara	hm.
Pia	in reality? you know, his behaviour and his, ... attitude to reality is complying with those values [and,]
Kara	[yeah] fundamental things [don't change.]
Pia	[ways of thinking] and [erm,]
Eva	[hm.]
Emily	[hm.]
Kara	hm.
Pia	so it's really hard! cause it's not, at a superficial level it's, it's in everything he says? everything he does, everything, yeah so. [FG1_2:1748]

Movement towards or integration into Australian society, means movement away from the Mexican value set with which he arrived in Australia. Most importantly in the context of this discussion, this value set includes particular traditional gender roles. Pia separates a superficial movement from real movement, where the metaphor is anchored in the *reality* of an Italian identity, exhibited through gendered behaviours and attitudes.

Pia also employs integration in positioning her current partner:

Example 5.27

Pia	his dad is Italian, his mum is Australian.
Kara	hm.
Pia	so he has, this ... very erm integrated [erm,]
Kara	[hm.]
Pia	I don't know how to call it @now@,
Kara	hm.
Pia	erm, type of education within himself, [that,]
Kara	[hm.]
Pia	you know it's, he got the good things, or- from one side got the good things for a- could have probably got also the bad things but,

Emily   [@@@]
Kara   [@@@@@] [FG1_2:2455]

There is a separation and differentiation between the "sides", where the movement is towards the

Australian, which in this case is more in line with what Pia claims is her partner's self-identifying

category (Example 5.24). It is relevant to recall that her partner was born and raised in Australia.

There is an odd contradiction in this movement of integration *into* something that he can claim to

be within and that Pia is contesting.

Movement in national space is also apparent in Jutta's discussion of her experiences soon after

she arrived in Australia and moved to Queensland with her husband:

Example 5.28

Jutta   I suppose I was living in Queensland a lo- a long time? and erm, there wasn't anything up
                  there so I was m- more again erm, amongst the aust- Australians! [J2:627]

In this case *there* is also a spatio-temporal reference, where Jutta is referring to the time closer to

when she and her husband migrated and moved to Queensland. Her location in this case is within

the group of Australians that lived in their community. It is ambiguous how Jutta is constructing

her relationship to this group in the above example. The movement "amongst" locates her both

inside of this community, but also potentially separated in regard to affiliation.

This space and movement that becomes inherent in the process of migration, whether one is

physically moving or not, also becomes something that needs to be stilled in order to be *here*

more completely. Anna, for example, talks of her decision not to follow her pattern of return:

Example 5.29

Anna   not at the moment. maybe after the master, no. I don't think I will. I'm actually trying to
                  do the opposite at the moment. .h I've decided that I'm not going back to Italy for
                  Christmas time.
Emily   ah huh.

Anna	because I have to break a cycle? in a way? it's a- .h it's a bit erm [erm,] **[A3:1473]**
(...)	
Anna	next year. yes so he's found this girl, he's really happy. .h and erm my nan is, my nan @so@ she's still there. and my dad is very good at accepting life for what it is? .h and I think erm it's time for me also t- not to break away in the sense that it's always my family and, I really care about them, I'm quite close. .h not physically. close but because I've been away so many years erm I think if you- if you miss people physically, I don't think you are in the right place.
Ingrid	hm.
Emily	hm.
Anna	you better [go back.]
Ingrid	[@@@@.]
Emily	[@@@@.]
Anna	you do. you do! you know you can't live. I think- ah yes @@@.
Emily	@.
Anna	after- no I just erm have all these flashes. .h erm anyway so I- I'm trying to- to break the cycle, and I'm trying really to, to ... live a bit more happily? in this country? without having to .h not to rely too much on them. [A3:1499]

The feeling that one is always in motion is unsettling. "Breaking the cycle" provides a way to be more firmly located *here*, "in this country", removing the strong dependence on *them*. Relation to physical nation space is also tied to personal physicality. If one feels bodily that they should be *there* then there must be further movement.

Participants not only separate *here* and *there* in their discursive construction of national identity through spatial reference, they also employ tropes of movement in accounting for the multiple and moveable affiliations they feel. Another way that space is constructed in relation to self and nation is through the reference to *home* and where this space is located.

5.3.2.3 The location of home

Home is a particularly useful lens through which to view discourses of national identity. It holds appropriately the metaphors of family, and of broader feelings of spatial belonging. Home holds a

sense of security and right to be heard that an established relationship with the nation as a place of belonging has. As Ghassan Hage, researching in the Australian context, notes:

> The discourse of home, because it conveys a relation to the nation rather than some kind of objectivist definition of it, clearly implies not only an image of a nation that is one's own, but also of a self that occupies a privileged position vis-à-vis the nation, a privileged mode of inhabiting it. This is evident in the very categories used by the nationalist which treat the 'other' as an object to be managed (...), while treating the self as spatially empowered to position/remove the other. (Hage 1998: 42)

Hage is viewing this claiming of space, the use of such phrases as "go home" and who is able to utter them, from the perspective of how people, as part of the dominant group, view themselves as having particular spatial priority. Partial and contextual national belonging is fought for by my participants. Reference to home is a particularly poignant form of spatial deixis in the discourses of national identity in my data. Home is a more tangible space to lay claim to than the nation, separating public from private space, agentively creating a space that is yours. It is also a more moveable, individual space than the national one. Eva, for example, delineates language practices that are acceptable in the private space of home, that are unacceptable in the public, national context:

Example 5.30

Eva	so I can go and look after my parents because, who else going to [do it?]
Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	yeah. that's that's /me/, so you never know, one day I might I @MIGHT@ be going back to @Chile@ @@, then when I go there I speak half and half [@@@.]
Emily	[oh yeah?]
Eva	yeah! because all those little things that you use in English that are so,
Emily	hm.
Eva	erm kind of fit, in places so well? that when I- @ .h when I say okay /?/ okay and my sister said, you don't say okay in Spanish you say si! [@@@]
Emily	[@ .h]
Eva	yeah. you don't say yeah either @[@@.]
Emily	[@@.]
Eva	but it's something you get- after a while you start getting better but,
Emily	hm.
Eva	it takes a while to- to adjust?
Emily	yeah.
Eva	it feels- it feels strange. whe- when you have to, to talk everything in Spanish?
Emily	yeah?
Eva	yeah.
Emily	so going back there, is- was,

Eva	it was good because erm, then you realised how- how, old fashioned or how old is- is your language,
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	[when] you have all these words and you don't know what they are @,
Emily	@yeah@.
Eva	so it happens the opposite @ see with the- with the everyday, erm language /you know/ the language the young people speak. we haven't got a clue.
Emily	yeah.
Eva	but it's good because you learn you you listen, you- you keep, when you watch tv you see how the people are expressing themselves now. very badly @@
Emily	@.
Eva	and then, the- because now they're mixing with English,
Emily	right.
Eva	erm I hate that, I mean I do it in my home because it's my home but, if I'm going to speak on tv or on the radio I wouldn't do that because I, but over there it's a different thing because it's status.
Emily	yeah.=
Eva	=see erm, if you show you are showing off because you are able to put okay and yes in- in- in the middle of a Spanish sentence, it's just ridiculous, the way we Chileans are that's all. but erm, but apart from that i- it's good because your language gets a bit, erm fossilized I think [when]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	=you don't use it much yeah. [E1:954]

The public use of English is attached to the prestigious status of the language in Chile. Eva links this to national behaviour through the use of a generalizing *we*, including all Chileans in this set of behaviours including over-privileging English and mixing languages. I will come back to this notion of the link between national identity and language practices in more detail in the following section (5.3.3).

Home is also linked to family and the nation. Jutta, who had lived the longest of all participants in Australia, ties national identity to a sense of home, grounded in family:

Example 5.31

Jutta	[no I] I'm Australian. (...) I like Australia. (...) it's my home, also my children are here so that's my country. [J1:631]

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There is an agency in this claiming of space. Jutta both desires the national space, as well as possessing it as *my home*. The further support for the claim to national belonging is her children.

Home is also linked to both *here* and *there*. For example, when Milena talks of return to Czech she says the following:

Example 5.32

Milena	yes. and I suppose yeah when I DO go back home? I kind of fall into the daughter sister identity, [more]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Milena	=than, ... Czech or E- you know Australian.
Emily	[hm.]
Milena	[that's] not an issue ever. ... I do feel more at home here but that doesn't mean I feel Australian at all.
Emily	yeah.
Milena	I don't really know what that @means@ [actually?]
Emily	[@@@.]
Milena	what do you- what, just because you live in Australia do you feel Australian? I don't think so. [M2:964]

While the first reference to *home* in the above example is a synecdoche for *Czech*, the second reference turns to a sense of what home is. Feeling at home is specifically distanced from a national belonging, although is it linked spatially to *here*. Inhabiting the national space may mean that one feels at home, more or less, but is not therefore causally linked to belonging to a national identity. Home can be attached to either national space without being attached to a rigid identity.

This moveability of home in Example 5.32 above is made more explicit in Example 5.33 from one of the focus groups Milena attended:

Example 5.33

Milena	yeah erm I just- I decided not to, take erm Australian citizenship also because, as you said! why should I just because I live in that other country,
Katja	uhmhu.

Milena	change to whole, I mean I don't even, I gained my citizenship fr- of Czech Republic because I was born there.
Nicolas	hm.
Milena	I didn't ask for it.
Nicolas	yeah.
Milena	so it doesn't, matter to- it makes no difference to [me.]
Nicolas	[hm.]
Katja	uhmhu.
Nicolas	yeah.
Milena	you know what kind of paper I have.
Katja	[uhmhu.]
Milena	[if] I feel at HOME anywhere? well I'll just stay there and live there.
Nicolas	yeah.
Emily	[hm.]
Milena	[that's-] it's [just]=
Katja	[uhmhu.]
Milena	=restricting, ... those sort of, ideas of belonging to something and, feeling ... you know? you are involved fully in ONE country therefore you can't have paperwork to say that you're a citizen of another country.
Emily	hm.
Milena	you just don't worry about that too much.
Emily	hm. ... so as long as it works for you though.
Milena	[hm.]
Emily	[like] as long as the citizenship that you have, isn't restrictive.
Milena	yeah. oh a lot of people look it at THAT way, I mean you could- I could just simply say oh look I'm just going to take a Australian one because, when I go to university I get twenty five percent off.
Emily	hm.
Milena	I could say that! and I could, you know ask for it and take it out no problem but, then on the other hand you think oh! how's it going to work for me when I go to Europe!
Emily	hm.
Katja	uhmhu.
Nicolas	yeah.
Milena	if I want to travel.
Katja	hm.
Nicolas	and also I mean if- if you will need to work for some government erm, office you will need to have citizen[ship I think.]
Milena	[yeah that is-]
Emily	[hm.]
Nicolas	[or] residential status or some- in some of the offices probably they will, [just ask]=
Milena	[citizenship.]
Nicolas	for the citizenship.
Milena	yep.
Emily	yeah.
Katja	[uhmhu.]
Milena	[that's] true.
Emily	hm.
Milena	so it's more of a, thing of a convenience nowadays? I think?
Emily	[yeah.]
Katja	[hm.]
Milena	lot of people do it for work purposes.
Emily	uhmhu yeah. [FG2_1:1676]

Milena stresses the importance of mobility, reflected in the citizenship she chose to keep, as well as the ability to claim a home space anywhere. She contests the automatic link to a national identity through birth (see also Example 5.9 for a parallel example from Paulo). In this construction, national identity is necessarily agentive, that one claims, *asks* for. There is also resistance to the discourse that national belonging is necessarily mutually exclusive, that one must claim only one space.

The final example of the construction of home and identity negotiation comes from Anna. She discusses her sense that her apartment in Sydney has become home in the last four years since her mother died. There is a distinction between *family* home and *my* home. The renegotiation is then framed with reference to the remaining traces of earlier homes:

Example 5.34

Anna   yes so? you know that- that's- as I said once again to stress it, it's not a matter of language? it's more a matter of the way you feel towards a place that you used to call home. [A2:1410]

Home may be a moveable reference, but that does not remove the lingering fragments of places where one's identity has formed and developed.

5.3.2.4 Summary

In this section of analysis I have used the layers of spatial reference to look at how participants align and position themselves in relation to the national space and national identity, and how situational and contextual changes in this affiliation are understood in discourse. Geographical

distance clearly constrains the ways that national separations are constructed discursively. More importantly though, participants use the deictic reference to *here* and *there* to separate, among other things, facets of identity, behaviours and values that are attached to the nation. In most cases, participants find themselves in a gap between the borders that they draw on each side, for both country of origin and Australia. The agency is then in the movement close to, or further from the discursive lines that are drawn. Home becomes the moveable space that participants may claim individually, that creates a sense of belonging that may or may not be positioned within a national identity.

In the final section of analysis in this chapter, I will examine how participants link national identity to language practices. This section draws together the threads from the previous chapter (Chapter 4) with its focus on how participants see themselves in relation to discourses of L2 use and success. Language practices are particularly salient in the construction of belonging to the national space.

5.3.3 Language Use and National Positioning

In the previous sections I addressed personal and spatial reference. In addition to these resources, a salient element of national identity that appears in my data is the link between language use and national identity. In particular, the use of English, and specifically L1 English, and its national identity is prominent in the data.

There are instances in the data where the *Australian* national identity term is used metonymically for English speaker. This particular double reference is only possible where the national identity

term is not synonymous with the language spoken in that nation. Paulo, for instance, uses *Australian* as a metonymy for English monolinguals:

Example 5.35

Paulo   there's no, I mean Australians unfortunately? ... don't perceive themselves? as having any NEED to speak any other language than English because, EVERYBODY speaks English! [Pa2:1557]

He uses the national identity term to distance himself from this social category. He sets himself apart disapprovingly from those who do not actively value language learning. There is also an essentialisation of *Australians* as a category of people who are all monolingual English speakers, thereby discursively excluding the many and varying language practices that occur within the nation. There is certainly no inclusion of Indigenous Australia within this conception of an Australian identity. More important is the sort of discursive work that is being done. The above utterance follows shortly after Example 5.10, where Paulo constructs nationally gendered behaviour. To provide some brief contextualisation: Between the two utterances (Example 5.10 and Example 5.35), Paulo discusses some of his observations in an Australian university English literature classroom, leading to further talk of gendered behaviour from "Australian students" [Pa2:1456]. He expresses a populist belief that women are better communicators reflected in a

supposed superior performance in literature subjects. Concurrently he believes that men do not develop their communicative skills in the social arena as their interaction with others centres on, in the Australian case "ah yeah. righto. yeah. and that's all, they don't- they don't need more words than that" [Pa2:1470]. He provides, in example, a report on his partner's nephews and what he sees as their increasing lack of interest in being "articulate" and in reading, both of which being an indication of Paulo's perception of larger gendered Australian societal patterns. The

issue of education leads me to ask about language learning in the context of Australia, which led

to the above utterance about Australian English speakers in Example 5.35.

The point of the above summary of the preceding utterances is to provide a better understanding

of what work *Australians* is doing in regard to the link between national identity and language

use. This is not to deny that there is an actual crisis in the majority attitude towards language

learning and a monolingual bias in public discourse in Australia (Clyne, 2005a), but the

essentialisation occurring in Paulo's utterance is a construction of himself as a speaker of many

languages who values being articulate, which thereby places him outside of an *Australianness*.

The use of *Australians* then becomes part of a strategy of differentiation.

This discourse of difference also appears when Paulo discusses language use and comprehension.

I asked whether he recalled any critical incidents in his learning and he mentions originally

having difficulty hearing and pronouncing the difference between word initial /s/ and /θ/, as well

as asking for something at a shop and receiving something else due to a misunderstanding on the

part of the shop assistant. Paulo goes on to say that this was likely due to the man not being of an

"English background" and had therefore possibly not understood his accent. He then produces the

utterance below, where *Australian* for English speaker appears again:

Example 5.36

Paulo   erm, and I've had some, ... some Australians do have difficulty because I don't, I, not
              that I put the emphasis you know, in the wrong syllable, [Pa1:268]

There is a separation between *Australians* as metonymic with English speakers, as well as a

separating out of non-English speakers, or non-English background people, from the national

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category. This continues the discursive thread of Paulo placing himself outside of an Australian national identity on the grounds of his multiple language practices.

Eva, like Paulo, draws together Australianness and L1 English speaking. In the context of a narrative of discrimination (the contextualization of which can be seen in Example 4.51, Chapter 4), where a fellow student was able to get practicum placement to teach ESL and she was not, Eva reports of a conversation between them:

Example 5.37

Eva	=call him Monday, and I said Mary do you want to know something? she said no, I said I called that fellow on Monday, and he said to me that that was impossible that he didn't have any place until next year. and then Mary is a very nice lady she said oh because I am so beautiful yes I know you are beautiful! you are very beautiful and you're Australian! [that's]=
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	=the main thing. (…)[E1:1313]

Having not managed to find teaching placement, Eva insists, on the basis of the fact that she is an L2 English speaker, *Australian* in this utterance functions as metonymic for L1 English speaker.

Another example of the metonymic use of *Australian* for English speaker appears in Katja and Nicolas's discussion of their elder daughter Magda, and the influences of couplehood on language learning:

Example 5.38

Katja	=erm I think we, we manage quite good? erm, ... erm Magda is for example married with an Australian man so, she picks up very quick, every month I can see progress in her language? every month. erm,
Nicolas	yeah this is- this is ac- actually something which I would like to add this is true, in Denmark? some of our friends which, were married to Danish,
Emily	uhmhu.
Nicolas	men or women? their language? Danish language, which is a very very difficult language to learn from- from erm other countries. they picked up this much faster?
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	and they spoke much erm more, erm,
Katja	fluent.

Nicolas	fluent? and properly? prop- proper way? and the people who- who were in the same cultural language? like me- erm like Katja and I. so yeah, radio or- or, can you change your husband! Katja?
Emily	@yeah@ @@.
Nicolas	it's @probably the proper way@ @@.
Katja	it should be one which likes to- to talk? because you- you erm, if you are /unlike/ erm you can erm, ... a person like me /for the last/ husband /but/ @one@ which doesn't speak too much. [@@@@@.] [KN1:1673]

Magda's husband is an *Australian* man, which Katja and Nicolas see as best practice in regard to the rapid acquisition of English. In this case, the national identity is privileged through the use of Australian, rather than the forefronting of English, for example.

There are also overt links between English use and Australian belonging. Anna talks of contextual, relative affiliation to an Australian identity. In the university classroom where a large number of her fellow students were international students, she says:

Example 5.39

Anna	so if I had to side myself, I would have put myself with Australian @stu[dents@] [A1:715]
(...)	
Anna	=@@ .h and erm I don't know why, because I don't ... perhaps because I I use Englis- l- erm English in, in so many domains, so /that/, it's not really an issue, [A1:717]
(...)	
Anna	anymore, you know but feeling Australian like, identifying myself like an Australian, it will never happen.
Emily	hm.
Anna	erm there's also I think a a language matter there, because I do- I'll never be able to speak, .h erm colloquial Australian.
Emily	uhmhu.
Anna	and I'm not interested,
Emily	[@@.]
Anna	[@@@] @@ and that's my choice. [A1:721]

Being Australian is tied to English use, for instance "Australian students" in the above example can be seen as a metonymic usage, but this link also privileges a particular variety. To belong to the national category, you must desire and speak a distinctly Australian English. Anna actively

chooses not to use this variety, claiming agency through pronoun use in not pursuing an Australian belonging.

Anna also constructs an Italian versus Australian identity in the discussion of language practices:

Example 5.40

Anna	erm, it's about erm ... being ... being perceived as intense,
Emily	hm.
Anna	.h ... because I'm an Italian, or because I'm used to express certain feelings, in Italian, which is perfectly normal in Italians.
Emily	yeah.
Anna	@@@ .h but it's not the same. for the Australian or English speaking people. .h so I think one of the, of the, of the comments always, recurring comments was you're so intense. when you say things the way I say that, .h I'm also painfully honest, there's another problem.
Emily	hm.
Anna	so and erm, that's once again part of the, or being erm me, @@ and part perhaps of being Italian. so I'm not sure, I'm not sure. .h but erm, yes, it's more about culture.
Emily	hm.
Anna	cultural, yeah. ... but then once again it's one of, those things that, g- at the beginning matters a lot? ... then it matters less and less? [A1:1635]

The perceived intensity of her translated self is contrasted to the normalized behaviours embodied in the practices of Australian English speakers. There is also a further expression of hybrid identity expression in these links between language and national identity. The metaphor of wholeness in this case is employed to split self into part individual and part national.

There is gradation in the explicitness of the link between the English language, and particularly L1 English use, and Australian identity. Katja, for instance says: "no- erm when we are with Australian people we speak always English" [KN1:465]. Being Australian is equated with speaking English as a common language.

