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**LIVING IN THE 'IN-BETWEEN': NARRATIVE INQUIRY INTO INVESTMENT OF  
FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS TEACHING ABROAD**

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Recent research in second language acquisition has put significant emphasis on the study of identity, seen as a dynamic, multiple, and context-bound phenomenon reproduced in social interaction. This goes hand in hand with the rise of interest in qualitative research methods, most notably narrative analysis. In this paper we aim to explore the intertwined relationship between identity, capital, and investment from the perspective of foreign language teachers teaching abroad (FLTAs). These teachers are a specific type of *glomads*, professionals who live and work abroad, frequently transgressing social, linguistic, and cultural spaces and borders. Our respondents were 4 French and 3 Croatian FLTAs and we elicited their personal narratives via semi-structured interviews. We draw on the comprehensive model of investment proposed by Darwin and Norton (2015) to answer the following questions: 1) How do various ideologies structure identities and investment of FLTAs? and 2) What are the forms of capital they invest in order to position themselves as FLTAs? Our study confirmed that investment depends on factors that constitute various ideologies of space and language ideology which are often intertwined. When it comes to various forms of capital that our respondents possess and use to invest to position themselves as FLTAs, their narratives predominantly point to linguistic capital, education, and their national or ethnic identity.

**Key words:** investment, foreign language teachers teaching abroad, *glomads*, teaching foreign languages abroad, identity, personal narratives, capital, ideology.

**1. Introduction**

It is an indisputable fact that we live in a globalized world. And while there is an ongoing discussion among sociologists and political scientists whether globalization is a positive or a negative phenomenon, a homogenizing or a diversifying process, as linguists, we are invited to raise questions about languages and linguistic practices

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existing within the globalization context. In this new world order of mobility, languages remain an issue of practical importance as speakers, in order to successfully communicate, have to share a linguistic code that is often other than the one natively acquired. One relatively new and growing group of social actors taking part in this social process through mobility are professional global nomads or 'glomads', who spend most of their time making a living abroad. Their lives are characterized by latitudinal mobility because they frequently transgress social, linguistic, and cultural spaces and borders with no permanent home location.

In this paper, we look into experiences of *foreign language teachers teaching abroad* (FLTTA), who migrate to teach their native language in various educational contexts, from elementary schools to highly specialized university philology programmes. Most frequently, they work under short-term and precarious contracts, which requires them to move from country to country, often changing their professional environment, but also adapting to new and varied cultural and linguistic landscapes. Such a specific migration-bound way of living simultaneously positions them as foreign language teachers on the one hand, and as learners of the language(s) spoken in the country where they work, on the other. This yet unexplored group of mobile expatriates could provide compelling perspectives for researchers examining questions of language and identity because they represent the "new world order characterized by mobility, fluidity, and diversity, operating within the paradox of flow and control" (Darvin & Norton, 2015: 51). The need for a theoretical framework that would explicitly highlight ideology<sup>1</sup> and allow for the exploration of the complex and layered relationship between the language learner and the globalized social world has already been asserted by De Costa (2010). Darvin and Norton (2015: 36) have answered that call and proposed a model of language investment, which "recognizes that the spaces in which language acquisition and socialization take place have become increasingly deterritorialized and unbounded, and the systemic patterns of control more invisible". Furthermore, this model "addresses the needs of learners who navigate their way through online and offline contexts and perform identities that have become more fluid and complex" (ibid.), which qualifies it as the appropriate research approach to investigate glomads' experiences.

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<sup>1</sup> Darvin and Norton define ideologies as "dominant ways of thinking that organize and stabilize societies while simultaneously determining modes of inclusion and exclusion" (2015: 72).