The tie between national identity and language practices appears in the reflection on communication problems. Pia creates a separation between Australian background and English speaking. I asked whether there were particular issues in L2 use that were difficult:

Example 5.41

Emily	what about things that are frustrating.
Pia	.h erm h. well when I don't understand and when people, do not ... speak clearly, and sometimes I have the feeling they do it on, they do it intentionally?
Emily	really!
Pia	hm.
Emily	in- are there any- [/in ???/]
Pia	[like they- they-] they- they eat their words, [or]=
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	=they just erm ... you know speak with a very ... with a potato in their mouth? that's [the saying,]
Emily	[uhmhu @.]
Pia	erm, yeah, especially in some, you know in some, ... like when you call public services like erm you they just should, they should be erm, trained to actually communicate with ... people who are not [of,]
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	I mean who do not have an Australian background, [I'm]=
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	=not saying l- an English speaking background, [but]=
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	=an Australian background so, yeah. [Pi1:628]

The distinction between the national context and that of English language use, divides language practices from national identity. In this case, the explicit separation of Australian background and English speaking background delineates language use attached to the broader use of English, compared the localised practices in the Australian context.

Language practices and nation are also linked to race. In the example below, Milena discusses the breakdown of her stereotypes and expectations of Australianness upon arrival:

Example 5.42

Ingrid	so did you experience culture shock when you came here- when you first came here? Would you say that? Or?
Milena	well I- I can't really say that because I came to … contact with more people really when I stopped working as a nanny because that kind of you know kept me in the house all the time, I just had weekends with certain people … so I kind of didn't meet … the- didn't

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	meet many Australians but all I did yeah, @I must say I did I did experience quite a shock@
Ingrid	like what?
Milena	@ well oh erm erm … how could I- how- how could I put it- put it down to? … the stereotypes that people were I suppose falling into what I've learned from people speaking Czech here, you know how Australians are suppose to be, … I was seeing the people falling into those stereotypes, … yet I saw other people that weren't, I met a lot of … people from other cultural backgrounds which I wasn't exposed to in Czech very much at all, … erm and … the shock of perhaps people with Asian backgrounds speaking completely perfect Australian English for the first time, …I thought you know, wow that's that's great @@
Ingrid	uhmhu
Milena	that's exciting, … and unusual very unusual, so yeah, all- the whole mixture when I really erm stopped when I started working, I- I had a waitressing jobs after I stopped being a nanny, and meeting all those people was really really excellent. that- that's really first when I came to encounter Australia, I would call it or multiculturalism, or you know all the m- all the all the cultures that /I had/ live /here/ because before it was all you know Anglo not Anglo-Saxon people with European background, [M1: 1100]

For Milena, Australian identity has opened up from being a racially homogenous category, to a space where language practices are not anchored to race. The marked categories in terms of language and national identity become unmarked. Language practices become significant in constructing what a national identity sounds and looks like.

Anna also makes a parallel link in regard to how language symbolises national identity in relation to Italy in the Australian context:

Example 5.43

Anna	hm. .h but surprisingly, I noticed the other day is also painful, to- erm no for me?
Emily	hm.
Anna	watch and listen to the la- latest ad of a- of a sofa? David Jones the Natuzi sofa? because that's Italian.
(...)	
Anna	exactly. so but- but it IS painful no because she's got a great accent, beautiful pronunciation, .h ... but she just says nothing.
Emily	@.
Ingrid	[@@@.]
Anna	[she just-] no becau- she just saying some words in Italian, just say- oh great yes pu- put it here put it there,

Emily	oh.
Anna	all in Italian.
Emily	oh yeah no I know the [one you mean.]
Anna	[and- and for] me it's just, yeah right.
Emily	[hm.]
Anna	[that] annoyed me a little [bit.]
Ingrid	[hm.]
Anna	=because it was just .h you know, using the language? ... for the sake of erm of the-
Ingrid	hm.
Anna	don't know people recognizing .h that it was in Italian.
Emily	hm.
Anna	Italian that's it. nothing else. [there's no message.] [A3:1115]

The use of Italian in this advertising campaign is merely symbolic of the national identity, rather than being an example of multilingual practices within the purportedly multicultural landscape of Australian society. The model, a public figure in Australia and highly competent L2 user of Italian, is seen in the advertisement using the language merely as symbolic capital.

A final example of the discursive relationship between language practices and national identity comes from the focus group context in which Nicolas, Katja and Milena discuss the possible future expansion of what it means to live in Australia:

Example 5.44

Nicolas	which make Australia's a great country of course, very open.
Emily	hm.
Katja	hm.
Milena	the mixture of it?
Nicolas	hm.
Milena	yeah.
Nicolas	yeah. it's like a mini cosmos /?/ say it's like, really something. maybe the- the future world! will be like this?
Milena	I hope so!
Nicolas	will be no- no borders? no passports? so,
Katja	[hm.]
Nicolas	[people] will be able to- this is the dream, this is the, [what]=
Milena	[hm.]
Nicolas	=we call the, the dream of the old philosophers.
Katja	[utopia.]
Emily	[yeah.]
Katja	utopia.
Emily	utopia [yeah. ... never.]
Katja	[this won't /?/ I don't think.]

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Milena   [but I /?/,]
Emily   [yeah.]
Milena   [the] one thing I wouldn't like- I'd LOVE the mixture but I- what I wouldn't like is, if there was just one language. I think that would be very boring.
Katja   hm.
Emily   hm.
Milena   I think they have to, people have to start learning other languages.
Nicolas   yeah.
Milena   just than English. I think everything's getting too anglified.
Eileen   yeah.
Nicolas   I think it should be two. it should [be English?]=
Milena   [two of /?/.]
Nicolas   =and Danish. so [people can,]
Milena   [@@@]@@.
Katja   [appreciating.]
Nicolas   [/?/ @appreciate] what we have, [done@.]
Eileen   [@@@@@.] [FG2_1:3714]

The context of the above example is following a narrative by Nicolas at his initial shock at being in the care of a male nurse when giving blood in an Australian hospital. He brings this back to the national space at the beginning of Example 5.44 by linking a broader range of gender roles to the Australian national context. The ensuing discussion about the prospects of what this opening up will lead to is related to issues of language practices by Milena. As a reflection on what is seen as the homogenisation of language use through the global spread of English, Milena grounds this discussion of utopia by pointing to the importance of having room for multilingual language practices within the nation space. The assumption is that in the "philosopher's dream", if multilingualism is not at the forefront, then the language that is in the dominant, privileged position will take precedence, and what sort of inclusive utopia could that make?

5.4 Discussion and Summary

This chapter has dealt with the multiple ways that my participants negotiate and construct national identity in the context of migration to Australia. The examination of discourses of citizenship, difference and sameness come together to provide an understanding of how highly

competent adult L2 English users take agency in claiming space in complex and multiple ways inside the nation, outside of the nation, and supra-nationally.

The first aspect of this construction addressed was citizenship, discussed in section 5.2. In the context of long-term residency in Australia, participants make active choices to retain their old citizenship, or take up an Australian one. These choices are constrained by such things as the ability to hold dual citizenship, and the perceived benefits of one form of citizenship over the other. Citizenship is important in the interview context as a discourse, rather than a concrete instituational status. Participants were all inhabiting Australian national space, far from the sites where citizenship becomes more than discursive, away from the immigration line of a border crossing, comfortably, physically within its boundaries. In this context, the negotiation of citizenship and national identity are primarily discursive.

The layer of citizenship status is necessarily linked by participants to the personal and spatial aspects of a national belonging. At the beginning of section 5.3 I posed the following questions:

1. How are personal and spatial relationships to national identity constructed discursively?
2. Where do participants position themselves and others?
3. What are the linguistic resources employed to create these positions?

Looking at the data shows that participants use the resources available, national identity terms, pronouns, metaphor and nation-for-language metonymy, to frequently place themselves outside

of national boundaries aligning themselves with supranational identities, and in doing so, continue to build and essentialise notions of what it is to belong in a nation.

Ultimately the national identities that are produced in discourse are a network of reifications of social categories and positionings. In the case of my participants, the majority see themselves, and in fact also desire to see themselves, as inhabiting a trans-national space that nonetheless intersects with borders of national identity. These highly competent adult L2 users of English constantly align and realign themselves with both their place of origin and the Australian imagined community, moving in the space between existent categories.

Contextualising the preceding analysis in relation to public discourses surrounding migration and language use in Australia often shows a disparity between the national discourses of people who have gone through the process of migration and those of people on the outside of this process. One such example comes from a speech delivered by the former Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard, in his 2006 National Press Club address:

> The truth is that people come to this country because they want to be Australians. The irony is that no institution or code lays down a test of Australianness. Such is the nature of our free society.
>
> It would however be a crushing mistake to downplay the hopes and the expectations of our national family. We expect all who come here to make an overriding commitment to Australia, and its laws and its democratic values. We expect them to master the common language of English and we will help them to do so. (Howard, 2006)

An analysis of the above utterance shows a clear contradiction to the discourses produced by my participants. None of my participants claimed to have arrived in Australia with the purpose of becoming an *Australian*. The introduction of a compulsory Australian values test with the citizenship application (see section 5.2) has shown that the government sees *Australianness* as codified and examinable. In terms of linguistic resources, the use of *we* as a generalising

synecdoche, ambiguously widening the in-group, alongside the metaphor of nation as family, provide strategies of intra-national sameness and stress inter-national difference. The above provides a small example that national identity continues to be used for purposes that appear to be at odds with the ways that people actually relate to the nation in the discourses they produce. In contrast, my participants are in a privileged space of claiming identities beyond and between the national. They desire the mobility provided by their position as migrants and exhibit this discursively in the resources they deploy, contesting what it means to inhabit and negotiate affiliation with the nation space.

Chapter 6

Narrating Migration

6.1 Introduction

The previous analysis chapters dealt with the ways in which participants position themselves in relation to discourses of L2 learning and use (Chapter 4), as well as national identity (Chapter 5). This chapter addresses the question: How does narrative discourse serve to contextualize the negotiation of social belonging and exclusion? Examining narrative moves the frame outwards, to provide a larger picture of the discursive construction of identity and belonging.

The context of migration is one in which identity and change must be negotiated. Narratives are a particularly important site where this discursive negotiation is undertaken. The narratives in this chapter all navigate complex networks of change: In understanding the changes in self, of the relation of self to other, and to wider social positions. As Wodak et al (1999) write of the importance of narrative in the creation of identity:

> Narrative identity allows various, different, partly contradictory circumstances and experiences to be integrated into a coherent temporal structure, thus making it possible to sketch a person's identity against the background of a dynamic constancy model which does justice to the coherence of a human life. Thus the concept of narrative identity can go beyond the one-sided model of an invariant, self-identical thing. It can take into account the idea that the self can never be grasped without the other, without change. (p. 14)

In telling stories of personal experience, participants perform and construct their identities, making elements of the process more salient and silencing others. In these narratives, and through the "coherent temporal structure" of their narratives, they are able to present coherent selves out of the fragmented and complex experiences of migration and adult L2 learning.

An example of the place that narrative has in relation to the entextualisation of migration experiences appears in a focus group interview where Nicolas reflects upon affiliation, mobility and history:

Example 6.1

Nicolas	well I erm, it's difficult? because it seems that I start to belong to the world? myself I don't have any, special connection to any of the, ... parts of my previous life? so,
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	I don't have really strong connection to Poland no- nor to dan- Denmark nor to Australia,
Emily	oh.
Nicolas	it's like erm, I try to, ... to use my life? the way I am able to now!
Emily	uhmhu. cause you were saying you don't have- neither of you have any family left in Poland, at all.
Katja	no.
Nicolas	no we don't have any family? we have a lot of friends? which still, can give us erm li- we can go and visit our friends in Poland but erm, ... what is left in Poland are, just memories.
Katja	hm.
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	for us.
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	and the same in Denmark actually, we have some friends? but erm erm, ... we're more talking about the memories? when we were younger how we- [when]=
Emily	[hm.]
Nicolas	=we came to Denmark and how we learned the Danish language? and how we, ... found the first jobs and erm,
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	went- I went to- to continue my education and Alina was born? and,
Emily	uhmhu.
Nicolas	all these things it's just like memories? and there we decided to m- to came to Australia? and again! the same. to organize life in Australia? and to organize school for Alina? and to organize house? and erm, and work. [FG2_1:44]

What remains are the memories of the processes of migration and change, made coherent through personal narrative. Past experiences, realised as narratives, are there to be *used* as resources. Whether true or fictionalised, all the narratives participants tell about these experiences perform the function of realising past experiences in the present context of discursive negotiation. The above example from Nicolas provides a metanarrative of how identity is encapsulated in contextual performance (Blommaert, 2007).

In this chapter I will examine how narrative discourses serve to contextualize the negotiation of social belonging and exclusion by my participants by first providing a brief overview of my approach to narrative (section 6.2). I will then analyse the stories of arrival and departure in my corpus (section 6.3). New roles must be negotiated, both in light of the new society and the roles available within this society. Participants speak of change in their relationship to gender roles and socio-economic status (section 6.4). They must also navigate and renegotiate changing relationships to place of origin and experiences of return (section 6.5). For the case of the couple in the study, belonging is negotiated to each other through the co-narration of stories that provide stability in the midst of the complexity of migration. This is particularly important in the case of Katja and Nicolas, because they have migrated twice. Their couple narratives are examined in section 6.6. Discourses of migration often negotiate a sense of loss particularly in relation to the inability to produce speaking roles that were particularly salient for them in their L1. Section 6.7 examines how this loss is narrated. Milena, as the participant involved in the study for the longest period, adds particular insights in her comments on the narratives she told in earlier interviews (section 6.8).

6.2 Approaching Narrative

As discussed in Chapter 2, the stories we tell are a central way that we make sense of ourselves and others and how we create and rewrite our identities (De Fina, 2003; Linde, 1997; Ochs & Capps, 2001). This is particularly so in the context of re-writing or re-telling oneself in a second, or third language (Pavlenko, 2001b). Analysing narratives in the corpus provides a way of examining how participants negotiate social belonging, and particularly how they negotiate change over time in relation to migration experiences.

Many of the narratives of personal experience in this chapter are well told and expertly crafted (see particularly Examples 6.18, 6.19 and 6.20). Although the participants are not expert story-tellers intrinsically, there is a sense that these stories of migration have been refined through performance. It is unlikely that these narratives had not been told before. They were, however, told within the context of a research interview, at a particular time and space. These constraints mean that certain aspects of the stories are made more or less important in the context of telling. The narratives in this corpus do a variety of kinds of discursive work. This can be seen explicitly in some of the narratives that are told in multiple interviews with differing frames (for example see Examples 4.38 and 4.39, examined in Chapter 4). It is not generally possible, though, to know what has been left out of the narratives. This chapter deals with the discourses that are prominent in the narrative of my participants and the similarities and differences they share across the corpus of migration stories.

Narratives in my data vary from lengthy, complex structures that include extended recurring evaluations, to simple stories where each section of the narrative is brief. In all of these stories, evaluation remains the most important in regard to meaning-making and the negotiation of social belonging and exclusion. The focus for each of the narratives examined here is the negotiation of identity and belonging, of self and society, with the belief that narrative is a salient site for such constructions. Similar to Pavlenko's suggestion that:

> informed narrative study has great potential for the field of L2 learning as it will permit us as researchers and practitioners to approach narratives and, in particular, language learning memoirs as discursive constructions rather than as factual statements. Such an approach will allow us to uncover multiple sociocultural, sociohistorical, and rhetorical influences that shape narrative construction and thus to understand better how the stories are being told, why they are being told in a particular way, and whose stories remain untold-or, for that matter, not heard-for a variety of reasons. (Pavlenko, 2002a, pp. 216-217)

This chapter takes this call and applies it not to the L2 learning context, but to these narratives of highly competent L2 users who have been long-term residents in Australia.

Participants tell many narratives throughout the interview process. In general, the first narrative that participants tell is that of their process of migration, their story of departing their place of origin and arriving in Australia. In the next section I will examine these narratives of migration, how participants tell these stories and what is made most salient in creating similarities and differences in these personal experience narratives.

6.3 Accounting for Migration

The questions of when and why participants came to Australia were included in the protocol used in the first round of interviews (for the full list for questions see Appendix B). Some participants produced narratives of migration directly in response to these questions. In some cases these stories were told before participants were asked for these accounts. This section addresses these narratives of arrival and departure. I examine the similarities and differences in the way these narratives are constructed, for instance: Who features in the stories, who is given agency, and what aspects of the migration process are given prominence in this interview context.

All of the participants have experiences of migrating to Australia. All of them tell narratives of how and why they migrated to Australia and why they stayed. It can be assumed that these are stories each person has told many times before, in many contexts. For each participant, whether in response to the direct question of when or why they had come to Australia, the migration narrative is produced early in the first interview. While this chapter privileges narrative, these

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stories are also functioning in the larger context of the interview, and are tied to the discourses of

belonging examined in the previous two chapters.

The first example of a migration narrative comes from Katja and Nicolas. Example 6.2 is the

second half, Nicolas's half, of the couple's response to my request for background information.

The question posed was general, rather than a direct one about the time or motivation for

migrating. I asked for general background information, saying that I knew that they had grown up

in Poland and then migrated. Katja responded first, providing a general work trajectory in

Denmark from finishing a degree in surveying, changing paths to natural therapy with sick and

disabled people, and then the change in career upon migration necessitated by the lack of

recognition of her qualifications in Australia. She concludes her portion of the narrative by saying

she no longer works, due to health problems. The focus of Katja's narrative is employment.

When Nicolas then takes his turn, the focus shifts to migration and motivation:

Example 6.2

Nicolas	yeah I finish erm economics in Poland?
Emily	uhmhu.
Nicolas	and very short- ... short after I moved to Denmark?
Emily	uhmhu.
Nicolas	and I worked there, as accountant? and there I met- met Katja? and there I went and finish economics in erm Copenhagen? and for the company, /which/ I work in Denmark? I was able to move to Australia,
Emily	uhmhu.
Nicolas	/we/, took it as- as a adventure?
Emily	uhmhu.
Nicolas	at first, we wanted just one year? just to, learn some- a bit about Australia? and go back but, Katja fell in love? with Sydney? and the weather? and [she didn't wanted to come back,]=
Katja	[and I /like ? ? ? ?/]
Nicolas	=and I didn't wanted to leave her alone [and so I stayed with her.]
Emily	[@ @@@ .h] ... so you convinced him to stay. so that's why, so you came out the first time just to, just to see just for- for something new, [to see]=
Nicolas	[yeah.]
Emily	=Australia.
Nicolas	yeah. we had a chance because the company, provided me with a office here, in- in Sydney and we had chance to stay one year?
Emily	hm.

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Nicolas	and erm we took the chance,
Emily	[hm.]
Nicolas	[we] were very, we were- we were always very interested to go outside Denmark, because of the weather and, we feel we wanted to do some international/ist/ travel? erm [always we had plans to,]
Katja	[it's not only,] not only climate but erm, I think Australian are very friendly, people and the lifestyle suit us better, maybe. and, ... culture /are more flexible/ and,
Emily	uhmhu.
Katja	we like it /better/. [KN1:75]

The humour and laughter in this narrative are typical of the couple's co-constructions (see also Examples 6.18, 6.19 and 6.20). Although the initial topic had been employment, as Nicolas's employment was directly related to the couple's process of migration, the evaluation in this narrative naturally turns to the reasons for migrating and the reasons for staying. Both of the couple provide evaluation, which occurs after Nicolas's resolution of "and so I stayed with her". It is only after his evaluation that Katja takes the floor with her evaluation of the process of migration. As the focus of her narrative prior to this one had been employment, Katja adds her evaluation to Nicolas's story, as it is a shared story that he is narrating (see also Katja's additional evaluation in Example 6.20). Nicolas frames the departure as a desire to see the world to move outside of the national boundary, as being about experience of travel. Katja, on the other hand, without direct reference to Denmark, separates the life experience in Australia from that in Denmark along a metaphorical scale of greater or lesser degree. *Australians* and the lifestyle in Australia in this narrative evaluation are *better*, leaving Demark as the unspoken lesser in the framework of comparison.

Another difference in the way that the couple frame evaluation is how agency is distributed between them in the narration of migration. In Nicolas's section of the narrative, the agency for temporary migration is shared through Nicolas's use of the plural pronoun, "we wanted just one year", whereas the agency for staying is placed on Katja, "but, Katja fell in love". When Katja re-

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takes the floor, providing her evaluation and resolution for the couple's migration narrative, she redistributes the agency for remaining in Australia to both of them: "we like it better". The couple constantly negotiate their joint decisions, expertly managing conflict, even here at the very beginning of their first interview in this new context with myself who they had only just met.

While Katja and Nicolas negotiate the agency for staying in Australia, the decision to stay is something that is often not prominent in these narratives, or is implicit in the resolution or coda of the migration narrative, despite the frequently explicit initial intention of short term stay (see also Example 6.10). Jutta for instance completes her narrative of migration with the following resolution:

Example 6.3

Jutta	yeah so /??/ but, so /??/, yeah and then, we had to, sign up for two years, you know? and that's what we wanted we- we see how it goes,
Emily	yeah.
Jutta	yeah, we stayed only two years /so then ?/ two years and it's now thirty three years so, @.
Emily	@yeah@.
Jutta	yeah.
Emily	so you didn't plan to stay, for [so long.]
Jutta	[no no] no, no it wasn't **aber**[4] then I fell pregnant again and had the third child and so yeah. and erm, Diedre was born? in nineteen seventy one and my husband he said, he had been construction he went to bour- erm Bougainvillea,
Emily	oh!
Jutta	Bougainville.
Emily	right.
Jutta	yeah. for six months, so I was home with the children by myself. /yeah./ [J1:250]

In the initial telling, two years become 33 with little causality, the intervening time left only in an unfilled gap between then and now. An account of staying is only provided upon further prompting. There is also no expression of a desire to return to Austria or Germany, her place of birth and place of departure respectively, despite the lack of intention to stay. The centrality of her children in the construction of home and belonging occurs later in the same interview (see

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[4] Jutta consistently uses the German *aber*, rather than the English *but*. In each occurrence, the German remains in the transcript and is highlighted in bold font.

Example 5.31, Chapter 5). The combination of both the above migration narrative, as well as migration discourses later in the interview, points to threads across the interview where both narrative, as well as other discursive forms of identity work, weave together in performing contextual coherence.

Anna's migration narrative begins in response to the question of when she came to Australia. Unlike Jutta, Nicolas and Katja, the time of migration for Anna had a more complicated trajectory. Her movement back and forwards between Italy and Australia across many years means this question prompts the following romance narrative, where Anna provides a complex web of reasonings and evaluations, rather than a shorter narrative about times and dates:

Example 6.4

Emily	and when did you come out to Australia.
Anna	I came, ok first time I came out to Australia was, in nineteen ninety one?
Emily	uhmhu.
Anna	ok .h I met my first Australian boyfriend in nineteen ninety, .h then I came over here nineteen ninety one yes, .h August because I wanted to see him, I had previously seen him erm in the States, and erm then he had come to Italy, that was between nineteen ninety ninety one, for just you know three weeks .h erm two weeks and so on, so that was he came, July and I and in August September I stayed here for two months? hm. and also because I was researching for my hm what we call thesis at university, [because]=
Emily	[uhmhu.]
Anna	=I .h every university student in Italy especially for humanities? has to write .h a [thesis,]=
Emily	[/hm./]
Anna	=and so you're given a- you're given not you choose @ @you given your subject@,
Emily	yeah.
Anna	and mine because I had George,
Emily	[hm.]
Anna	[so] I thought it was erm good to chose something, .h relating to Australian literature, and so I was given this name Les Murray,
Emily	h.
Anna	without knowing anything at all about him, so I came over here,
Emily	[yeah.]
Anna	[also] to do research with erm on Les Murray, and I met him also,
Emily	oh really?
Anna	yes because I sent him a letter, it was really [kind,]
Emily	[hm.]
Anna	we had an interview? and so on, so .h and that was in nineteen ninety one, and then after that I think I came over here, two more time? once or twice, eh mm yes, yes once or twice, .h and then things erm last time I came over here things were not right,
Emily	hm.

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Anna	so with with George so, ... erm more or less we split up, but I had him still in my mind,
Emily	[yeah.]
Anna	[so] after one year I decided erm to come over here, and I did .h erm, and I was living with /his/ family actually at the @moment@ @, at that time, .h because erm I've always been in close contact with his mum?
Emily	uhmhu.
Anna	yes, still now, .h and erm and then stayed here because I could not stay here longer than six months per time?
Emily	uhmhu.
Anna	yes, the usual thing,
Emily	hm.
Anna	.h working more or less legally @@@.
Emily	@more or less@.
Anna	so yeah @@@@ .h the recording.
Emily	[/oh/ we won't tell anybody.]
Anna	[@ .h @@@] or less legally you know [just,]
Emily	[yeah.]
Anna	the usual things and erm, and then basically I met Quinn? I was erm turned out after a few months to be my partner? from New Zealand,
Emily	oh!
Anna	so and I started living with Quinn? erm and I think I was granted erm permanent residency in nineteen ninety nine. [A1:389]

Anna provides a detailed chronology of her movement back and forth between countries, including embedded narratives about her Australian literature research and her relationship with her ex-partner's mother, that add motivation beyond that of the primary one of romance. The narrative is bracketed by the dates of Anna's timeline. 1999 marks the close of the "coming to Australia" narrative. This narrative can also be viewed in relation to Anna's national identity negotiation, discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 5, Example 5.29), where she talks of trying to "break the cycle" of movement between Australia and Italy in order to "live a bit more happily? in this country?" Anna's migration has been marked by movement between here and there. This movement is also something she generalizes, "yes, the usual thing", this sort of mobility not being uncommon. As discussed in Chapter 5, mobility is both a "privilege" (see Example 5.14), "destroying" at the same time (see Example 6.21, this chapter). Alongside this,

similar to Jutta, there is little focus on the decision to stay and to take up permanent residency. Agency for remaining in Australia is removed by the use of the passive "I was granted". There is a delicate process of finding coherence in these stories of movement, particularly when it is not a simple matter of having decided to leave one's birthplace forever, relocating permanently.

In Anna's migration stories there is a particular need for transnational negotiation as a consequence of this back and forth movement between Italy and Australia. The movement between both countries is featured here as a part of Anna's migration narrative. It also features in her national identity negotiation, where she struggles to "break the cycle" (Chapter 5, Example 5.29) of going there and back to a point of instability. This narrative of migration serves to contextualize Anna's discourses of movement and the challenge that going back and forth places on one's sense of stability and belonging in one place or the other. Although belonging in, for example Italy and Australia, is not necessarily mutually exclusive, this must be negotiated in order to find coherence in these multiple belongings. Narrative is a particularly salient site for this negotiation.

Milena's narrative of migration has English language as its core focus. The discussion prior to her narrative has focused on her educational background, including language education. While she chronicles her arrival and employment, the significance of the temporal direction of her narrative is based in the progression and turning points of her English learning. As with the other narratives of migration, Milena's story is told early in the interview in response to a request for her story of "coming to Australia". Prior to the narrative, the topic focus was education and language learning, which influences what is included in the narrative and how Milena evaluates the complicating action:

Example 6.5

Ingrid	so how long- how did you decide to go to Australia? Or what's- what's the story of coming to Australia?
Milena	the story is, the people I met in Czech they actually, it was a family, erm a Polish and a Czech couple with three kids … and erm I got to know them, oh they were just speaking in a restaurant and they were talking about English and we kind of got ta- talking and became friends, I saw … the husband came to Czech quite often because of his family and his you know, whatever, after the revolution he got some erm land and buildings back and so we were talking and they organized for me to come over, I stayed with them for a little while, you know, you have to have this invitation, in those days [you had to have an invitation]
Ingrid	[like a sponsorship or?]
Milena	like a sponsorship yeah. ... and so I did and I stayed with them for a while, we didn't speak any English because, because- the girls could understand Czech but never wanted to speak it,=
Ingrid	=uhmhu=
Milena	=so I could ask them something but they answered very … if- if they did answer, @erm very little@ they either shy or just didn't want to talk to me @or something I don't know@ … so, I was three months with them and then I found a job as a nanny, this was I think the breakthrough for me in English, with three little girls who-were four, five and six, and I had to do homework with them.
Ingrid	@
Milena	and that was really interesting because … I have, I've known just basic English that I've got from the book. And now I was le- relearning it with their accents and- and you know, their knowledge, so we're kind of feeding each other and they were excellent in helping me, you know, pronounce things and say things right, because I've told them that erm I want them to- you know fix my English if they can=
Ingrid	=yeah.
Milena	and they found that really exciting and you know that they can tell someone that they saying something wrong!
Ingrid	@@@uha
Milena	so, yeah, I think that helped me a lot and I was with them a year, … and … within that year I met my husband and from then on it that was really fast,
Ingrid	uhmhu. [M1:409]

The trajectory of Milena's migration to Australia is told through the perspective of English

learning: from hearing English in her workplace in the Czech Republic, to the turning point in the

evaluation: "I think this was the breakthrough for me in English", when she was working as a

nanny in Sydney. The migration narrative brackets this learning story. Similar to Nicolas, Katja

and Jutta, Milena left the Czech Republic and did not move back and forwards like Anna. As

with the previous narratives in this section, Milena provides a timeline of departure and first arrival, concluding with a brief resolution that hints at the larger narrative of choosing to stay in Australia, which remains undisclosed. She condenses the meeting of her husband and the complex processes that led to her staying in Australia into one sentence that closes her story of migration. This is the first mention of her husband in this interview. One of the features of Milena's discourses of success in L2 use is the stress on ease of learning, for example, that after being here seven years it should be natural that she would pass for an L1 speaker (Examples 4.6 and 4.13). This is certainly not the experience of all L2 speakers. In this migration narrative, Milena becomes a successful L2 user, and the process of her migration to Australia completed, through learning English with these children, "relearning it with their accents".

Pia provides only a narrative fragment to account for her migration to Australia. It is brief and centres, similar to Nicolas's, on career and mobility, in particular a desire for upward mobility:

Example 6.6

Emily	what made you,
Pia	come to Australia?
Emily	yeah?
Pia	erm, well the fact that I had erm, ... I thi- m- mainly because I had reached, I think I had reached pr-... professional maturity, I think in [Italy,]
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	I had worked a lot in the same field? language [@field@.]
Emily	[hm] @yeah@.
Pia	and erm, yeah I really wanted to, to change my career path,
Emily	[hm.]
Pia	[and] I wanted to go back to study and yeah. [/???/]
Emily	[so you] mostly came out to study.
Pia	yeah. [Pi1:319]

There is a noticeable amount of hedging and epistemic modality in the repeated "I think" in this example. Pia uses less epistemic modality when she focuses her attention on her educational aspirations in Australia. At the time of interview she was completing a Masters of Philosophy. Her field of work had not changed after her migration to Australia, she continued as an English

language teacher. Unlike the majority of the prior examples in this section (see Examples 6.2, 6.4 and 6.5), Pia does not produce a lengthy migration narrative and the attempt to get further information was unsuccessful. Prior to this narrative we had been discussing general background information, her educational experiences, her employment and her family and the interactions tended to be more in response to a question from me. This was followed by Pia's answer, rather than Pia guiding the topic changes herself. Her degree of reticence in the individual interview was possibly influenced by her knowledge of the research interview from the side of the interviewer. As she was only able to participate in one individual interview there was unfortunately no space for follow up. Pia's migration narrative is distinctive in that it does not make a link between social belonging and exclusion; it is notable for what remains silent (see also Example 6.10).

Pia's narrative stands in contrasts to the migration narrative produced by Eva. Of all the participants' narratives of migration, Eva's is the longest. The story begins after my question about reasons for migration:

Example 6.7

Emily	@@@. oh. so you came to Australia in eighty five, and what- what was the reason for coming to Australia?
Eva	oh in those days there @were@ many reasons,
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	[erm] well- in in nineteen seventy three we had the famous [mi-]=
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	=@military@ coup over there. we- we didn't have problems, politically erm because we were not, we didn't belong to any political party or, anything,
Emily	/okay./
Eva	we just didn't worry much but, but then, I got married in seventy four? so, that's why the university was left @, [E1:140]

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There is a space of 12 years between the military coup and the family's departure to Australia. Eva downplays the relevance of the wider political situation in Chile. As with many of Eva's narratives that involve her husband as a character in the story, there is embedded evaluation that diminishes her husband's input in the decision making process, in this case, in the process of migration:

Example 6.8

Eva	and then in the mean time I suppose, @ I got married and then I said what's the point? I didn't see the point of going back because we were going to go, somewhere, we were going to go overseas anyway=
Emily	=right=
Eva	=alright. so my husband convince me that there was- there wasn't any need for me to go back to uni.
Emily	ah!=
Eva	=yeah- I was only twenty something at the time, I was still [@@]=
Emily	[@@]@@.
Eva	I don't listen to him any more, .h and then I said oh okay that's okay, he said ah he- he's a mechanical engineer he-
Emily	uhmhm.
Eva	well over there he could live, a good life with his salary,
Emily	uhmhu.
Eva	/??/ he didn't need the woman to work. [E1:162]

The importance of her renegotiation of social role as a woman in Australia (see also Example 6.13, Section 6.4) is threaded through her migration narrative. The narrative then turns to the socio-economic changes in Chile and within their family. With three children, her husband's salary was no longer sufficient for the family to survive. Eva then forefronts her husband's job transfer to Santiago and her concern about life in a dangerous urban environment as the central reasons for migration:

Example 6.9

Eva	and you always hear in the news the bad things about the capital city so, I was terrified of living there. and, plus to live there you- you needed to live in a good neighbourhood.
Emily	hm.
Eva	you couldn't just live anywhere. because you don't know you know? so in the- a- in the end, he decided that it was time to move on. and we came! [that's]=
Emily	[@@.]
Eva	=why we @came@ to Australia. because we thought that maybe in the end it, could be better for,

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Emily	hm.
Eva	for the children? and they were in that age in which, they were still going to be able to learn the language with, not very /?/ difficulty?
Emily	right.
Eva	and also, they were young enough to adapt themselves to the new [country?]=
Emily	[uhmhu.]
Eva	=so I thought that- that's the best we could do for them.
Emily	how old were they?
Eva	the oldest was erm eldest was nine?
Emily	oh okay.
Eva	Penelope had just turned six?
Emily	oh!
Eva	and the baby was two, two and nine months? [so]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	=yeah. they were all [little you know.]
Emily	[so quite little.] yeah.
Eva	but yeah, so I thought the damage [wasn't]=
Emily	[@@.]
Eva	=going to be that bad they can't remember their old country much at all!
Emily	yeah.
Eva	yeah! so [@@.]
Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	that's why we end up here, er- in reality.
Emily	hm.
Eva	yeah.
Emily	and- you'd heard things from- through his parents [you'd been in touch? or]
Eva	[oh! yeah! because] we knew my- my in-laws used to go like every two or three years go to Chile because they have another ... erm, their youngest daughter still lives in Chile.
Emily	ah.
Eva	so they used to go, often .h and they say oh but it's so good there and the life, the condition is different if you have a job, you can live much more comfortable or whatever!
Emily	yeah.
Eva	and they said to my husband oh you've got good erm, opportunities /blah blah blah blah/ which it wasn't true but!
Emily	@@@.
Eva	@@@, oh because he could it's- it's not like in my case in [which,]=
Emily	[uhmhu.]
Eva	=I could say I have progressed I have grown,
Emily	uhmhu.
Eva	because I came to Australia.
Emily	yeah.
Eva	I- I think in the end I would have done the same in my country because I can't just sit still. and I have tried to go back to uni over there to finish my degree when I have, the two, Eric and p- which is the oldest? and Penelope I have the two of them, I decided to go back to uni. and that was TERRIBLE [I did it,]=
Emily	[hard work.] [E1:244]

Eva then continues discussing her return to university, both in Chile and then in Australia. There

is no clear resolution to the narrative of migration itself, the narrative instead morphs into a story

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of Eva's educational development in Australia. One of the main focuses of the evaluation of her migration story is her children. It is relevant that Eva frames part of the evaluation as being because the children were young enough that they wouldn't remember "their old country much at all". The children were shielded from the difficulties that their parents have had to face in the process of migration and perhaps also had no memory of the family's struggles in Chile. Eva includes in her migration narrative an evaluation of the social role changes that occurred after arrival by narrating her in-laws' words, encouraging their migration by saying her husband would be employable. In having her in-laws speak of the opportunities for her husband in Australia, it allows Eva to offset this with the positive upward mobility she has experienced after migrating. Eva's narrative of migration contextualizes a particularly salient aspect of the negotiation of social belonging for her, that of a significant role change within the family and the larger society. I will return to address the aspect of changing social position in section 6.4.

The final narrative of departure and arrival comes from Paulo and is of particular interest in what it reveals about the choices we make in telling our personal experience narratives, in this case, in the context of the research interview (this is also discussed further in section 6.8). Paulo, when asked during the first interview about when he came to Australia, also provided a brief narrative of migration to Australia:

Example 6.10

Paulo	erm, no it just happened, just happened, I came as a tourist and then stayed, and then stayed, and then, still here, so.
Emily	do you ever, plan on going back? do you plan on staying?
Paulo	don't know. too early to say.[Pa1:93]

This is the only account of his migration in all three interviews. On the surface, this looks familiar to Linde's (1993) discussion of the "management of inadequate causality" in life stories (p. 140). Linde finds that: "It appears that only accidents at major decision points require some form of remedial analysis; minor events may well be presented as being accidental." (p. 150). The above Example 6.10 appears superficially to contradict this. It was not until after the tape had stopped rolling at the end of the interview that Paulo confided that he had moved to Australia for love. He had chosen not to provide this narrative on tape, because he did not want to appear as someone who had migrated to be with someone, for someone, for love. At the same time, he did confess this when the recording was no longer in process. The performance of his identity is as much in the narratives he chooses to tell as those he does not.

All of the participants have experienced the process of migration, and as Nicolas aptly encapsulates in Example 6.1, what is left of these processes are memories. These fragments are drawn together and contextualized through narration. In telling their personal migration narratives, participants draw on similar structures and frameworks. All include an evaluation of why departure was acceptable, justifiable or necessary. Depending on the context of these narratives, and what sort of identity work the participant is doing, the evaluation and focus differ. Milena, for instance, with English learning as her focus, includes her employment trajectory and diminishes the focus on the aspect of romance by including mention of this only in the resolution of her narrative. Paulo excludes romance entirely in his on-record migration narrative, censoring this as part of his identity performance. Anna, in comparison, places romance at the centre of her migration process. What is relevant examining in these common narratives is viewing the different ways that participant entextualize and forefront social belonging and exclusion in this process of migration.

Change in place, the choice to migrate to Australia and how this journey is narrated is one important form of personal narrative in the data. Another important aspect of identity work done in the narrative in my data is that of negotiated changes in social role, particularly in relation to gendered behaviour (seen already in Example 6.8).

6.4 Transformations of Social Role: Gender and Family

In addition to narratives surrounding the processes of departure and arrival, narratives of social role change, post-migration, become a salient site of identity negotiation. This change occurs in relation to social position, and most frequently in relation to the position of men and women to each other within the couple. These renegotiations of gender role relate to changes in socio-economic position, place in the family, and place in society.

The change of gender roles in the face of L2 language use and migration has been noted by researchers in the field (Goldstein, 2001; Piller & Pavlenko, 2004, in press). Workplace skills particularly, are not always accepted as equivalent from one country to another, for example, Katja's qualifications from Denmark were not recognised in Australia, which meant she needed to do further training in order to work. This change in access, in particular along gender lines, is accompanied by a discursive re-evaluation of the place one has in one's family, social network, society, and in relation to self.

Some of the most salient examples of gender role negotiation appear in the focus group data. The context of Examples 6.11, 6.12 and 6.13 below is the first round focus group interview attended by Eva, Pia, and Kara (one of the participants from the Korean group). Gender and language

learning was the topic of discussion for this interview. The participants were split into groups of three to four participants, and groups comprised of people from the entire pool of participants (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.4). Pia did not arrive until 25 minutes into the interview, leaving Eva and Kara to talk for the first section of the interview. This was the first time they had met, but both began to discuss gender roles, particularly in relation to their marriages, almost immediately after the start of the interview. The women had spent almost the same amount of time living in Australia. Kara migrated from Korea in 1987, and Eva migrated from Chile in 1985. Both were married prior to migration, and migrated with their husbands. Kara had been married for 17 years at the time of the interview, Eva for 30. Kara had no children, Eva migrated with three. Both have substantially similar things to say about their roles as married women and how these roles have changed since migrating to Australia. Eva says she is aware her husband would prefer her to stay at home, rather than working and pursuing her third degree. Because of the rapport developed between Kara and Eva, and the ways that their stories are told to each other, in the following three examples I focus on both Eva and Kara, despite Kara not being included as one of my core participants.

The women narrate both personal experiences as well as the experiences of others, for the purpose of supporting the re-negotiation of gender identity in the migration context. Kara, early in the discussion of relationship difficulties in regard to changing social roles, talks of the state of her marriage:

Example 6.11

Kara	well, ... I think it started from before Christmas and erm we're still not in a good mood? because we had a real big f- fight over this, you know erm like erm, ... how can I say, equal opportunity or, [equal relationship sort]=
Emily	[ah! really!]
Kara	=of thing? and erm, you know, he's- he's got his own idea about erm, relationship of a couple? and [I've]=
Emily	[hm.]

Kara	=got my own idea and it's a little bit different. so erm, we so- sort of having a, we've got the age gap. quite a big age gap. and plus .h erm different generations got different culture and different idea.
Eileen	hm.
Kara	so you know, we're having, sort of a trouble.
Emily	ah.
Kara	and- and also we are in a different country? so erm there is another- erm it's another factor,
Emily	uhmhu.
Kara	affecting our relationship as well [so,]
Emily	[right.]
Kara	yeah. bit of a struggle at the moment. [FG1_2:212]

In this narrative, the relationship difficulties are framed as being due to a difference in understanding of how a couple ought to relate, compounded by the age gap between the couple, as well as the pressure of the migration context. Kara had finished a translation degree immediately prior to this interview. She had worked for three years as a fashion designer in Korea, but had been unsuccessful in finding work in that area in Australia. Gaining a degree in Korean as a Foreign Language (KFL) and another in interpreting was for vocational purposes. Her rationale in returning to gain further qualifications is to gain financial independence from her "very conservative Asian husband" [FG1_2:197] who, as she says is "old enough to be my father" [FG1_2:242]. The age gap has been significant in their relationship, both in Kara's construction of who has found it problematic, for instance her family, as well as at times herself. The pronoun usage in this narrative constructs the problems as something shared by the couple, through the frequent use of *we*, for example "we're still not in a good mood", rather than first and second person singular pronouns. The occurrences of *his* and *my* in this narrative appear in talking about the split of opinions about the role of a man and a woman in a relationship, marking and inflating this separation.