## 2. Theoretical framework

Traditionally, in second language acquisition theory language learners were treated as a bundle of variables with flat stereotypical identities, and it took almost three decades for a paradigm shift which called for celebrating them as hybrid subjects who defy analysis (Canagarajah, 2004: 266). A pivotal moment for that shift was when Lazaraton (1995: 456) pointed to the growing interest in qualitative research issues and studies in applied linguistics. In the same journal number, Norton Peirce published a seminal work that has tremendously contributed to the rise of the so-called *social turn* in applied linguistics (Block 2003). In that paper, Norton Peirce proposed one of the first alternative approaches in SLA that considered social aspects of language learning as important as cognitive ones. She made an argument "for a conception of investment rather than motivation to capture the complex relationship of language learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to speak it" (Norton Peirce, 1995: 9). Furthermore, she proposed the construct to demonstrate "that commitment is not just a product of motivation, but that learners invest in a language because they recognize how it will help them acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power" (Darvin & Norton, 2017: 2). The model was immediately embraced by socially oriented scholars and used in a number of studies examining identities and languages in a global perspective (see De Costa & Norton, 2016 for an overview). Twenty years after Norton Peirce's seminal paper, drawing heavily upon Bourdieu's work, Darvin and Norton (2015) proposed an enriched and more comprehensive model of investment that enables critical examination of the relationship between identity, ideology, capital, investment, and language learning. This model addresses the role of ideological discourses as tools that shape learners' habitus by acknowledging, or not, their access to capital. For example, a language capital of a multilingual learner attending a school that adheres to monolingual policy does not have any value for the learner, as they cannot use their entire language repertoire as affordances to communicate or to learn. In other words, the school's ideology rendered this student's identities, such as multilingual or ethnic identity, invisible or/and denied. Yet, the model of investment recognizes that "learners have agency and that they have the capacity to invest in learning that allows them not only to acquire material and symbolic resources in a way that reproduces the status quo, but also to dissect, question, and sometimes resist dominant practices and ways of thinking that have become systemic within different fields" (Darvin & Norton, 2015:

51). In other words, the investment occurs at the intersection of identity, ideology, and capital, as shown in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** Darwin and Norton's model of investment (Source: Darwin & Norton, 2015: 42)

One way of tapping into investment is by looking into narratives of personal experiences told by individuals who were (or not) in situations to invest in a particular language. The notion of narrative has been notoriously difficult to define, as different (socio)linguistic traditions and approaches observe and investigate the phenomenon from varied perspectives (see De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) for a detailed overview and discussion). While the so-called conventional paradigm, inspired primarily by the work of William Labov (1972), mostly focused on the structure and syntactic features of canonical narratives, in recent several decades there has been a notable shift in research from narratives as specific text types to narrative as practice and as a type of social interaction. Consequently, as De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008: 379) note, the investigation of the intimate links of narrative-interactional processes with larger social processes was recognized as a prerequisite for socially-minded research. One of the most notable results of this paradigm shift is the understanding of narrative discourse as the central locus of identity work (Bamberg, De Fina, & Schiffrin, 2007; Bamberg, 2011; Relaño Pastor, 2014), wherein identity is seen as a dynamic process firmly grounded precisely in language and interaction (e.g. Weedon, 1987; Davies & Harré, 1990; Norton, 2013). This view of identity overlaps with the non-essentialist stance taken by second language acquisition scholars mentioned above and relies on qualitative analyses of actual communicative situations and contextualized discourse. For example, in the context of bilingualism, Pavlenko

(2008) notes that personal narratives make "excellent instruments for the study of language socialization, for inquiries into emotional expression and narrative construction of bilinguals' selves, for investigations of sociolinguistic determinants of language learning, attrition, and shift, and for historical and diachronic research in contexts where other sources are scarce" (Pavlenko, 2008: 318). Another particularly relevant notion in the context of language acquisition and identity which can be interpreted through the analysis of personal narratives is *imagined identity*, i.e. the ideal self that language learners aspire to become in the future (Norton 2013). We adopt this poststructuralist understanding of narrative discourse and narration as "a way in which individuals enact, perform, shape and also represent identities within specific interactional contexts, while at the same time building upon, reflecting and conveying social experiences related to other practices" (Relaño Pastor, 2014: 16). More specifically, we observe narratives of personal experience elicited in research interviews as specific communicative events which are indexical to linguistic practices and complex social and ideological processes behind them. Additionally, narratives represent a locus in which narrators discursively construct various identity positions of themselves and other social actors with regard to the story world, the interactional context of the research interview (the storytelling world), and the wider social context outlined by specific ideologies and systemic patterns of control. By tapping into this identity work on the discursive level, we aim to interpret the specificities of investment, as defined by Darvin and Norton (2015).

### **3. Methodology and respondents**

We aim to explore investment of FLTTAs at the intersection of identity, capital, and ideology by looking into their narratives of personal experiences elicited in research interviews. Bearing in mind the social complexities and power relations characteristic of the experiences of glomad professionals, but also of the context of research interviews, we critically observe our data with an aim to explore our respondents' investment in learning and using the host languages they encountered while working abroad. More precisely, we hope to answer the following questions:

1. How do various ideologies structure identities and investment of FLTTAs?
2. Which forms of capital that they already possess allow them to invest in order to position themselves as FLTTAs?

In order to answer these questions, we turn to the analysis of narratives elicited in interviews with seven FLTTAs. Our respondents were 3 *Croatian university lecturers* (CULs)<sup>2</sup>, native speakers and philologists who teach Croatian at philology departments at universities abroad (Klara, Silvia, Ivan) and 4 *French language assistants* (FLAs)<sup>3</sup>, native speakers holding MA degrees in teaching French as a Foreign Language and assisting local teachers of French in Croatia (Nicole, Corinne, Brigitte, Anne). While they do share a similar professional mission, their life, professional experience, time spent abroad, the context and ideologies of their workplaces, as well as their goals, dreams, and aspirations, are not the same. We conducted semi-structured interviews with the respondents and elicited narratives about their experiences related to various linguistic practices in the context of working abroad. The interviews with CULs were conducted remotely and recorded using online communication platforms, while the interviews with FLAs were conducted in person. The interviews were transcribed and then analyzed through the lens of Darwin and Norton's model (2015), focusing on investment at the intersection of ideology, capital, and identity. Firstly, we looked into data elicited in the interviews to select narratives that are thematically relevant to the issue of language investment. Secondly, we investigated selected narratives for places which recontextualize or signal to various ideologies, capital, and identity positions. Finally, we interpreted our respondents' investment, identities, and positioning based on the identified features of their personal narratives. The analysis is divided into seven caselets (mini case studies), with illustrative examples of narratives presented according to the transcription conventions provided in the appendix. Since the narratives we are analysing here are instances of spoken discourse, it would be inappropriate to impose the conventions of written discourse on them (e.g. editing them as prose or as series of linear sentences, or presenting them as monologues, omitting the role of the researcher). Therefore, we opted for a transcription style widely accepted in narrative analysis (e.g. De Fina, 2003; Relaño Pastor, 2014) that captures the rhythm and prosodic features of spoken discourse, as these features also represent an important element of narrative production and identity construction. To ensure the authenticity of these instances of spoken discourse, we present them in the

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<sup>2</sup> The Croatian Ministry of Education emphasizes the role of lecturers as key in the affirmation of the Croatian language, literature, and culture abroad, as well as in Croatian diasporic communities. For more details see <https://mzo.gov.hr/istaknute-teme/medjunarodna-suradnja-i-eu/lektorati/201> (Accessed on 30 April 2020).

<sup>3</sup> According to the French Ministry of Education, the main role of language assistants is to improve pupils' communication skills (in particular oral skills) and develop their knowledge of a different society and culture. For more details see <https://www.ciep.fr/en/foreign-language-assistants-in-france/the-role-of-an-assistant> (Accessed on 28 April 2020).

original language (Croatian or French), but also provide English translations<sup>4</sup> to make them accessible to readers who are not familiar with these languages. In order to protect our respondents' names and other personal information, we use pseudonyms instead of their real names.

#### 4. Analysis

##### 4.1. Klara (Poland)

Klara, who holds a dual MA degree in Croatian and English, teaches Croatian at one of Poland's larger universities, which has its own Croatian philology sub-department within the larger Slavic department. At the moment of our interview, it was her third year at that post. Croatian philology is relatively popular and well represented across several universities in Poland and an essential aspect of such neo-philology programmes is the presence of a native-speaking lector, i.e. a lecturer or language instructor whose primary responsibility is to expose students to native-like linguistic production through language exercises and to introduce them to various aspects of Croatian culture, literature, etc. In the following narrative, Klara talks about the usefulness of Polish and other languages (mainly English) in her working and everyday environment.

##### Example 1 (Klara)

01 morate li učiti ili poznavati poljski, dakle jezik zemlje u kojoj radite-  
02 je li Vam to ugovorom negdje-  
03 ne. ne. to nigdje u ugovoru ne piše.  
04 ovdje stalno naglašavaju da je **čak i dobro** da lektor ne govori [poljski jezik u početku  
05 aha?  
06 jer će tako inzistirati na upotrebi [hrvatskoga, recimo sa studentima prve godine  
07 hrvatskog, da, da  
08 s jedne strane, to je dobro.  
09 to je istina da onda si primorana se snalaziti na neke druge načine  
10 i objašnjavati različitim grupama a: sve na hrvatskome,  
11 dakle i ovima koji uopće ne govore hrvatski,  
12 a ja uopće nisam govorila poljski, ja sam morala nekako tražiti neki metajezik  
13 mhm  
14 međutim iz prakse mogu reći da to nije dobro  
15 da?  
16 jer lektor je također i čovjek  
17 i koji dođe u novu sredinu-  
18 i ako se stvarno oslanja samo na svoje poznavanje nekog svjetskog jezika kao što je  
engleski ili njemački,  
19 to u ovakvoj sredini mu neće puno pomoći  
20 mhm?