Kara, in Example 6.12 later in the same focus group, follows the discussion of the difficulties of migration and relationships with a narrative that broadens the experience of marital problems.

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Having already discussed renegotiated positions, Kara depersonalises the themes of the narrative

of personal experience seen in Example 6.11:

Example 6.12

Kara	yeah I think it's a- a bit, ... well I mean for both, for both erm erm a husband and a wife, it's very a difficult life in erm- you know living in a- other countries?
Eva	yeah.
Kara	e- because you can't get much help. from your relatives or families. .h because I saw that sort of situation from my friend? erm, ... actually they were having a pretty good life back in Korea and then since they moved to erm, migrated to Australia? .h their relationship's becoming shaky.
Emily	uhmhu.
Eileen	oh!
Kara	yes. very serious? once. at one stage they were really serious you know, .h and erm because ... erm ... when erm ... I think probably because, the language problem for a husband? they can't get a equal sort of a status, in [Australia,]
Emily	[yeah.]
Kara	so they always had to compromise with their social status, which you know sometimes, they- it may hurt their self respect? and that sort of stuff? and then erm, they feel really depressed, and then ... this goes to, i- that effects to their relationship.
/Emily/	hm.
Kara	like erm you know, he gets depressed and, he sort of say really erm, nasty things to her, wi- erm to his wife and, you know then the wife gets really angry and you know, talk back and,
Emily	@.
Kara	you know, all this relationships gets really, ... erm, bad and then erm, ... well, that sort of little argues? accumulate for a long time?
Emily	hm.
Kara	and then if there is anything just triggers this? then they REALLY really have a big fight.
Emily	yeah.
Kara	and then erm, they almost think of erm getting divorced or anything like that.
Emily	hm.
Kara	yeah very drastic. i- i- in any case ... I think once, at one stage they were really seriously thinking about divorce.
Emily	yeah.
Kara	yeah that was really serious. but then again erm, well, ... they had to calm down them-themselves and, you know they started talking, you know when you said that to me I felt blah blah blah, .h and then well, that's not my- that wasn't my intention, if you felt that way I feel sorry for that, and [blah]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Kara	=blah. so now they got back together which [is a]=
Emily	[@]
Kara	=really happy ending? but erm, well there is always a risk, in a relationship because erm you know all these situations have changed and erm, ... and also for the ... wife? she you know, she encounters all these different, .h erm, ... idea about these you know, equal sort of relationship between men and women,
Emily	yeah.
Kara	in Australia, so [she]=
Eileen	[@]
Kara	=compares you know?
Eva	@@.

Eileen	@@[@@]
Emily	[yeah.]
Kara	she starts comparing? her relationship with her husband?
Emily	uhmhu.
Kara	with erm, you know Australian, [FG1_2:792]

Kara's narrative above centres on the change in available spaces for her friend in Australian society. There is necessarily a repositioning of self to partner in the new context, in this case, framed as national space. The narrative encapsulates the discursive construction of gender that had occurred earlier in the interview, and particularly the changing role and meaning of *husband* and *wife*. The story of the difficulties others have encountered widens the experience beyond Kara and Eva themselves, initially by being explicitly about Kara's friends, and increasingly towards the end of the narrative, where the use of the adverb *always* "there is always a risk, in a relationship" and the following speech relating to the *wife* becomes ambiguous in regard to its specific referent.

It is also an important narrative in regard to the relationship between the private, individual space and the larger social structures that participants inhabit and how these have a symbiotic relationship. The restrictions migrants find, such as Kara's discussion of language problems related to access, particularly for the husband, are intimately tied to their relationship outcomes. The vying for gender equality in the relationship is pushed forward by the wife, who in this narrative context is doing the active *comparing*, where *equality* refers to the larger social equality between men and women. Kara's reference to *equal* in regard to her husband's need for equality relates to his prior position as husband and authority in the relationship. The difficulty for the husband is in finding this equality in the new national context, particularly because of language difficulties.

Eva also narrates the difficulties she is facing in her relationship shortly after Kara has done the same (Example 6.11). The narrative in 6.13 is fragmented and heavily evaluative in talking about the social role change that she has experienced post-migration:

Example 6.13

Eva	[it- it is hard! I think] what happens, I don't know something happens that, ...h when you're young and meet- the- we- whe- when I married we were close a- age, we didn't have a huge gap. difference. but? erm I think so- one people gro- o- one grew up, the other one didn't.
Emily	[hm.]
Eileen	[hm.]
Eva	so, we- we after- we came to Australia things changed. MY situation changed? so from being a housewife and mother? I have to become housewife mother and worker!
Kara	oh.
Emily	[@.]
Eva	[see,] [so you get]=
Kara	[that's /tough ?/.]
Eva	=your independence, so you are your own person, and you- and you see? that you can do whatever you want to be?
Kara	hm.
Emily	hm.
Eva	if you want to put the work? you do it. so in my case? I've been thinking oh I don't like this job, oh I don't like that, I want to go back to uni. so everyone would say, @why@ do you want to uni for! you are too old! to go back to uni. I said no I'm not old? my brain's still working?
Emily	[hm.]
Kara	[yes] [yes!]
Eva	[so] I went to uni, I got one degree? ... and then I got another one. and another one. [FG 1_2:289]

Eva specifically labels the roles she has had and has taken up. Eva draws on wider discourses of the positive changes women experienced through the 20th century and the move towards gender equality in society. Eva sees less of an all-encompassing positive change in available spaces for women, whether Australian or Chilean, and instead an increase in the burden. This is encapsulated by her listing of roles, first "housewife and mother" and then to "housewife mother and worker". The repetition of the initial categories stresses the increased work for the woman in the relationship. Eva challenges the depersonalised voices, "everyone would say", who try to deem her educational plans as aberrant. This resistance discourse is buttressed by what functions as the resolution of the narrative, whereby Eva has not only ignored these voices once, but has

proved over and over that she is capable and able. Eva constructs similarity with Kara by beginning her narrative with a reference to the age gap, reframing the gap as one of emotional maturity. Both Kara and Eva's narratives construct story worlds where increased empowerment and agency on the part of the wife is forefronted and pointed to as problematic in maintaining the prior status quo in the relationship after migration. Similar to the complexities of Anna's negotiation of belonging in relation to a sense that stable belonging means staying in one place (see discussion of Example 6.14), there is a complexity in both attempting to maintaining their marriages, while also negotiating what being a woman in Australian society has meant for each of them.

Another example of narratives of gender role negotiation comes from one of the other focus group, this one from Nicolas. The narrative concerns the way his wife Katja uses perceived gendered behaviour in the Australian context to negotiate what Nicolas sees as actually being about language difficulties. The narrative is told in Katja's absence:

Example 6.14

Nicolas	I experience something with my WIFE!
/Patrick/	ah.
Emily	ah!
Nicolas	in Denmark for example, my wife always asked me to go with her and, to- to organise everything because my Danish was better than hers.
Emily	oh.
Nicolas	but in Australia? she had the same chances because we both learned it in Australia, we both started to learn English in the same time? but she's not using this your English is better in erm in mine? but she's using something different.
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	she's using in Australia? they don't like to speak to a woman!
Patrick	@@@@@.
Emily	oh!
Nicolas	and there when I, but this is just excuse, because when I start to talk and erm, to the officers there where we have to organise things? I spoke to a woman! for example if I call someone, on the phone? it's a woman! on the other side so I'm saying to my wife Katja, I'm speaking to a woman! it's not a man.
Emily	@.
Nicolas	I mean, she sounds like a man! @.
Eileen	@@@.

Nicolas	so this is the e- excuse now? to- to put everything on my shoulders [is]=
Emily	[hm.]
Nicolas	=that erm, it's not so much that the English, can h- be a problem! for my wife? but rather that, here in Australia it's better if a MAN, is representing the family. [FG1_3:2364]

The context of the above narrative is a focus group he attended with three young men from the Korean research group. The prior discussion had been concerned with the way that the young men have been used by their parents as translators in the context of migration, in particular because of their English proficiency. In the telling of this narrative, Nicolas reveals a ruse performed by his wife. In his story, Katja is using gender as an excuse that is merely covering discomfort at using English, in this case on the phone. The question of whether the person on the phone is or is not a woman undermines the legitimacy of Katja's claim that some part of the communicative difficulties she faces can be attributed to issues of gender. Nicolas, as the man in the relationship, then has "everything on my shoulders". While the discussion prior to Example 6.14 was concerned with the change in generational relationship, Nicolas shifts the focus to his marriage in order to personalise the ways roles are renegotiated and along which axes. The national context is also made salient in the story-world through Katja's use of expected gendered behaviour in Australian society. The telling of this narrative leads the general direction of the focus group towards discussion of the roles of men and women in both intimate relationships and society generally, a topic that participants very actively engaged with in all of the gender focus groups.

In this section I have presented narratives of social role negotiation. All of these narratives show the inseparability between the gender roles in intimate relationship and those in the wider national contexts, and in particular, how these are forced to change in the context of a new society and language. These position negotiations are not only present in these explicit narratives of gender and migration, but are threaded through many of the narratives of migration and change

(seen also in following section 6.5). I will now move on to look at narratives relating to return to country of origin and general mobility, and how these contribute to the rewriting of self in migration contexts.

6.5 Narratives of Place of Origin

Discourses of migration and transformation are often made significant for participants in relation to return. Not all of the participants in the study had returned to their country of origin since their migration. Those who had returned narrativized their experiences and discussed the ability to reflect on identity change and negotiation in light of a return visit to their country of origin. Some linked this to being *othered* by people who are in a position to identify someone inside or outside of the borders of belonging, e.g. other L1 speakers of that country. For others, transformation was noted through a feeling of no longer being able to express in the L1 thoughts and ideas that had been acquired as part of the L2 repertoire.

In Example 5.30 (see Chapter 5) for instance, Eva tells of her code-switching experiences upon returning to Chile for a year, that she no longer feels Spanish or English alone is capable of expressing all she wants to say. In the narrative she tells in Example 6.15, Eva renegotiates language practices in the context of her return, through the desire for her L2 in her L1 context:

Example 6.15

Eva	when I went there last time? I t- I took with me like three or four cds, I said for the plane and whatever. and- and then I said because when I'm there I'm going to buy music in Spanish! music [that]=
Emily	[hm.]
Eva	=I cannot find here easily!
Emily	yeah.
Eva	/oh/ I started buying music /and/ listen to music and, knowing new people that I haven't, I haven't [heard /it/]
Emily	[heard of.] uhmhu.
Eva	yeah yeah. and I bought a couple of cds and one day I said, I need my music in @English@.

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Emily	@@@.
Eva	@@@.
Emily	[ah! is it-]
Eva	[so I went-] I went to this book erm record shop and I said to the guy, do you have anything in English but nice? [I]=
Emily	[@.]
Eva	=mean like, no no I mean, not the rock, you know?
Emily	yeah.
Eva	something nice. he said I've got the best of erm one of these erm country singers, I mean is it Willy Nelson? Willy,
Emily	oh yeah. [uhmhu.]
Eva	[and] I said I like him! I mean, many people [don't like that kind of music, but I like him! and I]=
Emily	[yeah. I like country music. I like it. hm.]
Eva	=like some country music and it- .h and I said le- let have a listen, and I- and it was wonderful! it was [beautiful!]
Emily	[yeah.]
Eva	and it was reduced? because,
Emily	@@ cause no one wants the country [music?]
Eva	[/it's all/] /?/ it was, erm so that- that was the only- the only cd in English that I had when I was there?
Emily	oh [right.]
Eva	[and I] used to listen from @time to time@ @. [E2:431]

Similar to the discourses examined in chapter 5 about the renegotiation of self in the country of origin space, the above narrative contributes to Eva's construction of her identity as including a desire for both Spanish and English. In the case of this story, at the point of departure, Eva assumes she will listen to music in Spanish when she is in Chile. The narrative produces the more complex understanding Eva has come to in relation to her language practices. It is not a matter of going to Chile and existing there only in Spanish. Sometime music needs to be in English. She laughs as she utters this evaluation, before recounting her humorous experience of buying the "nice" music of Willy Nelson. In this narrative of return, Eva finds new ways that she is consuming English that are not restricted by the national context. There is not a clear separation between identities that inhabit Australia and those that inhabit Chile.

Narratives of return often do the work of cultural comparison, functioning to separate what is good about *here* versus *there*. In Example 6.16, Jutta tells a personal experience narrative about an interaction in Germany to support her answer to my question about what she loves about Australia:

Example 6.16

Emily	and ... let's see what other, what other questions have I got for you, is there any- what is it that you what do you like about Australia.
Jutta	I think they're easy going.
Emily	yeah.
Jutta	see when you're erm here? ... you don't have to it's not very documents everywhere? and this and ... it's more easy laidback it's when you- when you in Germany you always have to have your- /have your/ passport or something and everything is /???/ much more ... you have to, I don't know be more strict or, I don't [know,]
Emily	[yeah.]
Jutta	see that's why it comes erm I don't know the right words to express myself.
Emily	ah.
Jutta	yeah. **aber** you know what I mean.
Emily	yeah I know what you mean, yeah /? erm/,
Jutta	yeah.
Emily	yeah. bureaucratic /you mean/, [yeah.]
Jutta	[yeah] yeah it is, everywhere. ... /now/ it's more easier here.
Emily	yeah.
Jutta	the people are, friendlier /and so/,
Emily	hm.
Jutta	yeah. /I think they are/ because for example we went erm, to just for information to a, how do you call it travel agent, [yeah?]
Emily	[uhmhu.]
Jutta	and he- how to go about with the train? the best way to go from Hamburg to Austria [yeah?]=
Emily	[uhmhu.]
Jutta	=how much and blah blah blah. and he said to give you the information it costs you two euro fifty.
Emily	what? [@@.]
Jutta	[yeah we] had to pay two euro fifty to get the information.
Emily	oh no.
Jutta	yeah! [@]
Emily	[@]
Jutta	so when you go here? they give you any information you want!
Emily	yeah.
Jutta	and- and I needed it so I had to.
Emily	yeah.
Jutta	had to @@ /hm/! two euro fifty.
Emily	/wow/.
Jutta	yeah!
Emily	@.
Jutta	yeah.

Emily	hm.
Jutta	yeah so, I- not only me I speak to others and they've been here at that same time erm, and he said no he- he got no urge to go back to @Europe@.
Emily	no
Jutta	@@@ @no@ @ .h it's beautiful countryside everywhere you go,
Emily	yeah=
Jutta	=yeah. **aber**, ... /no/ I think I belong here I've- [/?/]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Jutta	=/here/.
Emily	home here.
Jutta	yeah it's /home/, it's different life altogether. [J1:719]

Rather than the focus of the narrative being what Jutta loves about Australia, she instead uses what she doesn't like about Germany to illustrate why *here* is better. The initial response to my question about place is framed in terms of *people*: "I think they're easy going". Jutta then tells this narrative of her negative experience with the travel agent. Rather than being a narrative about frustrating bureaucratic practices, it is specifically framed as a narrative to illustrate typical German behaviour, which is the focus of the abstract. Of particular interest in regard to language practices, is that Jutta says that part of the problem is "I don't know the right words to express myself". Like Nicolas and Eva in Examples 4.48 and 4.49 (Chapter 4) where they talk of being identified as foreigners in the countries in which they grew up, Jutta finds it difficult to know what to say in the "strict" German context.

Similar to Kara in Example 6.12 (see also Nicolas in Example 6.18) the resolution to Jutta's narrative broadens the scope of reference from the individual to the group of migrants who have also shared these experiences through her use of "not only me". The coda to the story, "it's different life altogether", recontextualises the narrative in the wider discourse of belonging to the nation. This is also supported by the distancing strategies Jutta uses, both in not wanting to return, "no urge to go back", and finally with a separation of her time in Europe and in Australia as different lifetimes.

Narratives concerning a changed relationship to place of origin also contribute to the construction

of belonging to place and culture as something that is flexible over time and context. Nicolas and

Katja in Example 6.17 talk about the changes in their attitudes towards Polish food, which begins

with a comment on Polish as their intimate language:

Example 6.17

Nicolas	we will not be very happy if @somebody spoke Polish to us@ @@.
Emily	@.
Nicolas	stopping us talking to each @other@.
Katja	@@.
Nicolas	but one thing is funny,
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	we started to revisit a Polish shop.
[...]	
Nicolas	about six years ago, before we came to Australia we went to Chicago, we [were]=
Emily	[hm.]
Nicolas	=invited by erm Katja's cousin.
Emily	oh okay.
Nicolas	erm erm, was strange because every Saturday? was a Saturday Katja he took us in erm to the car? and he went to the other side of Chicago to buy erm erm [Polish bread.]
Katja	[Polish bread.]
Emily	oh!
Nicolas	and I said to Katja, what a nonsense! because in Denmark? we were not able to buy Polish bread! we @bought@ the Danish bread? or we made the bread ourselves!
Emily	yeah.
Katja	/? we/ like Danish people. yeah they are, it's erm different climate you know a lot of erm darks, erm erm evenings? [and]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Katja	=you, erm so you enjoy a little bit more cooking? [so,]=
Emily	[hm.]
Katja	they- they do quite often the erm,
Emily	make bread.
Katja	bread. home [bread?]
Emily	[hm] that can be [really good.]
Katja	[yeah. yeah but it's-]
Nicolas	[and yeah. and I said] to Katja, I will- I will not DRIVE to this- [to]=
Katja	[no.]
Nicolas	=this [other]=
Emily	[@.]
Nicolas	=part of [the]=
Katja	[uhmhu.]
Nicolas	=city to buy POLISH [@bread@.]
Katja	[yes] some people are [erm, just STUCK in,]
Nicolas	[but @today@ I am driving to] R town?

Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	to buy the Polish @sausage@
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	[ah from time to time.] [KN2:1722]

The context of the above narrative is a discussion about the couple's involvement in the Polish community and their use of Polish as an intimate language (see also Example 5.7, Chapter 5). The consumption of Polish food becomes a salient marker of a move from Polish as a private, couple identity, to Polish as part of a public identity. In the initial Danish migration context, the lack of access to Polish food meant that it was part of a private practice at home. Travelling excessive distances to buy bread is inconceivable to Nicolas, even in the context of Chicago where there is a large Polish community. Katja, although unable wholly to take the floor in this narrative, does contribute to the idea that this sort of nostalgia is a form of cultural stasis that people are "stuck" in. The change in attitude in relation to these foods has been accompanied by a change in attitude towards markers of Polish identity. It is no longer the simple attitude of not eating Polish food because you are in Denmark, but a complex appreciation of how places and practices intersect.

Narratives of place of origin, whether of return or renegotiated relationships and attitudes, contribute to the creation of belonging and self positioning. Whether narrating about negative experiences in place of origin, changed language practices and desire, or changed desire for foods, these stories contribute to the ways participants position themselves as navigating the complex relationships they have to place.

Another important form of narrative data that constructs belonging in the corpus is that of negotiating couplehood. The next section focuses on the narratives Katja and Nicolas tell of their meeting and the coincidences in their histories that construct their belonging to each other.

6.6 Couples Narratives: The Case of Nicolas and Katja

Section 6.4 focused on how participants narrate the transformation of social role in the context of migration. This section focuses on belonging from a smaller perspective: That of the couple. Some of the most developed, extensive narratives in the data are romance narratives and stories that construct coherent couplehood. Katja, Nicolas, Jutta and Milena all produce romance narratives of meeting their respective spouses in Australia. The most intricate and well-crafted are the narratives that are told by Nicolas and Katja together. The couple expertly negotiate co-telling and in the process manage their relationship discursively. The narratives I present in this section come from the same focus group interview. Katja and Nicolas perform their couplehood through the coincidences in their past and the story of their meeting that are part of the performance of their coherent couple identity, stressing the importance of intimate belonging.

Although Katja and Nicolas met each other in Denmark, in Example 6.18 below, they narrate the coincidence of being born in the same hospital in Poland, interweaving their histories and supporting a fated meeting later in their lives. This leads to a second coincidence narrative Katja tells of meeting Nicolas's mother (Example 6.19). Immediately prior to the utterance from Nicolas that begins this example below, Jutta had been discussing the miscommunications between herself and her husband that she attributes to them both being L2 users of English who

do not share an L1. With his typical humour, Nicolas says of the communication between himself

and Katja:

Example 6.18

Nicolas	we- we, ... we are born in the same @hospital@ so d-, [so we @don't@ have a- @we don't have a @problems@.]
Emily	[yeah! /?/ such a coincidence!] because you didn't- it's-
Katja	no, [my fa-]
Emily	[cause you] met in Denmark, [so it's,]
Katja	[he was] living in erm a cit- erm in a ci- city which one erm hospital. erm one big hospital but my mother? went erm just to- to give birth?
Emily	uhmhu.
Katja	because erm they had family? in the same city? so family could look after my brother.
Emily	right.
Katja	during erm when my mother was at hospital, because in those times it was compulsory to stay at hospital seven days, [with baby.]
Emily	[oh!]
Katja	yeah ju- just for because of baby and,
Emily	yeah.
Katja	some- a little bit old fashioned,
Emily	yeah.
Katja	attitude? hm.
Emily	though, it seems better than kicking people out after what a- a day! or whatever it is [now which is,]
Jutta	[and now two] days erm you out [see?]
Emily	[crazy!] [it's, hm.]
Katja	[no tho-] those time erm they had an attitude that erm they protect baby from [erm germs?]
Jutta	[hm. yeah] hm [yeah.]
Emily	[oh] right.
Katja	yeah which was totally wrong.
Emily	uhmhu.
Katja	and I think it was opposite!
Emily	yeah.
Katja	yeah because a lot of people- foreign people and foreign environment and erm, ... and but so, so my mother went to, to a city erm Walbrzych? erm because erm they had family? and family looked after my brother?
Emily	uhmhu.
Katja	in seven days and my mother was at ho- hospital, so I am born in the same city but I [was living /?/.]
Nicolas	[same city same hospital.] probably in same bed! because it was just-
ALL	@@@.
Emily	[one bed.]
Nicolas	[one or] two beds so the chance is fifty fifty. and there we sit together here in Australia @@@.
Eileen	@.
Emily	very strange. so it's-
Katja	and yeah. I was erm ... it's just some coincidence I- I think yeah.
Jutta	life is [yeah,]
Nicolas	[life] is /one big/ [coincidence.]

Jutta	[coincidence] yeah [it is yeah.]
Nicolas	[yes.] /or fortunately/.
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	fortunate.
Emily	oh! unfortunately, is that what you @@@@.
Nicolas	[sorry!] . **[**FG2_1:230]

The narrative above contributes to constructing fate as a way of creating self and couple coherence for Katja and Nicolas. Through this narrative they, and particularly Katja, rewrite their relationship as destined from birth. The importance of their meeting is reinforced in Katja's telling of their shared birthplace, of her mother having to go to the city where Nicolas's mother lived and the fact that she had family in that city. The coincidences are forefronted in Katja's talk rather than, for instance, the fact that Nicolas was born three years later. Performing their relationship is not about the telling of hardships and work in managing being a couple, but of destiny.

Nicolas begins this example with humour, to which he returns as Katja is nearing the resolution of the narrative. The humour stands in contrast to Katja's narrative. Nicolas, making light of the story Katja tells, suggests that the hospital only had one or two beds. In doing so, he alters the tone of the story. Nicolas takes the floor and directs the close of the story, taking the focus from Katja. Nicolas's coda, "life is /one big/ coincidence" to which Jutta agrees, broadens their experience to something that is central to life. Coherence is found in unexpected patterns. The narrative itself and the telling of it are performing the function of creating coherence out of coincidence. Possibly in response to a feeling that the humour Nicolas uses in taking the floor to resolve the narrative diminishes the importance of coincidence in their couple coherence. Katja continues with a second coincidence narrative to support the one told in Example 6.18. In the context of migration and negotiating belonging, the construction of coherent couplehood takes a central place.

This second narrative (Example 6.19, below) is a more concrete one, in that it is Katja's personal experience, rather than one she has been told by her mother. Example 6.18 continues directly into the following coincidence narrative below, told by Katja about how she and her daughter, Magda, met Nicolas's mother in Poland. This story is an experience that is Katja's alone and during which Nicolas is unable to take the floor successfully:

Example 6.19

Katja	[and it's erm,] how it can be? erm but it's one thing that's really mystic? is that erm I never met Nicolas's mother? erm I met your- just once. I went with Magda? to m-, to my friend, in- in- it was when we were living in Poland? and erm, ... my friend gave Magda some erm broken watch.
Jutta	uhmhu.
Katja	because Magda was seven eight years old? but watch on the backside? was translucent. so Magda could see how erm those spirals are working? and she was very fascinated, about that. and she gave her this broken watch so- so she could turn spiral? and see how it's working, when we came home, so Magda asked me oh where is my watch I said, oh Magda I'm so sorry I forget. erm it's still erm,
Jutta	yeah.
Katja	there. oh! mum, I- I want to go back erm it was erm, more than two kilometres, and so I didn't feel like to go back, just to pick up this watch? I- I asked her could we maybe go another time? maybe one- next week? oh I- I- I want so much I- I erm oh [she gave me]=
Emily	[@@@.]
Katja	=and yeah ok, now what to do. again shoes on, and we went to pick up this watch. and when we came to pick up this watch so, erm Nicolas's mother? was there for erm es- came to visit these friends,
Jutta	visit yes.
Katja	yeah and- and and- of course when we came in so they introduce me and we had a cup of tea? and we pick up the watch and come back, and it was the only one,
Jutta	one t- met your [grandma @@.]
Katja	[one yeah,] because she died after one year?
Eileen	oh.
Katja	so I- if I didn't came back to pick up- pick up this watch, I would never see Nicolas's mother!
Emily	so is that before you'd met each other? or,
Nicolas	uhmhu.
Katja	yeah before we- we met each other after three years [maybe two years, yeah, yeah.]
Emily	[yeah!]
Nicolas	[in Denmark we met each other,]
	even if /we/-
Katja	and I didn't know Nicolas those time, and erm,
Emily	huh.
Katja	and erm Nicolas's mother came from other CITY! to visit this friend.
Emily	wow! ho-

Katja	so it was really erm,
Jutta	really coincidence [isn't it.]
Katja	[coincidence] [yeah.]
Emily	[yeah!]
Jutta	how life [plays tricks yeah?]
Nicolas	[it is, /?/]
Emily	gosh!
Katja	yeah so now I always, when I see somebody on tv I know- Nicolas say me oh it's erm like my mother I say yes I know, because I met her!
Emily	huh.
Katja	yeah. so if I didn't came back erm, which was quite difficult for me because we made two kilometres this way, two kilometres this way and AGAIN two kilometres and again two kilometres so @@, it was erm, that was quite interesting! [you know.]
Nicolas	[yeah.]
Emily	how did- and how did you work out that, when did you work out that you'd met Nicolas's mum.
Katja	after when I [met]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Katja	=erm Nicolas in DENMARK, I met him in Denmark [not]=
Emily	[yeah!]
Katja	=in Poland.
Emily	yeah.
Katja	so, so he told me about erm some mother's friends and it was this lady which gave this watch and I said oh! I know her because she gave this watch to Magda? and, and I t- told him how it was and when I came back, hm erm it was another lady from Walbrzych it's the city where he's born, and he told me it's my mum!
Emily	[@.]
Katja	[because] she visit her this day and I know.
Emily	wow.
Katja	yeah. and hm. [and erm-]
Emily	[that's-]
Katja	and she told me that her son is in Denmark? and erm,
Emily	hm!
Katja	emigrate and how he's doing but for me it was just, you know just story because I didn't know him. [FG2_1:298]

The narrative in Example 6.19 is a more detailed and intricate narrative of personal experience than the one told before it in Example 6.18. The narrative as a whole can be divided into three parts. The first involves the initial telling of the story up until my question: "so is that before you'd met each other?" In the second section following this question, Katja reiterates earlier sections of the narrative and also provides a coda that relates the story back to their current relationship. This coda brings in Nicolas, with Katja explaining that when he speaks of his mother, she is able to understand. This adds further support to the couple work that Katja is doing

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in being able to see Nicolas's perspective. The third section follows my question about how Katja worked out that it was Nicolas's mother that she had met.

The repetitions in this narrative stress the extent of the coincidences of Katja meeting Nicolas's mother. For instance, she emphasises the difficulty of the travel to retrieve the watch through repetition. Katja talks of the "two kilometres" in the first recount of the story, and then repeats it four more times when she returns to the narrative in the second section. Katja also stresses her lack of desire to return to the friend's house through "just" in "just to pick up the watch" and then the repetition of this phrase, "pick up the watch", four more times. Another addition to their unlikely return, and therefore unlikely meeting, is implied in the "again shoes on". The implication is that there is a larger force of fate working against all these odds. The discourse of "coincidence" becomes a coherence strategy in building Katja and Nicolas's couplehood. A final example of the expert ways that Nicolas and Katja co-construct belonging and coherence through their couplehood is in the telling of how they met.

In the same focus group interview, Katja and Nicolas co-perform their meeting narrative. The narrative, as with that of Examples 6.18 and 6.19, is extensive and well-crafted. Even more than these previous examples, their meeting narrative is one in which both of the couple contribute their sometimes conflicting points of view and evaluation. Below is Katja and Nicolas's co-constructed narrative in its entirety. It is presented as whole to give the complete perspective of the negotiation that is occurring in the narrative, including the recurring evaluation sections and the expert navigations of conflict and contradiction:

Example 6.20

Emily	so that was- it was really quickly after you got to Denmark that you met [each other.]
Katja	[very quickly.]
Emily	yeah.
Katja	because Nicolas came,
Emily	@@ @look [at you@.]
Katja	[I was in] a special hotel?
Emily	uhmhu.
Katja	erm for migrants? where rooms were very cheap and government paid for those hotel? and erm, ... erm it was just I got very small room with very small erm bathroom?
Milena	[hm.]
Katja	[and] and we- I was together with Magda? and Nicolas came to the same hotel?
Eileen	@.
Katja	to see some other! friends.
Nicolas	some other girl.
Katja	s- s- erm [some other girl,]=
Emily	[@@@.]
Jutta	[@@@.]
Katja	=who came from Poland.
Emily	uhmhu.
Katja	yeah and I was so unlucky? and I went [out of my room,]
Nicolas	[you were lucky @@@.]
Milena	@!
Emily	@@.
Katja	went out of my room and erm we erm met on the stairs. yeah and it was [one and a-]
Nicolas	[and I said] this beautiful girl, I have t- because I already erm lived in erm Denmark three years.
Katja	if I just stay in this [room]=
Nicolas	[and,]
Katja	=maybe ten minutes?
Nicolas	and I loved, it was a place they called rose garden. which- beautiful place with lot- lot of roses. and I met this nice girl and I said would you like to- to go with me to the, erm rose garden.
Emily	uhmhu.
Nicolas	and Katja looked at me I was a @strange person@ @@@ her stare /???/. and she didn't answer at my- I gave her my telephone call but she never come back. but, we stay together!
Katja	because erm AGAIN we met [I]=
Nicolas	[we,]
Katja	=didn't answer the, erm no [I thought it's]=
Emily	[you didn't call no.]
Katja	=strange man.
Emily	@yeah@ @@.
Jutta	@@.
Nicolas	strange young [man.]
Katja	[sa-] saw me five minutes ago and already ask me out. I said it must be [something wrong]=

Nicolas	[I'm quick.]
Katja	=with him.
Jutta	@@@@@@@@@.
Katja	but we met again? because he came again? to- to [to this-]
Nicolas	[to this] other girl.
Katja	to the other girl,
Emily	@@@.
Katja	from Poland so we met again erm erm in a elevator? or, I- I can't the lift? [yeah.]
Nicolas	[I don't] know.
Katja	so so this time it was second time we met each other so, hm.
Nicolas	then Katja agreed to go to this [rose garden?]=
Katja	[yeah rose garden.]
Nicolas	=and,
Katja	@@@.
Nicolas	hm?
Milena	that's [it! ... roses geez.]
Nicolas	[now we're together, it's a good story] actually.
Katja	roses are very danger @@@@.
ALL	[@@@@.]
Milena	what a lovely story!
Emily	yeah. you missed the erm the stories earlier of- of all the other coincidences it's amazing.
Katja	it's a- erm it's a, it's a difference of mentalities? as well?
Emily	hm.
Katja	from country to country because he gave me q- very quick his telephone number? and say erm so please call me if you have time?
Emily	hm.
Katja	and for me? from Poland to call a man? which I don't know? do you know this situation?
Emily	@@.
Katja	it was like, absolutely I- I couldn't think! to do it yeah? so I came to my room and, and threw this telephone number i- in the, ... erm,
Nicolas	erm,
Emily	in the [garbage.]
Katja	[garbage] bin? yeah. ... and because in Poland was that men should call a woman? as you know and it was totally different.
Nicolas	but I already [li-]
Katja	[but] he was already [three years here.]
Nicolas	[I already was] Danish I had very much the [Danish influence for]=
Katja	[yeah, so he changed.]
Nicolas	=me everything has to happen.
Jutta	@@.
Nicolas	oh nice girl would you like to go with @to@ to to,
Katja	give me a call, yeah.
Nicolas	give me a call! @@.
Emily	yeah.
Nicolas	[yeah,]
Katja	[but] now- now erm,
Nicolas	because it's [different]=
Katja	[it's changed.]
Nicolas	=what I found out was that, when I came from Poland to Denmark, I realised that it was huge difference in lifestyle. I was young and I embraced the Danish, open he- open erm erm society, you- you talki- you were able to talk more freely in Denmark?

Emily	hm.
Nicolas	we're talking about seventy one remember seventy one, and I could this same time? on the other side of the border which was Poland! so Katja came in, she had this Polish type of,
Katja	uhmhu.
Nicolas	[you know,]
Katja	[an attitude] thing.
Nicolas	attitude where I was, oh no! /??/
Katja	no I- I said if he gives me after three minutes he gives me his telephone number? he might do it to everybody! you know? it was my,
Emily	@! [@@@.]
Katja	[thinking!] yeah so erm, [it's,]
Nicolas	[I would] not say to everybody! but to every second nice girl! I mean,
Jutta	[@@@.]
Milena	[@@@.]
Emily	[@.]
Katja	@so@ @@ so I didn't call him! [FG 2_1:3052]

Katja begins the narrative, providing an orientation for the narrative. Once she arrives at a point where Nicolas enters the narrative, coming to the hotel "to see some other! friends", he takes the floor specifying that he was visiting another woman. This is the first significant point at which the romance narrative is concerned with negotiating socially prescribed gendered behaviour. In navigating through this presentation of the two conflicting sides of meeting, Nicolas and Katja rely heavily on humour to ease disagreement, for example Katja's "I was so unlucky?" and Nicolas's overlapping "you were lucky" and her conjecture that if only she had stayed in her room another "ten minutes" they would never have met. This is a common strategy in their talk. It is paralleled, for example, in Nicolas's use of humour at the end of Example 6.18.

Nicolas's reflection on his behaviour in approaching Katja is through the lens of the interview context in Australia. He compares his behaviour as other than it would have been had he been in Poland "because I already erm lived in erm Denmark three years", reflecting from the Australian position. In this construction, there is a gap left in which there is no explanation for how "beautiful girl" and the dependent clause above relate to each other. The explanation is that from Katja's perspective, newly arrived from Poland, Nicolas is breaking rules of behaviour. This is

provided by Nicolas a few turns later by his noting that Katja looked him as if he was a "strange person".

Nicolas closes the story after the date in the rose garden. Milena adds to the closure of the narrative by adding her agreement. My reporting to Milena about the earlier coincidence narrative she had missed, reopens the floor for Katja to add further evaluation to the meeting narrative. The evaluation that she and Nicolas add relates specifically to this gendered behaviour and becomes a marker of Nicolas's acquired Danishness. The narrative ends with the couple's disagreement in the story-world, which still remains something enjoyable and humorous for both to perform. In creating their belonging to each other in constructing their couplehood, Katja and Nicolas participate in both implicitly and explicitly engaging with social gender norms and how these change in the process of migrating to new national contexts.

Example 6.20 displays a deft performance of couplehood. Nicolas and Katja both relate their sides of the story, while managing to agree to disagree on their points of view. They expertly navigate and repair conflict, in letting each other tell their sides of the story and using humour to manage disagreement. Katja and Nicolas's performance of couplehood involves the telling of narratives that create a fated belonging to one another. This discourse of coincidence appears in both narratives, in Example 6.18 with Katja meeting Nicolas's mother, and in Example 6.20 with Katja walking out of the room at the right time.

The meeting narrative also shows, as do the narratives in section 6.4, how wider social discourses are navigated on the level of individual and couple. Seen alongside the narratives presented in

this chapter that account for change in place and social role, these romance narratives provide a particularly important site of coherence and stability for Nicolas and Katja. It provides a further example of gender positioning and the resistance on both Katja and Nicolas's parts to the roles in which they were placed by the social and individual constraint, in the Danish story context and in the context of the Australian telling.

Another aspect of the rewriting of self in narrative is the sense of a loss of an original self, experienced in the process of migration. In the next section I will look at some of these narratives of loss and how they contribute to identity construction.

6.7 Narrating Loss

The discourse of loss appears in the data as part of participants' performance of identity negotiation. Nicolas talks of a loss of the humorous part of his personality, a part that was central to his sense of self. Nicolas reports this as a general feeling and does not embed this in narrative form. Anna uses a discourse of loss in the evaluation within the larger narrative of living and learning English in London:

Example 6.21

Anna	[and] so on and I was living in a lets- m- multi ethnic erm building @ @so@ @@@ .h yes so, erm it that was a good op- it was a good opp- opportunity I'd been talking a lot actually [that]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Anna	=holiday, hm it just changed my life [I]=
Emily	[hm!]
Anna	=think, perspectives [and]=
Emily	[yeah.]
Anna	=so on, understanding what- what is outside.
Emily	[hm.]
Anna	[my-] I come from a small town.
Emily	oh right.
Anna	yes.
Emily	straight to the big city then [/?/.]

Anna	[yes] to the big city where there are people from different environments,
Emily	[hm.]
Anna	[where] there are also, different values /and/ then there [are]=
Emily	[hm.]
Anna	=erm, so and I I /wasn't an adult/ by twenty two but, still I think it it had such an impact,
Emily	yeah.
Anna	in a way it improved my life, and the other way just destroyed my life [/???/]
Emily	[@@]
Anna	yes, because it makes you realise or, for .h what you want? or what you don't want? [A1:296]

The narrative continues with Anna telling the story of meeting her "first Australian boyfriend" while on holiday and her further experiences of learning English at university and in interaction with George. For Anna, the transformation and opening up that occurred as a consequence of experiencing a new society is recognized as both a loss and a gain. Anna returns to this discourse of loss later in the interview, cross-referencing this narrative, but not producing the narrative form (see Chapter 1 for this example).

Although Katja and Nicolas distance themselves from the Polish community in some parts of their discussion (for instance, see Example 5.6, Chapter 5), there is also a discourse of understanding the difficulties of migration, in particular, the move from Poland to Denmark and the consequences this brings particularly for those who have either or both a professional and personal attachment to poetic expression. The following narrative about the death of a Polish filmmaker, illustrates the particular difficulties that they feel people share in losing some degree of the ability to express and communicate with those around you:

Example 6.22

Katja	[yeah.] erm ... erm in Denmark we were living in a suburb? erm quite nice suburb? ... erm in- in a house. and erm one day we read in a local newspaper that erm, erm ... a film erm erm, ... instructor?
Nicolas	director.
Katja	director. a film erm director from Poland? erm was his name /ford/.

Emily	[hm.]
Katja	[becomes] suicide. and we get shock because he was living two streets from us. really two streets. and if we KNEW that he's so lonely, and erm,
Emily	yeah.
Katja	yeah and is just so upset you know? we could go and talk to him? and he could come to us, because we were MISSING,
Emily	hm.
Nicolas	contact with,
Katja	contact with [intelligent people? yeah.]
Nicolas	[people of this type, yeah.]
Emily	[yeah.]
Katja	and he was erm, and later we were reading that he was alone, came [from]=
Emily	[oh.]
Katja	=Poland, and erm couldn't come in contact because of people because of language and become depressed and, [at]=
Emily	[hm.]
Katja	=at the end he become suicide. and he, no he was very very good erm,
Nicolas	was very good director [and made very]=
Katja	[/they ?/]
Nicolas	=good, few polish films? which are [part of Polish]=
Katja	[got OUR,]
Nicolas	=film history [now.]
Emily	[oh] right.
Katja	yeah REALLY really good [director.]
Nicolas	[very] good yeah.
Katja	so .h it's, I- I- I think that people like erm that? erm these kind of people are suffering more.
Nicolas	[yeah.]
Emily	[yeah. uhmhu.]
Katja	[I /would/] think.
Emily	uhmhu.
Katja	yeah. because erm, for them language is erm, not only ... erm ... tools, tool of communication it's erm just, that is life, that is everything. you [know?] [KN2:1585]

The above narrative stresses how both Katja and Nicolas have felt the challenges of coping with the difficulties of language use and identity change in the context of migration, and therefore the desire to build solidarity with those that go through the same process. The constructed solidarity on the basis of shared national background, including shared language, is a powerful claim to the importance of an emotional and social attachment to shared belonging.