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<sup>4</sup> We are aware that much can be lost in these (sometimes literal) translations and that considering them as equivalents to the originals is rather problematic. Our aim was to provide readers as authentic a presentation as possible of the French and Croatian narratives.

21 tako da sam ja na prvoj godini krenula na tečaj poljskoga-  
22 više iz tak- ne toliko možda iz (0.5) potrebe a profesionalne, koliko privatne  
23 aha?  
24 jednostavno sam vidjela da ja u banci i u općini a ne mogu se sporazumjeti na  
engleskome,  
25 a ne mogu uvijek voditi nekog kolegu da sa mnom rješava te privatne stvari

01 are you required to learn or know Polish, that is, the language of the country where  
you work –  
02 is that in the contract somewhere-  
03 no. no. this is not in the contract at all.  
04 here they constantly emphasize that it is **even good** if the lector does not speak  
[Polish in the beginning  
05  
oh?  
06 because that way they will insist on the usage of [Croatian, let's say, with first year  
students  
07 [Croatian, yeah, yeah  
08 on the one hand, that's good.  
09 it is true that then you're forced to improvise in various other ways  
10 and explain things to different groups a: in just Croatian,  
11 meaning, even those who don't speak it at all,  
12 and I didn't speak Polish at all, I had to somehow search for a meta language  
13 mhm  
14 however, from practice I can say that this isn't good  
15 yeah?  
16 because a lector is also a person  
17 who arrives in a new environment –  
18 and relying on the knowledge of a world language such as English or German,  
19 in communities like these, it won't be of any help  
20 mhm?  
21 so during the first year I started attending a Polish course-  
22 more for- not so much for (0.5) the sheer professional a need but for personal reasons  
23 uh-huh?  
24 I simply saw that in a bank or in the municipality a I cannot communicate in English,  
25 and I can't always drag some colleague with me to do these private errands

As Klara explains, knowledge of Polish was not a requirement for this CUL post, which is why she did not speak any when she started her mandate. Moreover, her department prefers the arriving lectors not to speak any Polish, in order to create an immersive classroom environment in which students would be required to engage in communication in Croatian with their teacher and thus acquire the language faster (04-06)<sup>5</sup>. While this might be a successful classroom practice, the problem arises when the lector wants to engage in interactions outside of the classroom. In other words, ideologies of this particular workplace foster a specific institutional habitus in which the newly arriving lector, by not being proficient in the dominant language, does not have access to other types of symbolic resources and therefore depends on the help of other speakers of Polish, usually work-colleagues. On the other hand, these

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<sup>5</sup> numbers in brackets indicate line sin the transcript



colleagues are expected to be at the disposal of the Croatian lector and help them with various errands. Upon arriving in Poland, Klara soon realized that the linguistic capital she possesses (i.e. high proficiency and a diploma in English) is practically worthless (18-19), which minimizes her agency and makes her reliant on her colleagues, speakers of Polish (24-25). Consequently, the described underlying ideologies of the workplace and language ideologies and practices dominant in her environment result in Klara's involuntary positioning as a dependent individual who cannot fulfil her personal preferences and communicate efficiently while doing everyday errands such as going to the bank. This unwilling positioning stands in sharp contrast with her imagined identity of an independent and bilingual professional. It is precisely at the intersection of the described ideologies, linguistic capital, and identity that her desire to learn Polish arises, resulting in her investment to take up a course in Polish (21).

While her working experience is overall positive, in the following narrative Klara describes some negative aspects of her job as a CUL.