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6.8 Reflections on the Interview Process: The Case of Milena

As part of the interview process, between the first and second interviews, participants had the chance to review the transcript of the first interview. This allowed for some degree of self-reflection on what had been discussed in the first interview. With regard to identity transformation and reflection, Milena's review of her first interview is of particular interest.

Unlike the other participants, whose three rounds of interviews took place over the course of one year, Milena's first interview took place in 2001 as part of the pilot study, so three years had elapsed between her first and second interview. Prior to this interview, she reviewed a copy of the transcript from her first interview. Similar to Example 6.10, where Paulo silences parts of his migration narrative in order to perform a particular identity and censor others, Milena (although this time on tape) reflects on the way she constructs herself in the first interview:

Example 6.23

Milena	some of the things we talked about is funny, and the stories!
Emily	yeah.
Milena	@@. I can't even- re@member some of [them@ @]
Emily	[really!] oh.
Milena	it was bizarre.
Emily	I know it's kind of funny how quickly you, well what- I don't know the different things that are at the front of your mind at certain points I suppose.
Milena	yeah!
Emily	yeah. oh.
Milena	I just got to read about erm, how I got to learn English and, I actually contradicted myself few times [@@ /?/]=
Emily	[@@@.]
Milena	=/as well/ in the conversation.
Emily	.h
Milena	I said- I think they said oh I don't speak- we don't speak erm Czech at all and then I said, but FEW months ago? I have these Czech friends coming over? [and erm]=
Emily	[yeah!]
Milena	=you know? so I see them like every- every f- every week? once every week? but of course we talk English with them, but then I said but I speak Czech to them too so, [@it was@ kinda like]=
Emily	[@@@ .h]
Milena	=ok! you've thought about it. [M2:17]

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Milena sees her discursive construction of identity as situated and contextual. Her perspective, four years on, is unsurprisingly very different. She notes her contradictions and later mentions how she had been surprised by the importance she had placed on her husband as part of her language learning process. At the time of this second interview, the couple had separated and the shift of frame towards university as most important in her success, mentioned after Example 6.23, is now a more obvious evaluation. The framing of events in narrative in one space and time will always include silences that cannot be heard by the listener. Example 6.23 adds to the understanding that narratives are used as resources to negotiate situated identities. This is also seen clearly in Paulo's migration narrative (Example 6.10), which is particularly short, and which he did not explicate until after the tape had stopped recording. Like Nicolas in example 6.1, Milena, in the example above, is noting that the way she has used her life-stories has shifted and that these stories are available resources in creating coherence.

6.9 Summary

This chapter demonstrates, just as Wodak et al (1999) explain (section 6.1), that complex and fluid selves are constructed in narrative. The analysis has also shown how important narratives are as a site for the voicing of the negotiation of change. In my corpus the stories of migration told by my participants all highlight different aspects of these negotiations.

For Nicolas, employment takes a central place in the migration to Australia, but the migration also involved a negotiation between the couple in choosing to stay (Example 6.2), whereas for Anna (Example 6.4) romance is the most salient discourse in her migration narrative. Paulo in

contrast (Example 6.10), actively silences the role of romance in making his decision to migrate to Australia. Eva's account is inseparable from the changes that she has navigated as a migrant woman in Australia (Example 6.9 and also Example 6.13). These renegotiations of gender role after migration are also prominent in the focus group data discussed in section 6.4.

Although place of origin may appear to be a stable home in contrast to place of migration, relationships to the place where one grew up must also necessarily be renegotiated. This is done in light of the experiences of return, for example in Eva's altered experiences with English and Spanish upon returning to Chile (Example 6.15). Jutta also uses her experience of return to generalize about national behaviour in Germany as an explanation of why she prefers Australia (Example 6.16). Katja and Nicolas, in their discussion of Polish food and cooking practices in Denmark, the United States and Australia, negotiate a complex relationship to cultural practices and what should be done within the national border (Example 6.17). In the Australian context, the practices have become hybrid and, although a guilty pleasure, it has become acceptable for Nicolas to drive out of his way to buy Polish sausages.

Self and other coherence and the negotiation of change through narrative are seen clearly in the co-constructed relationship narratives of Katja and Nicolas (Examples 6.18, 6.19 and 6.20). The couple create coherence out of coincidence, with Katja particularly providing narratives that stress the importance of fate in their life together. These narratives are also a site where larger social constructs are renegotiated in the face of change. In Example 6.20, for instance, Katja and Nicolas see the new national space of Denmark providing different gendered behaviours from the Polish context. In these narratives it is possible to see that the negotiations that go on in intimate

relationships are inseparable from the negotiations of wider social categories of belonging, such as how men and women are expected to behave in a national context.

These changes are not easily navigated. Eva and Kara (Examples 6.11, 6.12 and 6.13) talk of the struggles they face in their marriages as a consequence of the changes they encounter after migration. Living in a second language and country represented both a difficulty and an awakening. Anna, in Example 6.21, talks of improvement and destruction after leaving home. Both of these feelings contribute to a need to find coherence through story-telling. Katja and Nicolas, in telling the story of the film-maker's suicide, narrate the difficulty in the loss of community, particularly a language community that one can feel has important shared experiences that could possibly prevent such a tragedy.

Over time, of course, these perspectives alter and the narratives change. As Milena says in reviewing her narratives from the pilot study in 2001, these are stories that are no longer as salient for her. These negotiations of self and change are constantly written and rewritten. What is relevant in the narratives examined in this chapter are the rich and complex narratives that highly proficient adult L2 users of English tell in negotiating social belonging and identity after their migration to Australia. The significance lies in the situated coherence created in the telling of one's stories and in drawing together the threads of ones life in the moment of narration.

In the next chapter I will draw together my findings and revisit the research question. I will also address the implications of this research for work in L2 learning and use, as well as approaches to national identity.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The discursive construction of belonging is a complex and situated practice, tied both to linguistic repertoire as well as interactional context. This dissertation has addressed questions of how social belonging is negotiated by highly proficient adult L2 users of English in the Australian migrant context. In this chapter I will revisit my research questions, draw together my findings and present the implications of the study and further directions for future research.

7.2 Questions Revisited

The broader research question addressed in this dissertation has been:

> How is social belonging and exclusion constructed in the discourses of long-term highly proficient adult L2 English users in Australia?

Through the course of the interview process, listening to participants tell their stories of migration and examining the data, it became clear that participants align themselves with, and distance themselves from circulating discourses of adult L2 user identity in the national space of Australia. The questions that emerged and were answered in the analysis are as follows:

1. How do participants construct identities of success and failure in L2 learning?

2. How do participants negotiate national identities as adult migrants to Australia?

3. How does narrative discourse serve to contextualize the negotiation of social belonging and exclusion?

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In the following sections I will draw my findings together from each of the analysis chapters to answer these questions.

7.2.1 Question One: Success, Failure and Social Belonging

How do participants construct identities of success and failure in L2 learning?

One of the most important aspects of this study is that all of my participants are highly proficient adult L2 users of English. All have had success in their pursuit of educational and professional goals after migrating to Australia. At the same time, in discussing their processes of migration and language use, they still continue to produce discourses of failure, alongside those of success. The question is why? Why do my participants feel that they have not achieved success? Or more importantly how are success and failure defined? How are they anchored?

A central claim of this research is that success is linked not to objective standards, or innate learning ability, but to discourses of belonging. Success, as an identity, is necessarily fluid and contextual. As Anna says when asked about success, her question is "what does success mean to you" (Example 4.32), and extending from this, *where* and *how* does success *mean*. This study has been particularly concerned with the ways in which social belonging has a national orientation. Success is not merely a sense of personal achievement; it is constructed in interactional contexts, and in this case, interactions within the confines of a particular imagined community. The Australian imagined community has normalized homogenizing values attached to how a member sounds, speaks and behaves.

To begin with, participants use cognitive factors to account for success and failure. The brain is used particularly as a stable frame of reference. Katja and Nicolas, for instance, frequently draw on the brain as a coherence factor in accounting for failure, discussing innateness and the location of language in the brain to account for learning difficulty (Examples 4.19, 4.26, and 4.27). Fixedness also appears through metaphorical usage. For example Paulo uses the metaphor of brain as computer in discussing language use (Example 4.24). The brain is not always linked to learning difficulty. Milena, for example, draws on biological factors in accounting for success. The brain is an anchor to explain how learning English "was simple" (Example 4.25). Nicolas also references the brain in positive learning outcomes (Example 4.8). In both of these examples, there is still a preference for innateness metaphors over metaphors that emphasize interaction. In forefronting innateness over interaction, participants diminish their own agency in learning success.

Age is another factor involved in how participants construct success and failure. Age has been explored in detail in the literature in SLL and SLA, with researchers contesting both the range and relevance of such theories as a critical learning period (Bongaerts et al., 2000; Bongaerts et al., 1995; Doughty & Long, 2003; Ioup et al., 1994; Lightbown & Spada, 1993). Rather than concentrate here on the veracity and extent of the CPH, in this study, the emphasis is on how participants use it as a resource in their identity repertoire in conjunction with other language learning discourses to construct social belonging. All of my participants are successful, highly proficient long-term users of English, yet age is still brought in as a coherence factor to account for feelings of failure to reach language learning goals. Who draws on age, how and why?

For Katja and Nicolas, age helps makes sense of their differing experiences of L2 use in their two places of migration. Their discussions of Australian migration and language learning are always informed by their first migration to Denmark. Katja, for instance, frames learning to speak "correctly" as "impossible after- when are you are forty years old, or forty two?" (Example 4.1). Concurrently, she diminishes the need to reach an ideal of language perfection. Katja identifies this as a shift: While the discourse of age as detrimental may be immutable, the discourse of desire moves from an unattainable perfection in the Danish context, towards a prioritization of conversation in the Australian space. The comparison with the Danish context is not merely a reflection of learning processes or characteristics; it is a social belonging comparison.

Othering in the Danish social space is threaded throughout Katja's narratives. Both Katja and Nicolas emphasize the necessity of speaking in a "very very Danish way" (Example 4.46), something that isn't so for English. Othering in interaction on the basis of language use is a central comparison between the Australian and Danish context for Katja. In Australia, she is not asked to repeat herself constantly in the manner she recalls in Denmark. This is an important nexus of social belonging and language use, and one that again brings us back to the necessity of examining adult L2 use in context. Age and accent are diminished in relevance in the Australian context in comparison to their salience in the Danish space.

In contrast, Eva produces discourses of resistance to othering on the basis of accent in the Australian context. Two narratives stand out in this regard. The first example is one that appears in both the first and second interviews with Eva (Chapter 4, Examples 4.51 and 4.52 and Chapter 5, Example 5.37): the narratives relating to her experiences of discrimination in finding job placement for her TESOL practicum. Despite being near completion of her diploma, the

challenges she faced in finding a teaching placement call into question her ability to teach on the basis of her L2 speaker status. Again, this is indexed to a national identity where, in reporting a dialogue with a fellow student, she asserts that this student had no trouble finding placement on the basis that she is "Australian" (Example 5.37). Eva is othered on the grounds of exclusion from the national identity and L2 English use, and reinforces this exclusion in her narrative. The second instance is a story of having been misunderstood on the phone, where she voices her resistance through challenging the operator's right to place the communicative burden entirely on Eva (Example 4.53). Eva places herself in a powerful position in claiming equivalent status in communication, standing by her right to be heard. Eva claims the right to belonging, to the right be understood.

Paulo also claims authority to reject others' assessments of his accent. In Example 4.44, he strongly contests normalized conversational repertoires by presenting himself as someone who challenges the assumptions of the question "where are you from?" Answering this question with the name of the Sydney suburb he resides in, is one of way of refusing to allow his time and investment in Sydney to be undone by his interlocutor's judgment of his accent as a marker of outsiderness. Through these claims of authority, Paulo and Eva stake claims to success.

Linguistics is another discourse that participants draw on to claim authority and ownership when their self-positioning is challenged. Milena (Example 4.33) uses her knowledge of linguistics as a resource in arguments about language with her L1 native Australian-English speaking husband. The metaphor in this context is one of a contest. Milena's knowledge enables her to "win the

conversation". Within this narrative discourse, Milena constructs her husband as a useful conversation partner in regard to gaining English proficiency, but in drawing upon her knowledge set, Milena constructs the couple on equal footing. Her husband may have power as a native speaker, but her skills provide her with equal claims to authority. This shows further support for the poststructuralist approach in answering questions of success and failure, as it reveals the importance of power and knowledge in claiming these identities in interaction.

Another resource that participants draw on in constructing success is that of language desire. As discussed in Chapter 2, viewing motivation for language learning in the framework of desire (Cameron & Kulick, 2003; Piller & Takahashi, 2006) provides a more nuanced and flexible approach to success and failure. Unlike earlier approaches to motivation (Lightbown & Spada, 1993), it acknowledges that there is a complex matrix involved in learning and using an L2, including not only the individual's agency, but also wider ideologies about prestigious, superior varieties. Nicolas (Example 4.9) expresses his initial resistance to Australian English and associated colloquialisms due to his desire for the more prestigious "Oxford English" variety. Workplace interaction has shifted the object of his desire towards the local variety. Nicolas redefines success, through localized interactions, to include the Australian English variety.

The shift in the object of desire is not always towards the local. Anna (Example 4.10) continues to hold on to a desire to be a user of "literary" English. It is an agentive resistance to speaking "colloquial Australian": "I'm not interested", "that's my choice". The above example from Anna comes during a discussion of Australian identity. An imagined national belonging is constructed as necessitating use of Australian-English. Claims to success and belonging for Anna are situated in an intellectual, literary tradition, privileged over a need for local solidarity through Australian-

English. Anna moves beyond the national by desiring to speak a variety she constructs as outside of a national allegiance. For Anna there is a space between language success and belonging in

Australian society, she constructs them as at odds with each other. "Literary" English and Australian-English are not only mutually exclusive, but the literary as Anna's object of desire, means that belonging in the society, linked explicitly to speaking the local variety, is undesirable.

Similarly, Pia draws on the flexibility and situatedness of language and desire. Her learning narrative includes an initial rejection of English, and then a renewed enjoyment when she studied the language in high school. Finally, because of "personal" experiences in Australia, "I wasn't really ... happy to be here, (…) I almost rejected the whole, erm erm I- I could see my English went really bad!" (Example 4.14). Desire for language is correlated with a fluctuating proficiency. Importantly, these discourses are embedded in a response to questions of language success. The discourse of language desire is linked to a successful identity, and in particular in Pia's case, the lack of desire to align oneself with perceived norms and values of Australian-English is linked to a feeling of not having reached success (Example 4.15).

Milena frames her success as a love of language, and of the sounds of English particularly (Examples 4.12 and 4.25). Success is also constructed as easy, natural and assumed. Being the youngest at time of migration out of all participants, aged 18, Milena also diminishes her success as a consequence of time in Australia. She feels seven years is sufficient for people to gain her level of success (Example 4.13). This is in line with Pia's assertion that time should have a direct correlation with success in language learning (Example 4.14). In both Pia and Milena's cases, time and access are a way to create coherence for failure and success respectively. Pia, as

discussed above, ties this to her lack of desire for an Australian identity. Milena in comparison, in her successful identity, notes that when she tells "most people" that she was not born in Australia,

"they say they wouldn't tell they couldn't tell, a slight accent" (Example 4.6). This passing for an L1 speaker (Piller, 2002b) means there is less markedness in interaction, fewer experiences like those recounted by Paulo in his discourses of resistance (such as Example 4.44).

Success is also constructed relatively through hierarchies of accentedness in the data. Eva, Paulo, Anna and Milena all provide narratives that diminish their accent in comparison to other L2 users they know (Examples 4.38, 4.39, 4.40, 4.41 and 4.43). These are all narratives of personal experience where the accented character in the narrative is a family member or close friend. Each narrative provides features of these other L2 users' identity that my participants identify *should* make them better speakers. This is apparent in out-group construction: "I don't think I speak like them! which, most people tell me I don't" (Paulo, Example 4.40), where *they*, L2 English speakers, are distanced from Paulo by his own claims that are supported by "most people", who we can assume also don't speak like *them*. Milena draws again on the discourse of time in Australia equalling success in discussing her first host family in Australia who "have been here for twenty-five thirty years and their accents are really pretty heavy" (Example 4.43). There are degrees of accent that make one standout more or less in the wider social context. Less markedness is equated with less othering, less positioning of participants as outside of a social belonging. Claiming greater ownership of English than other L2 users, places participants further from *them*, and closer to a non-accented ideal.

This hierarchy and relativisation of success appears in conjunction with the discourses of accentedness and exclusion in the data. Anna, for example, links having an accent with never feeling completely at home in the Australian national space (Example 4.50). Other participants link accent with othering, such as Paulo (discussed above), Eva and Nicolas. In Nicolas's case, as with Eva (Example 4.49), he has found himself othered on the basis of an accent he now has in Polish, his L1. His narrative involves an instance where he was wrongly identified as an L2 user of Polish when he returned to Poland (Example 4.48). Similar to Paulo's resistance to being positioned on the basis of accent, Nicolas, despite the initial discomfort of the interaction, positions himself as being from another country, therefore naturalizing this othering in his country of origin.

There is an explicit relationship in affiliating yourself with L1 speakers that correlates with shared values. Pia claims solidarity by identifying a preference for interaction with L2 users, distancing herself from "native speakers" on the basis that she does not identify with them, because she does not "converge towards their perception of reality" (Example 4.15). L2 accents are also used as an in-group categorization, as a way to claim and build solidarity away from a national social belonging. Paulo for instance draws on his ability to speak multiple languages in the workplace when he is aware of speakers of these languages (Example 4.45).

Drawing these findings together, we find that success is indeed linked discursively to categories traditionally linked to the "good language learner", including age and brain function. The findings also show that these traditional ways of understanding what language success means are clearly inadequate. Success is linked to non-accentedness and non-markedness in a dichotomous

relationship with failure. Standing out in the society on the basis of being audibly an L2 speaker is equated with an unsuccessful L2 user identity.

Success is also linked to norms beyond the local, for example, desire for a "literary" or "Oxford" English. In this case, desire may shift perceived success away from a local belonging. It is clear also that knowledge systems can and are used by participants to resist being positioned as unsuccessful or marked. Alongside this, success is relativised, if one is othered in interaction, this can be diminished by placing oneself in the context of other L2 speakers who are constructed as less successful. Language success is a complex and situated construction that is a central discourse in the negotiation of social belonging.

7.2.2 Question Two: Constructing and Contesting the Nation

How do participants negotiate national identities as adult migrants to Australia?

The negotiation of social belonging and exclusion is done as adult L2 users in the particular socio-historical space of Australia and Australian identity. There is frequent debate in the literature around what belonging to a nation means, and particularly what this means in an age of dramatically increased global migration (Anderson, 2006; Billig, 1995; Castles & Miller, 2003; Chatterjee, 1993; de Cillia et al., 1999; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1993; Ong, 1999; Papastergiadis, 2000; Wodak et al., 1999). Participants negotiate national and transnational identities, both by reifying essentialist discourses of who and what fits inside national identities and by placing themselves in relation to these discourses. In claiming transnational identities, participants open spaces between and above the national stereotypes.

Australian national identity, who belongs and who doesn't, is frequently framed in terms of English language use. Language use is always embedded in complex relationships of social constructs, among other things, of race, ethnicity, and gender (Goldstein, 2001; Langman, 2004; Miller, 1999; Pavlenko, 2001a; Piller & Pavlenko, 2007). Social belonging is defined in terms of language use, as well as what it means to feel a part of a national community. The norms of both of these are challenged and navigated by my participants in their particular discursive space as adult L2 users. In the following two sections of this chapter, although it is an artificial separation between this and an emotional affiliation, I will first discuss citizenship. I will then turn to the emotional belonging in the second of the two sections.

7.2.2.1 Citizenship and belonging

Citizenship is a salient factor in negotiating alignments to national belonging. In public discourse, migration and belonging are in constant contestation. One example of this is encapsulated in the Australian citizenship test introduced in 2007 (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2), and the surrounding governmental material developed to promote it. The test, touted as a values test, was promoted before its introduction as something that:

> could be an important part of the process of assisting people to fully participate in the Australian community as it would provide a real incentive to learn English and to understand the Australian way of life. (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2006, p. 11)

It is clear from my data that prospective citizenship is not identified as a motivating factor in language learning and use, and that negotiating a national belonging is a complex and situated matter.

For my participants, citizenship is often viewed in terms of what access it allows, thereby constructing citizenship and national belonging as instrumental (see section 5.2). Out of the eight participants four, Nicolas, Katja, Eva and Jutta, had relinquished their original passport. Eva and Jutta had both been in Australia longest of all the participants and neither Chile nor Austria, their respective countries of origin, allows dual citizenship. Nicolas and Katja, as refugees to Denmark from Poland, gave up their Polish passports when they were granted Danish citizenship. For Nicolas, there is an economic and utilitarian reason for retaining Danish citizenship over Australian: access to the E.U. Katja on the other hand constructs their citizenship through the metaphor of a gift, something it would be impolite to return (see section 5.2.1). Of the remaining four participants, Paulo holds dual citizenship (section 5.2.3); Milena, Anna and Pia all retain their original passports, all E.U. members, although only Anna and Pia, as Italian citizens, are eligible for dual citizenship. The inability to take up Australian citizenship and hold onto her Czech passport is Milena's reasoning for not changing her status (section 5.2.1). Anna and Pia both express the desire to take up Australian citizenship, Anna has even obtained the paperwork, but neither had completed the application. Citizenship is constructed as primarily functional, with the overwhelming importance placed on the accessibility that the supra-national E.U. member passport provides.