#### Example 2 (Klara)

- 01 negativno je @  
02 sad opet se nadovezuje uz to ambasadorstvo  
03 je to da se osjećaš kao da si izaslana iz vlastite države  
04 u kojoj nisi uspjela naći posao, a ne ((unclear))-  
05 dakle mislim da je najnegativnija ta emotivna komponenta  
06 i to da nisi sigurna koliko si se zapravo tu uklopila  
07 jer i jesi i nisi u tome sustavu  
08 dakle, negdje si između dviju država  
09 i mislim da je to nekako najnegativnije i to se onda odrazi i na toj emotivnoj razini,  
10 ali isto tako recimo kad imamo nekakav administrativni problem,  
11 onda ni ne znamo tko bi nama trebao tu pomoći. Hrvatska ili Poljska?  
12 da da  
13 tako da taj dio lektorskog posla,  
14 to da su oni nekakvi **izmeđućnici** recimo,  
15 taj dio mi je najnegativniji.
- 01 the negative part is @  
02 and again, this is related to being this ambassador,  
03 that you feel as if you were delegated from your own country  
04 where you couldn't find a job, and not ((unclear))-  
05 so I think the most negative component is emotional  
06 and the fact that you're not sure how much you've actually blended in here  
07 because you are and aren't in the system  
08 so, you're somewhere between these two countries  
09 and I think this is somehow the most negative and that is reflected on an emotional level,  
10 but also for example, when we have some kind of an administrative problem,  
11 we don't know who should help us. Croatia or Poland?  
12 yeah yeah  
13 so, this aspect of the job,  
14 the fact that lectors are kind of **inbetweeners** so to say  
15 that part is the most negative for me.

In Example 2, Klara underscores the duality and instability of identity positions of CULs. She starts by connecting the negative aspects of the job to the fact that language teachers of Croatian end up teaching abroad because they lack better employment opportunities back home (03-04). Put simply, they are economic migrants. These teaching posts abroad, while mostly precarious, unstable, and requiring a lot of flexibility and adaptability, are still better options than those available in Croatia. Klara uses a creative neologism (*izmeđućnici*, best translated as *inbetweeners*, or as those being in the 'in-between') to describe the position of a CUL, which she also generalizes through the use of second person singular (the generic *you*) and the first person plural (the generic *we*), referring to CULs in general. Namely, the systemic patterns that prescribe and define the working conditions for CULs (such as financing, types of contracts, etc.) result in problematic positioning where their work is under the purview of two systems – that of the home country's sending institutions (ministries and other governing bodies) and that of the receiving university. But according to Klara, in practical and specific administrative situations CULs fall through the cracks of that system, since their positioning is neither here, nor there, defined by consistent inconsistency. This inability to fully belong to either of the systems, as Klara describes, is reflected on an emotional level as well (09).

#### **4.2. Silvia (Hungary)**

Silvia teaches at the Croatian sub-department at a relatively small university in Hungary, in a region with a historically significant Croatian minority. At the moment of our interview, she was starting the third year of her mandate. She holds a dual degree in English and Croatian and is fluent in several other languages, but at the moment of arriving in Hungary she did not have any knowledge of Hungarian. In the following two narratives, Silvia describes her attempts to use English, as well as other languages, including some basic Hungarian, in her everyday life and in the classroom context.

##### Example 3 (Silvia)

01 a izvan nastave, sad u slobodno vrijeme, s kim sve osim studenata i kolega dolazite u kontakt

02 i onda na kojim jezicima vi komunicirate s njima?

03 ovako, s obzirom da sam smještena u kolegijumu, u tom nekom domu, recimo,

04 ne znam nešto polu-hotel, polu-dom- tu se susrećem sa da, djelatnicima,

05 dobro i već više-manje sada znam @ većinu ljudi koji žive ovdje (1)

06 pokušavam (0.5) pokušavam engleski

07 <to jest, to sam u početku pokušavala, ali Mađari jako loše> stoje @ sa svim jezicima  
08 aha! @  
09 jednostavno ih ne znaju.  
10 a sad je već treća godina, pa onda natucam nešto malo i tog mađarskog.  
11 aha! i kako to- možete navest neke- @ neke anegdote možda?  
12 kako to onda bude u stvarnoj- @ u stvarnom životu?  
13 @@ u stvarnom životu, recimo trenutno imam jako glasne susjede studente  
14 pa sam noćas uz pomoć nečega što sam uvijek učenicima- da **nikada** nikada u životu  
ne koriste,  
15 a to je Google [prevoditelj @  
16 [ @  
17 dolje u jedan sat u noći stajala s papirom i pokušavala im objasniti koja-  
18 dobro, znala sam reći broj sobe, znala sam reći-  
19 al nisam znala reći da su jako glasni ((nejasno))  
20 ajoj @ je li to onda bila uspješna intervencija Google translatea?  
21 je, bilo je- bila je čak i uspješna  
22 pa mislim- snalazim se, sad baš neki (3) ono, kafić, restoran.  
23 to su riječi koje sam naučila @  
24 znam brojeve, znam se snać  
25 recimo, evo sad kad smo kod anegdota, volim, ne znam (1)  
26 ima jedan prekrasan cvijet tu pored zgrade pa sam htjela odnijeti doma,  
27 probat ga zasaditi u Hrvatskoj  
28 pa sam zamolila- htjela zamolit da mi odrežu.  
29 sad kako @ da [ja to iskomuniciram?  
30 [da @  
31 onda sam zamolila kolegicu da mi to napiše  
32 ona mi je to napisala u poruci sms  
33 i onda sam ja pokazala sms poruku spremačici, eto  
34 [ @ tako se snalazim  
35 [ @ da. dakle, praktični različiti načini  
36 da da, rukama, nogama, svakako