Similar to the discourses of hybridity in the discussion of national affiliation, the emphasis for participants is on mobility (see sections 5.3.1.2 and 5.3.1.3). This fits well with Ong's (1999) theory of flexible citizenship, where people inhabit transnational spaces, while making use of the nation-state's resources. Ong also supports the continuing salience of the nation-state:

> Despite frequent assertions about the demise of the state, the issue of state action remains central when it comes to the rearrangements of global spaces and the restructuring of social and political relations. (p. 215)

Citizenship, as a marker of belonging to a nation-state, is an important discourse in negotiating Australian national identity. Additionally, my participants do not cleanly separate citizenship from an emotional affiliation or identification with the nation, and frequently these two are indistinguishable. Citizenship must be viewed alongside other discourses of belonging and national identities.

7.2.2.2 Us versus them, here versus there and hybridity

National identities, both Australian, as well as the country of origins of my participants, are negotiated through reference to stereotypical and essentialised behaviours, and by drawing boundaries and homogenizing the out-group. In most cases my participants place themselves outside of these stereotyped behaviours, although this is not always the case. Pia and Anna, for example, both reify a "typical" Italian. Pia (Example 5.2) uses the "typical Italian" as an inclusive self reference term. Anna, on the other hand (Example 5.3), uses the existence of an undefined stereotype of Italian behaviour to distinguish herself and a close friend, placing them in "a group of off beat people". While this removes them from the national category, it continues to reify an ambiguous generalized Italian identity. Discursive lines are drawn around the national group on the basis of behaviour, whether participants define themselves inside or outside of these boundaries.

Boundaries of national identities are also reified through spatial deixis, in the links made between behaviours *here* and *there*. Katja (Example 5.18) separates and essentialises social behaviours in Denmark and Australia. She does this through reference to people *there* (Denmark) marking her as other on the basis of language use, and *here* (Australia) as being "tolerant" on the basis of feeling greater comprehension in interaction. For Anna, reaching for stability and increased

belonging is a matter of prioritizing *here* over *there*, and in doing so, decreasing her communication with people *there* (Example 5.19).

Othering and creation of a homogenous *them* group appears more frequently than a homogenization of the in-group. Paulo defines Australian belonging, the national in-group as existing only as stereotypes, challenging its relevance as anything beyond "travesties" and exaggerations (Example 5.8). While in this example, there appears to be contestation of national identity as something anyone possesses, at other points in his interviews Paulo uses national identity to explain, for instance, norms of gendered behaviour (Example 5.10). The gendered norms of Australian identity are used by Paulo to contrast his own behaviour, which he constructs as outside of an Australian male norm. This distancing strategy reifies a national identity, one that Paulo is observing from the outside.

Another aspect of national identities, constructed and challenged by my participants, is language use. As discussed in section 7.2.1, it is not merely a question of language per se, but of which language and whose language. *Australian* appears metonymously for English monolinguals or L1 speakers (see Paulo in Example 5.35, Eva in Example 5.37 and Katja in Example 5.38). In these three examples Paulo, Eva and Katja implicitly place themselves outside of an Australian identity. *Australian* is also more broadly linked to language practices. Anna, for example, aligns herself towards "Australian @students@" in her class, "perhaps because I I use Englis- l- erm English in, in so many domains" (Example 5.39). Milena discusses the shift from what she sees as national belonging now, compared to what she believed it to mean upon arrival, in particular as it is anchored to race. She talks of an initial assumption about a population of "Anglo-Saxon people with European background" shifting upon "the shock of perhaps people with Asian

backgrounds speaking completely perfect Australian English" (Example 5.42). Milena's assumptions index both language and racial identities to a national identity.

Eva, like Paulo (Example 5.35), constructs a negotiation of the Australian national space on the basis of being the outsider looking in. In Eva's case though, there is an extension of the outside perspective to a synchedocal *we* that encompasses "foreigners", who are made to feel like they don't belong in daily interaction, "in silly things people make you feel it" (Example 5.11). She ultimately equates this with birthplace. Despite being a citizen and living in Australia for eighteen years at the time of interview, a feeling of being a part of Australia is constantly contested in interaction. This social exclusion, though, is contextual and fluid.

There is space for the contestation of these imagined national borders. Milena, for example, locates a coherent national identity for herself only in the naïve past of her childhood (Example 5.12). Nicolas and Katja contest Polish identity by using it as a resource in constructing couplehood, separating Polish identity from a natural connection to the nation (Example 5.7). They construct a strong division between themselves and the Polish migrant community in Sydney on the basis of religious identity and time of migration (Example 5.6). Polish identity, defined by Polish language use, is constructed as a private matter and not one that implies national community membership or affiliation.

Transnationalism, another site for resistance, is an important discourse in the negotiation of national identity norms and the opening of hybrid space. Eva, for instance, talks of her in-betweenness as becoming transparent only upon leaving the country (Example 5.11). Social

belonging and exclusion in Australia and Chile are only revealed in the transnational context. Eva locates a shifting sense of belonging that is ultimately located outside of both *here* and *there*, situated wholly in neither place. Most salient is the disjuncture between the claiming of space in Chile, "my country" (Example 5.20), located in the same utterance with "I don't belong there either". In part, the split between *here* and *there* problematizes the possibility of the wholeness and coherence of identity, reinforcing the centrality of hybridity.

The emergence of this interstitial space participants inhabit, and its accompanying sense of a potential loss of self-coherence, is supplemented by a naturalization of outsider discourses. Both Eva and Anna make claims to an inherent sense of otherness in their place of origins, Chile and Italy (Examples 5.21 and 5.22). Anna makes claims that some people have an inherent sense of difference, "that's something I think you're born with?" (Example 5.22). For Eva, constructing a feeling of never really belonging *there*, in Chile, is a mitigating strategy, diminishing the significance of not belonging *here*, in Australia. (Example 5.21). The construction of difference stretches into a past where, similar to that described by Milena in her childhood (Example 5.12), an innocent wholeness of belonging pre-dates the hybridity of migration, allowing for *difference* as coherence along a temporal axis.

These negotiations of transnationalisms allow for hybrid repositionings. Hybridity is constructed as participants use metaphors of difference within themselves, dissecting the self into parts separately affiliated with Australia and country of origin. For example, Katja -(Example 5.6) and Eva (Example 5.20 and 5.21) both talk of a lack of "hundred percent" belonging to Poland, Chile or Australia. While this split self appears to open non-essentialised understandings of identity, these metaphors of partialness and wholeness can also become essentialised, for example in the

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case of the hyphenated identity of Italian-Australia (Examples 5.16 and 5.17). The hybrid is still marked as a position. The questions of wholeness and partialness are both a lament of the possibility of complete social belonging in one space, and a triumphant assertion that there isn't anything other than this transnational belonging.

Contestation also appears through the use of transnational labels including: *internationalist* (Milena in Example 5.13; Nicolas in Example 5.15), *expatriate* (Anna, Example 5.14), and with more humour and creativity, *earthling* (Paulo, Example 5.9). Participants also talk about being *in-between* the national (Katja in Example 5.15, Pia in Example 5.24). In using these terms participants position themselves and others outside of and above the national space, while also indexing the nation. These labels are set up in contrast to a national belonging, for example, Milena explicitly rejects both a Czech and an Australian identity in favour of the transnational space that allows her to "be at home anywhere! I want to" (Example 5.13). In Milena's case, home and belonging are a matter of desire and agency, a matter of wanting and claiming ownership of a moveable space. At the same time, this is done within certain constraints, it is not merely about discursive claims but also citizenship and belonging (Examples 5.1 and 5.4). While participants draw lines around imagined national communities and position themselves both inside and outside these boundaries, transnational identity terms, while still anchored to the nation, open up a hybrid space that allows for a moving beyond national identity.

The negotiation of national identity appears in the data through the use of tropes of movement. Pia, for example, defines her partner as having a "natural" inclination towards an Italian identity, despite her report that he self-identifies as Australian (Example 5.24). National categories are also reified through movement, where the boundaries remain and time in Australia increases the

ability to move "across cultures" (Pia in Example 5.25), as opposed to the use of partialness metaphors. Vectoral movement metaphors are also present in the data, where integration into Australian society is accompanied by a movement away from a reified original national identity (for instance Pia in Example 5.26). Similarly, to feel adequate belonging *here*, there is a struggle to stop movement, to "break the cycle" (Anna in Example 5.29) of mobility between national spaces. Alongside his search for stability, is the discourse of home. Home, as separable from a national space (see for instance Example 5.32), provides a metaphor for stability in movement. Milena, for example, can be "at HOME anywhere" (Example 5.33).

Moreton-Robinson, an Indigenous woman and scholar, writes in the context of her work on the struggles of Indigenous belonging in Australia:

> Social constructions of home, place and belonging depend not just on ethnicity and ties to an imagined homeland. They are conditional upon a legal and social status as well as upon the economic and political relations in the new country and its imperial legacy. (Moreton-Robinson, 2003, p. 29)

She encapsulates succinctly the discourses of my participants who negotiate national identities though their agency in citizenship choices, as well as through their discursive reification and resistance to norms of national identity in the Australian context. Citizenship choices are one discourse of national identity negotiation. National identities are constructed through personal deixis defining us versus them, and through spatial deixis of here versus there. These national identities are negotiated and contested through transnational and hybrid identity spaces, trope of movement through which participants position themselves to national identities, and through the stability of home as a personal and movable metaphor.

The next section will address the third and final research question. This will be followed by a discussion of the implications of this research.

7.2.3 Question Three: Identity and Social Belonging

How does narrative discourse serve to contextualize the negotiation of social belonging and exclusion?

The discursive construction of social belonging and exclusion relate to constructing a coherent self. Narrative has frequently been identified as an integral means of creating coherence and negotiating identity in interaction. Stepping back from the national and L2 use focus to look at the narrative discourses in which they are embedded provides further insights into how social belonging and exclusion are constructed, and where and how participants position themselves. As Nicolas notes (Example 6.1), stories are the site of the navigation of identity change and of managing self-coherence over time.

Each of my participants tells well-crafted narratives about the processes of migration. However, in comparing these narratives, it is clear that they are doing different sorts of identity work. In telling narratives of personal experience, we make choices about what to emphasize, which identities to forefront. One example of this came through Paulo's minimal migration narrative that provided little coherence for his migration (Example 6.10). Once the tape recorder was switched off, Paulo confessed that he had migrated for love, but that the relationship had ended. He also emphasized that he had not wanted to say this on the tape. Paulo chose, on-record, to

silence this part of his identity repertoire. Although I have discussed the discursive transformation of women's roles in the context of migration (see section 6.4), I have not examined men's construction of roles in the data specifically. This is a lacuna I leave to be filled by future research.

Katja and Nicolas's migration narrative does couple work (Piller, 2002a), creating a coherent couple identity. In their co-constructed narrative they negotiate their conflicting understandings of their process of migration together to Australia (Example 6.2). Nicolas (Example 6.2) and Pia's (Example 6.6) migration narratives are centred on constructing themselves as professionals making wise economic choices for their career paths. The emphasis in both of their narratives is on mobility, providing a narrative embedding of the smaller focus on transnational identity labels. Both desired, and were able, to choose to migrate to Australia to seek further employment opportunity.

Another form of identity performance in migration narrative is Anna's story of romance (Example 6.4). She immediately links the point of her migration to her Australian partner at the time. Unlike Paulo, romance is actively constructed as a central factor in migration. This is also the case with Milena who concludes her narrative of migration with romance, linking her choice to stay in Australia with her Australian husband. The central work of her narrative, though, focuses on her desire to learn English and the factors that lead to her success (Example 6.5). Eva's migration narrative is inseparable from her repositioning of herself within the family structure, as well as the wider societal structures (Examples 6.8 and 6.9). Retelling these experiences foreground salient aspects of identity that have been contested and questioned through the process of migration.

The negotiation of gender norms, or specifically, oneself as a woman in the context of migration, is particularly apparent in my data. Migration has been accompanied by upward mobility for many of my female participants. The space delineated for this negotiation is frequently anchored to the nation (Pavlenko, 2001b). The change in social position is not simply narrated as improvement in the context of migration. Eva, for example, speaks of the increased burden in transforming herself "from being a housewife and mother? I have to become housewife mother and worker" (Example 6.13). At the same time, this transformation has broadened her access and agency in shaping her professional and intellectual directions, for example as she says: "I went to uni, I got one degree? ... and then I got another one. and another one" (Example 6.13).

Narratives are then seen as a site of identity coherence making (Linde, 1993), where sense is made of social belonging and exclusion. Stories participants tell make sense of mobility and upheaval, of changes in role in relation to the family and society, of couple identity, of solidarity and othering, and of self across time. Part of this sense making involves the negotiation of discourses of L2 user identity and national identity. By looking at narrative, we gain another angle through which to see the complex discursive networks through which participants contextually negotiate and rewrite themselves.

7.3 Implications

This section addresses the implications of my research. I will first address the importance of the work in relation to further research in L2 use and migration, particularly with highly proficient adults. Following this, I will look at the potential policy implications of the discourses examined in this dissertation.

7.3.1 Adult L2 Users and Identity

My work supports the call for research to consider more closely the complex and situated practices of identity negotiation in the context of migration and L2 use (Miller, 2003, 2004; Norton, 1997, 1998, 2000). It also addresses this call by showing that highly proficient L2 users of English, people who have invested large amounts of their lives, their time, their money, in Australia, navigate and negotiate social belonging and exclusion by drawing on discourses of L2 success and failure and national identity, as well as through the telling and re-telling of their stories of migration and change. These negotiations reveal the power and dominant discourses of what an Australian national identity is, and how it should sound, as well as assumptions about adult L2 users and social belonging.

Language success and failure are by no means static, but are intimately tied to context and identity negotiation. There remains a gap in the literature when it comes to the discourses of belonging of highly proficient adults from the perspective not of L2 learning per se, but L2 use and identity. Through this lens, it is possible to gain further insight into links between success and failure, identity, and the construction of social belonging. There is not an easy one-to-one

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correlation between belonging and language success. Participants position themselves as both successful and failed in learning English. They use circulating discourses of what language success means to negotiate positions in relation to others and larger social identities, for instance, national and transnational identities. This stresses the importance of the interplay of self construction and socio-historical context. It also supports the importance of the poststructuralist framework in answering questions of social belonging and exclusion, revealing ways in which these discourses are used. L2 users in Australia are necessarily located in the intertextual locus of circulating public and private, historically situated discourses of migration. The socio-historical context of Australia is one where English monolingualism continues to be the unmarked norm, where indigenous multilingualism has been silenced, and where language education remains inadequate (Clyne, 2005a). Future research needs to acknowledge that these discourses of success and failure must be understood as the complex, situated negotiations of self that they are. Small-scale, longitudinal, qualitative studies of adult L2 users of English are one way in which these discourses can be accessed (De Fina, 2003).

Another implication of this research is to provide an understanding of how identity is re-written and re-told in an L2, and how positions are taken up and resisted discursively. As De Fina writes in her review of Meinhof & Galasiński's (2005) study of language and belonging:

> even if it is true that words and expressions may position people into social categories, it is also true that individuals negotiate their stance towards such positioning through a variety of strategies centered on the management of authorship and authority. (De Fina, 2006b, p. 700)

In relating the above quote specifically to the L2 context, it supports the notion that the negotiation of identity is necessarily an interactional process and not merely one that is in the hands of the L2 user. It is impossible to understand language success and social belonging,

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without looking at how ownership of language is claimed, and how othering is resisted in context.

As I will address more completely in the following section (7.3.2), these notions are supported in the inadequacy of public policy, which frequently shows very little respect for the complexities of migration and language learning, or for the ways in which one is able to contribute as a member of society. One example of the inadequacy of such policy and the discursive relationship it has with the daily context of interaction can be seen in the language use advice previously given to migrants in Australia:

> Teachers and members of the Good Neighbour Council (an organization funded in the late 1940s by the Department of Immigration to help immigrants assimilate) advised migrant parents to speak English only with their children, regardless of the migrants' proficiency in the language. (Martín, 2008, p. 71)

Taking into account theories of intertextuality (Bakhtin, 1981) and discourse and power (Foucault, 1987), the study of identity negotiation and adult L2 users of English in Australia cannot be undertaken without an attempt to account for these wider discourses of language and migration in Australia. As Ozolins notes of the use of languages other than English in the public domain in Australia historically:

> The debates over foreign language use in press and broadcasting that regularly erupted thoughout the late 1940s and 1950s were set against the background of a more general attitude to the speaking of foreign languages in public. This was an issue which was felt keenly by migrants themselves, constantly pointing to the intolerance of Australian attitudes towards their languages (Craig 1954). (Ozolins, 1993, p. 57)

The identity negotiation of my participants is set in a socio-historical context that has a troubled relationship to migration and multilingualism, one that is felt by those that are seen as accented. If language success is taken to be constructed and contested through interaction, rather than being a concatenation of learner attributes, then these very personal ways that participants experience

othering in interaction, and how these experiences are reproduced in discourse, must be taken into account. Being othered on the basis of accent, for example, becomes part of the linguistic repertoire for constructing language success and social belonging (Lippi-Green, 1997).

My research also supports the insights that can be provided by examining narrative discourses in understanding identity negotiation, and particularly, the struggle for identity coherence in navigating processes of migration (Baynham, 2006; Baynham & De Fina, 2005; De Fina, 2003; Ros i Solé, 2007; Schüpbach, 2005). Stories of personal experience enable wider contextualization of the discourses of L2 use and national identity negotiation. The study of narratives provides a further dimension to the examination of the ways in which highly proficient adult L2 users of English in Australia rewrite and position themselves.

The study of the negotiation of identity, particularly in relation to migration, globalization and L2 use, must include listening to actual voices. It is clear from my data that the nation and national identity continue to hold central importance, and that the claiming of success is not simple, but is a matter of contextually negotiating aspects of language use and identity. As Blommaert (2008) frames it:

> People use language and other semiotic means in attempts to have voice, to make themselves understood by others. This process is complex and only partly predictable, because whatever is produced is not necessarily perceived or understood, and having voice is therefore an intrinsically social process – that is a process with clear connections to social structure, history, culture, power. (p. 427)

My research supports this claim, and insists that situated, contextual studies of how highly proficient adult L2 users of English negotiate their identities, their ability to be heard and to create coherence are necessary for understanding contemporary belonging in the context of increased mobility and transnationalism.

The closer analysis of actual language use in the construction of identity and belonging also provides important implications for policy in the Australian context. I will now turn to examine how this research relates to possibilities for positive policy outcomes.

7.3.2 Citizenship, Language Policy and Planning

The complex uses of multiple discourses as resources in negotiating self show clearly that there must be more nuanced, multi-dimensional approaches to social belonging and exclusion in the context of migration. This has implications for the development of further multicultural and language policy. As discussed in Chapter 2, while Australia implemented multiculturalism as a policy in the late 1970s (Lopez, 2000) and instituted a relatively progressive language policy in 1987 (Lo Bianco & Australian Department of Education, 1987), it is also clear that changes and neglect of these policies in the 1990s mean revision and revitalization are now needed (Martín, 2008).

The policy response in recent times does not show an understanding of the sorts of discourses that emerge in my analysis. Citizenship testing is a particularly salient example of where the implications of this research lie. The citizenship test follows models in the United States and United Kingdom where prospective citizens are expected to sit a test that involves knowledge, among other things, of the country's history and system of government. These tests are also frequently upheld as language and values tests (Piller, 2001a; Shohamy, 2006). If citizenship is meant to have significance as reciprocal right and duty through which an individual contributes to Australia (Dutton, 2002), then language policy and citizenship must more aptly reflect the

complexities that the emic research perspective shows. In Australia, the introduction of the citizenship test is an unfortunate reflection that the plurality of voices is not being heard and that there is inadequate understanding of what social belonging in Australia means in the wake of globalization and transnational flows.

Returning to revisit an example from Chapter 1, if we look again at the address to the reader in the government resource book, *Becoming an Australian Citizen* (Australian Government, 2007), from which the questions for the citizenship test are drawn:

> You have chosen to live in Australia and to make a contribution to its future by seeking to become an Australian citizen. Becoming a citizen gives you the opportunity to call yourself an Australian. It is the final and most important step in the migration journey. (p. 4)

There is no sign in the above of the conception of national identity as an interactional process that is constantly negotiated. In light of my analysis, it is clear that contributing to a society, being a citizen of that society, and calling yourself an Australian do not follow quite so easily or simply. Where would my participants see themselves in relation to this address? The notion that taking up citizenship would be the end of "the migration journey" is vastly inadequate. For instance, Eva's narrative discourses of the changes over time that she has found in her position inside and outside Australian society, her experiences with discrimination despite her status as an Australian citizen, has in fact moved her further from a desire to belong within a perceived Australian imagined community. Although my research does not address a number of other concerns that citizenship testing raises, such as gender discrimination, it does show that for both those that take up Australian citizenship and those that chose not to, these decisions are not simply or lightly made and certainly do not have an easy one to one correlation between belonging and contribution to the society.

There continues to be inadequate public understanding of the value and importance of multilingualism. As Stephen May notes:

> Australia continues to reflect the widely held nationalist principle of a common (public) language as a central pillar of the nation-state (Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1991). The result is that all significant activities conducted in the public domain remain resolutely monolingual. (May, 1998, p. 55)

Ten years on, Martín (2008) notes that in Australia, the public rhetoric against pluralism has frequently been accompanied by a push for national unity with multilingualism seen as a threat to national identity (p. 75). One promising sign of change, however, has been the fluency of now Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in Mandarin and his public use of the language in addressing Chinese dignitaries, something that had already been noted in the media prior to the 2007 election (Lo Bianco, 2007). As Lo Bianco suggests, it is likely this fact had been such a focus of public attention in part because Rudd's fluency in a language other than English is a rarity among Australian politicians (p. 21.26). Still, this public voice of L2 use may well be a sign of positive changes to come.

Drawing together the need for new policy that adequately accounts for language and cultural diversity in Australia, and the literature on identity negotiation could provide possibilities for future directions in policy and research. One of Norton's findings is the need, following Kubota's call, for "critical multiculturalism in which language teachers need to go beyond simply affirming and respecting the culture of the Other and romanticizing its authentic voices (Kubota, 1999, p.27)" (2000, p. 144). Critical multiculturalism, where "representations of culture are understood as the consequence of social struggles over meanings that manifest certain political and ideological values and metaphors attached to them" (Kubota, 1999, p. 27), takes power and knowledge into account in developing and accounting for diversity. It looks beyond merely

seeing cultures as essentialist entities defined through difference and instead asks for "a critical examination of the social, historical, and ideological construction of voices" (p. 22). Following both Miller and Kubota, I would argue that this can be extended beyond the language classroom, to a wider societal approach to multiculturalism and language policy in the Australian context. In examining the discourses of highly proficient adult L2 users of English we are able to see the extent to which greater understanding of migration, L2 use, and identity negotiation is needed.

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Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

…	pause
-	truncation
,	clause final intonation ("more to come")
.	sentence final falling intonation
!	sentence final high-fall
?	sentence final rising intonation
/????/	inaudible utterance
/transcriber's doubt/	doubtful transcription
CAPS	emphatic stress
@	laughter (one @ per syllable, i.e. @@@ = hahaha)
@spoken laughingly@	the utterance between the two @s is spoken laughingly
[	beginning of overlap
]	overlap ends
=	one utterance latches on to another
h.	exhales audibly
hh.	exhales very forcefully
.h	sharp breath intake
.hh	forceful breath intake
erm	hesitation marker
uhmhu	agreement marker
hm	attention marker

Appendix B: Interview Protocols

B.1 Individual Interviews

B.1.1 First Interview Questions

The primary purpose in the first interview was to gather as much background information on the participants as possible. Asking background questions to start also helped create a comfortable and relaxed environment. After background questions, participants were asked about their language learning experiences. They were then asked questions relating to their experiences in Australia, their citizenship and their likes and dislikes about Australia and their country of origin. Participants were also asked general questions about language interactions, such as when and with whom they spoke which languages. As the interviews were intended to be opened-ended, the questions were not rigidly followed when other topics were introduced by the participant. It was also the case for each of the interviews that not all of the questions were covered. Such questions were followed up on in the subsequent interviews. The interview questions for the first round of individual interviews were as follows:

1. What is your first language?

2. Can you give me some information about your background (national, upbringing)?

3. What is your educational and occupational background?

4. When did you come to Australia?

5. Why did you come to Australia?

6. Did you change your name when you came to Australia?

7. When did you start learning English?

8. How did you learn it? In school, immersion, how much?

9. How proficient were you when you arrived here?

10. Do you remember any critical incidents in your second language learning?

11. What were major problems you encountered in learning English?

12. What were the major milestones in your acquisition of English?

13. Do you have stories of funny things that happened during your language learning?

14. Do you have stories of frustrating things that happened during your language learning?

15. Do you have stories of misunderstandings that occurred during your language learning?

16. What do you think makes a good/poor language learner?

17. Are you sometimes taken for a native speaker? Can you give examples?

18. What do you really like or dislike about Australia and your first country (or anywhere else you've lived)?

19. What are you today: an Australian or an [first nationality]?

20. Have you taken Australian citizenship? Why/why not?

21. What makes you Australian?

22. Under which circumstances do you use English, your first language, any other language? Give a rough percentage of the language use, how much English, how much of your other language(s)?

23. What media, e.g. newspapers, television, internet, do you consume? In what languages?

24. Please draw a language network. For example, what language do you speak with the people closest to you on a daily basis? Or those you interact with on a weekly basis?

B.1.2 Second Interview Questions

The second interview was designed to be more open than the first interview. In addition to covering questions that were not addressed in the first interview, the questions about language loss were asked. Participants were also asked about how they would or did make choices about

language with their children. Participants were also asked about what had changed in their lives generally and in regard to language use specifically between their first and second interviews. There was also follow up on the first focus group interview. The following specific questions were posed:

1. Has your language use changed since you've come to Australia?

2. Do you sometimes feel you are forgetting your first language?

3. If yes, what gives you that impression?

4. If yes, how do you feel about that?

5. If or when you have children: will you try to pass on your first language? How does it work?

B.1.3 Third Interview Questions

In the third interview there was further follow up on any unanswered questions from the first two interviews. Between interviews, each transcript was reviewed for specific questions of interest relating to participants' individual cases. Follow up questions about the second focus group were asked. They were also asked about any changes or experiences between the second and third interview. To end each interview, participants were asked for their feelings about being part of the research over the course of the year and if they would be interested in continuing contact with the researchers.

B.2 Focus Groups

B.2.1 Round One: Gender and L2 Learning

Ahead of the first focus group interview, participants were all emailed the general topic area of

gender and L2 learning as well as four sub-topics. They were not given specific questions so that they could not prepare specific responses. It was thought that giving the participants general topics would be a good way to get discussion going about gender and L2 learning experiences. Below are the sub-topics:

1. Work and Study

2. Migration

3. Family Commitments

4. Relationships

B.2.2 Round Two: Nation, Ethnicity and Language

The topic of the second focus group was nation, ethnicity and language. In line with the first focus group, participants were emailed the general topic, as well as the following two general sub-topics to consider before the interview:

1. Your sense of belonging relative to your L1 and L2 communities

2. Citizenship and national identity in the context of migration

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form

Participant Information Statement - Page 1 of 1

The University of Sydney

NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA

Dr. Ingrid Piller
Department of Linguistics

Success and failure in Second Language Learning

Transient Building F12
Telephone (02) 9351 7518
Facsimile (02) 9351 7572
ingrid.piller@arts.usyd.edu.au

Dear research participant:

You are invited to participate in this research project. The aim of this research is to gain a better understanding of how persons who learn a second language after puberty achieve high levels of competence in their second language.

This is a longitudinal project and, over the course of a period of up to a year, you will be asked to participate in individual and group interviews, to audio-tape yourself during natural conversations you have, and to keep a journal about your linguistic experiences. The researcher might also ask to observe you in your daily life, or to administer a language proficiency test. All forms of participation will be discussed with you in advance and arranged at your convenience.

In the interviews you will be asked questions about your languages, your language learning, and the relationships you see between your cultures, your countries, your life and your languages. The interviews will be audio-taped. Altogether your participation is expected to amount to a time-commitment of 2-5 hours per month.

In publications resulting from this study a pseudonym will be used instead of your real name. Your identity and anonymity will be fully protected. The taped interviews and conversations and all the information you provide will be treated confidentially and with utmost care! Identifying information and the tapes will, at all times, be stored separately.

In acknowledgement of your participation in this research you will receive an honorarium of $50 per quarter. Of course, your participation in this research is voluntary and you may withdraw from the project at any time without penalty or prejudice.

You will be given a copy of this information statement to keep. The coordinating investigator of this research is Dr. Ingrid Piller from the Linguistics Department at the University of Sydney, whose contact details are indicated above.

Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Manager of Ethics and Biosafety Administration, University of Sydney, on (02) 9351 4811.

Sincerely,

Dr. Ingrid Piller

I have read and understood the subject information statement for participants in the research project "Success and failure in Second Language Learning (SLL)" and I understand the purpose of the study and I consent to participate. I understand that interviews will be audio-taped and that my anonymity will be maintained at all times.

Participant:

_____   _____   _____
Name, please print   Signature   Date

Witness:

_____   _____   _____
Name, please print   Signature   Date

Appendix D: Interview Timetables

Table D.1 Individual Interview Timetable

Pseudonym	Round	Date	Time	Length	Place	Present	Comments
Anna	1	17.11.03	1:00-2:30	1:21:32	EC/EF Office	EF	Knew her prior. Talked without much prompting.
	2	09.02.04	12:45-1:50	1:03:30	EC/EF Office	EF	Very comfortable.
	3	26.08.04	1:00-2:30	0:58:20	Tearoom	EF, IP	
Eva	1	23.10.03	6:15-8:15	1:33:44	Tearoom	EF	Seemed happy to do self-tape. Enjoyable interview.
	2	07.02.04	12:15-1:30	1:09:51	EC/EF Office	EF	
	3	02.10.04		1:27:43	Tearoom	EF	
Jutta	1	27.10.03	11:30-1:00	1:33:05	Tearoom	EF, EK	Jutta's friend Dorothy sat in on the interview. Jutta felt more comfortable with her there. Some awkward silences.
	2	24.02.04	11:00-12:00	1:05:37	Tearoom	IP, EF, EK	
	3	19.07.04	11:00-12:00	0:54:05	Tearoom	EF, EK	Recorded straight to computer
Katja & Nicolas	1	17.10.03	10:00-12:00	1:34:58	Tearoom	EF	Comfortable together, laughter. Some silences. Recording very quiet, particularly Katja.
	2	07.02.04	3:15-4:20	1:08:46	EC/EF Office	EF	
	3	03.11.04	1:00-2:30	00:13:20 and 00:58:11	Tearoom	EF	
Milena	1	2001 (pilot)			Tearoom	IP, SP	1st interview done during pilot study [UASLL 2].
	2	10.02.04	6:00-7:00	1:05:37	EC/EF Office	EF	
	3	22.10.04	5:30-7:00	00:46:31 and 00:31:04	Tearoom	EF	Computer was broken and had to record with cassette.
Paulo	1	10.11.03	4:00-5:00	1:02:32	EC/EF Office	EF	Knew him prior to interview so the interview was comfortable.
	2	06.02.04	2:15-3:20	1:08:56	EC/EF Office	EF	
	3	13.08.04	4:00-5:00	0:47:39	EC/EF Office	EF	
Pia	1	27.11.03	1:45 – 3:40	1:21:41	EC/EF Office	EF	Knowledge of linguistics and format made for initial discomfort. Eased during the interview.

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Table D.2 Focus Group Interview Timetable

Pseudonym	*Round*	*Date*	*Time*	*Length*	*Place*	*Present*
Milena, Yoo Kang, Naomi, Anna	**Focus Group 1_1**	13.01.04	6:00-8:00	1:08:14 and 58:59	Mills Tearoom	EC, EF
Kara, Eva, Pia	**Focus Group 1_2**	17.01.04	12:20-2:35	2:05:38	Tearoom	EC, EF
Nicolas, Patrick, Ki Dae, Joo Man	**Focus Group 1_3**	17.01.04	3:15-5:20	1:54:15	Tearoom	EC, EF
Nicolas, Katja, Jutta, Milena	**Focus Group 2_1**	18.03.04	11:00-12:45	1:19:57 and 30:14	Tearoom	EC, EF
Eva, Anna	**Focus Group 2_2**	27.03.04	1:00-2:20	1:21:50	Tearoom	EC, EF

Appendix E: National Coding of Individual Interviews

Table E.1 Usage: Australia

Participant	Item/Phrase	Frequency of use	Interview number
Nicolas	Australian girl	1	1
	Australian language	1	2
	Australian slang	2	2
	Australian	1	2
	Australian type of people	1	3
	Total	<u>6</u>	
Katja	Australian(s)	3	1,2
	Australian people	2	1
	Australian [citizenship]	1	1
	Australian man	1	1
	Australian language	1	1
	Australian Polish [dictionary]	1	2
	Australian parliament	1	3
	Total	<u>10</u>	
Eva	Australian	4	1,2,3
	Australian people	1	1
	Australian students	2	3
	Total	<u>7</u>	
Jutta	Australian(s)	3	1,2
	Total	<u>3</u>	
Paulo	Australian(s)	10	1,2,3
	Australian citizen	1	1
	Australian passport	2	1,3
	Australian slang	2	1
	Australian colloquialisms	1	1
	English-Australian	1	1
	Australian English	1	2
	Australian men	3	2
	Australian students	2	2

	Australian society	**1**	2
	Total	**24**	
	Australian boyfriend	**3**	1
Anna	Australian literature	**1**	1
	Australian(s)	**10**	1,2,3
	Australian students	**1**	1
	colloquial Australian	**1**	1
	Australian expression	**1**	1
	Australian English	**2**	1
	Italian-Australian	**1**	1
	Australian culture	**1**	1
	Australian family	**1**	1
	Australian or English speaking people	**1**	1
	Australian little girls	**1**	3
	Female Australian	**1**	3
	Australian flag	**1**	3
	Australian tradition	**1**	3
	Australian part	**1**	3
	Total	**28**	
	Australian accent	**1**	1
Pia	Australian background	**2**	1
	Australian(s)	**3**	1
	Anglo-Australian(s)	**4**	1
	Italian-Australian	**1**	1
	Total	**11**[5]	
	Australian(s)	**10**	1,2,3
Milena	Australian passport	**1**	1
	Australian jokes	**1**	1
	Australian English	**2**	1,2
	Australian people	**1**	1
	Australian guy	**1**	1
	Australian or English pronunciation	**1**	1
	Australian tree	**1**	1
	Total	**18**	

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[5] This is on the basis of only one interview, yet the total usage is still larger than that of Jutta, Eva, Nicolas and Katja.

Table E.2 Usage: Nation of Origin

Reference type	*Item/Phrase [Frequency]*
Personal reference	Danish people [3 & 8]; Polish people [3 & 2]; Elderly Polish people [1]; Italian people [1]; Czech people [3]
	Danish [2 & 1]; Polish [4 & 3]; Chilean(s) [4]; Portuguese [5]; Italian(s) [17 & 8]; Czech [5]
	Danish friends [1]; Italian friends [1]; Czech friends [2]
	Danish prince [1]
	Polish girls [1]; Czech girl [1]
	Polish boys [1]
	Polish community [1]; Italian community [1 & 2]
	Polish grandparents [1]
	German-Austrian [1]; Italian-Australian(s) [1 & 1]
	Portuguese men [1]
	Portuguese speakers [1]
	typical(ly) Italian [1 & 2]; typical Italian person [1]
	third generation Italian [3]
	Italian parents [1]
	Czech couple [1]
Spatial reference	Danish environment [1]
	Polish universities [2]; Czech university [2]
	Polish country [1]
	Austrian (club) [1]
	Italian school [1]
	Italian department [1]
	Czech country [1]
Language reference	Danish (language) [34 & 31]; Polish (language) [36 & 50]; Austrian or German (language) [2]; Portuguese (language) [71]; Italian (language) [52 & 21]; Czech (language) [72]
	Danish word(s) [2 &1]; Polish words [1]; Czech word(s) [2]
	Danish accent [1], Chilean accent [1]
	Polish pages [1]
	Polish slang [1]
	Polish grammar [1]; Czech grammar [1]
	standard Italian [1]
	colloquial Italian [1]
	teenage Czech [1]
Other national	Danish way [1]; Czech way [1]
	Danish news [1]

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references	Danish newspaper [1]
	Danish and Swedish film culture [1]
	Danish [citizenship] [1 & 1]
	Danish books [1], Portuguese book [1]
	Polish Danish [1]
	Polish film(s) [2]
	Polish film history [1]
	Polish background [1]
	Polish shop [1]
	Polish delicatessen [1]
	Polish sausages [3]
	Polish ham [1]
	Polish things [1]
	Polish bread [3 & 1]
	Polish diploma [1]
	Danish English [1]
	Polish English [1]
	Australian Polish [1]
	Portuguese voice [1]
	Portuguese passport [1]; Czech passport [1]
	Italian TV [1]
	Italian film festival [1]
	Italian magazine [1]
	Italian flag [1]
	Italian (food) [1]; Czech foods [1]
	Italian one (citizenship) [1]; Czech one (citizenship) [1]; Czech citizenship [1]
	Italian culture [1]
	Italian association [1]
	Czech movie [1]
	Czech regulation [2]

Appendix F: Ethics Approval

The University of Sydney

NSW 2006 Australia

Human Research Ethics Committee

Manager:
Mrs Gail Briody
Telephone: (02) 9351 4811
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Facsimile: (02) 9351 6706
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Human Secretariat
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(02) 9036 9308
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m.williams@reschols.usyd.edu.au

20 January 2003

Dr I Piller
Department of Linguistics
Transient Building – F12
The University of Sydney

Dear Dr Piller

Thank you for your correspondence dated 17 January 2003 addressing comments made to you by the Executive Sub-committee. After considering the additional information, the Executive Sub-Committee at its meeting on 17 January 2003 approved your protocol on the study below with the following conditions. Please note that subject to annual monitoring returns, the approved protocol is valid for five years.

Title: *Success and failure in second language learning (SLL)*
ARC Grant Title: *Success and failure in second language learning (SLL)*
Ref. No.:   *3410*
Approval Period: *January 2003 – January 2004*
Authorised Personnel: *Dr Ingrid Piller*

The additional information will be filed with your application.
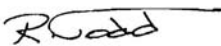
Conditions

1. Provide the research assistant's details, signature and a statement that he/she has understood the protocol, when appointed.
2. Separate Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form into two documents.
3. Inform the Committee if home visits are required.
4. Submit copies of the interview protocols, when available.

In order to comply with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans,* and in line with the Human Research Ethics Committee requirements the Chief Investigator's responsibility is to ensure that:

(1) The individual researcher's protocol complies with the final and Committee approved.

(2) Modifications to the protocol cannot proceed until such approval is obtained in writing.

(3) The confidentiality and anonymity of all research subjects is maintained at all times, except as required by law.

(4) All research subjects are provided with a Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form, unless otherwise agreed by the Committee.

(5) The Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form are to be on University of Sydney letterhead and include the full title of the research project and telephone contacts for the researchers, unless otherwise agreed by the Committee.

(6) The following statement must appear on the bottom of the Participant Information Sheet. *Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Manager of Ethics Administration, University of Sydney, on (02) 9351 4811.*

(7) The standard University policy concerning storage of data and tapes should be followed. While temporary storage of data or tapes at the researcher's home or an off-campus site is acceptable during the active transcription phase of the project, permanent storage should be at a secure, University controlled site for a minimum of five years.

(8) A progress report should be provided by the end of each year. Failure to do so will lead to withdrawal of the approval of the research protocol and re-application to the Committee must occur before recommencing.

(9) A report and a copy of any published material should be provided at the completion of the Project.

Yours sincerely

Associate Professor Stewart Kellie
Chairman, Human Research Ethics Committee

Encl. Participant Information Statement & Consent Form
Recruitment Advertisement
Questionnaire

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The University of Sydney

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Human Research Ethics Committee

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11 March 2003

Dr I Piller
Department of Linguistics
Transient Building – F12
The University of Sydney

Dear Dr Piller

Title: *Success and failure in second language learning (SLL)*
Ref No: *3410*
Authorised Personnel: **Dr Ingrid Piller**
                   Ms Emily J Farrell

The Executive Sub-committee at its meeting on 6 March 2003 has received your correspondence dated 4 March 2003 advising that Ms Emily Farrell has joined the authorised personnel for the above referenced study and we have noted it in our records.

The additional information will be filed with the original application.

Yours sincerely

Associate Professor Stewart Kellie
Chairman, Human Research Ethics Committee

cc: *Ms E Farrell, Room 250, Department of Linguistics, Transient Building – F12, The University of Sydney*

The University of Sydney

NSW 2006 Australia

Human Research Ethics Committe
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15 April 2003

Dr I Piller
Department of Linguistics
University of Sydney
Bldg F12

Dear Dr Piller

Title: *Success and failure in second language learning (SLL)*
Ref. No.:   *3410*
Authorised Personnel; *Dr Ingrid Piller*
                       Ms Emily J Farrell
                       Mr Hyun Jin Chu

The Executive Sub-Committee at its meeting on 10 April 29003 received your correspondence of 28 March 2003 advising that Mr Hyun Jin Chyu has joined the authorized personnel for the above-referenced study and we have noted it in our records.

The additional information will be filed with the original application.

Yours sincerely

Associate Professor Stewart Kellie
Chairman, Human Research Ethics Committee