01 and outside of the classroom, and in your free time, who do you come into contact with  
02 and in which languages do you communicate?  
03 okay, since I am accommodated in a collegium, this type of dormitory, so to say  
04 I don't know, half-hotel, half-dormitory- here I meet, yes, employees,  
05 ok so now I mostly know @ the majority of people who live here (1)  
06 I'm trying (0.5) I'm trying in English  
07 <that is, I was trying it at the beginning, but Hungarians are really bad at> @  
languages in general  
08 oh! @  
09 they simply don't know any.  
10 and now it's been three years so I dabble a bit in Hungarian  
11 I see! and how- can you mention some- @ some anecdotes maybe?  
12 how does it work in real- @ in real life?  
13 @@ in real life, for example, I have really loud neighbours who are students  
14 and last night I tried using something I've been ((telling)) my students to **never** ever  
use in their lives,  
15 that is, Google [translate @  
16 [ @  
17 I was standing downstairs at 1 am with a paper and trying to explain which-  
18 okay, I knew how to say the room number, I knew how to say-  
19 but I didn't know how to say they are being loud ((unclear))  
20 oh no @ and was it a successful intervention by Google translate?  
21 yes, it was- it was quite successful  
22 I mean- I manage, like some (3) like, in a café, a restaurant.  
23 those are the words I learnt @  
24 I know the numbers, I know how to get by

25 for example, since we're talking about anecdotes, I like, I don't know (1)  
26 there's a beautiful plant here by the building and I wanted to take some home,  
27 to try to plant it in Croatia  
28 so I asked- wanted to ask them to cut it for me  
29 now, how @ do [I communicate that?  
30 [yeah @  
31 then I asked my colleague to write that down for me  
32 she wrote it down in a text  
33 and so I showed the text to the cleaning lady, there  
34 [@ that's how I manage  
35 [@ yeah. so, various practical methods  
36 yes, yes, using hands, feet, everything

Example 3 vividly illustrates the discrepancy between the language ideology of the workplace and the reality of various communicative events Silvia encounters. The whole recruitment process for CULs is organized by the Croatian Ministry of Education (which finances the majority of these posts) and is embedded in the language ideology of English as the prestigious language of international communication. Namely, one of the prerequisites for the post of lector in Hungary was high proficiency in English (just like in Klara's case above), whereas knowledge of the country's official language, Hungarian, was not required. This would suggest that English has a prominent role as a lingua franca in Hungary, at least in the academic context, and that English would be used at least on some occasions. But when it comes to everyday life, the two anecdotes recounted in this narrative paint a different picture. What is also evident from this account is that Silvia is actively trying to communicate in English with various social actors in everyday life, but eventually gives up (06-07), since, as she says, no one speaks it. She recontextualizes a rather unflattering stereotype about Hungarians being stubbornly monolingual and generally being "really bad at languages" (07). Since she cannot use any of the languages she knows as affordances, Silvia invests in Hungarian in order to successfully communicate, by using available resources, such as digital tools, language helpers, gesticulating in communication, etc. Episodes with the loud neighbours and the plant by the building illustrate the various ways in which Silvia invests and persistently tries to communicate in Hungarian, even though she knows only the basics (lines 10, 24, 34, 36). It is important to emphasize that Silvia works on acquiring Hungarian on her own, because she lacked the institutional support, i.e. there were not any available language courses she could attend.

Knowing English does not represent a form of symbolic capital in the classroom either, since students rarely speak it, at least to a degree that would mediate teaching, which is illustrated in the following narrative.

#### Example 4 (Silvia)

01 evo ja imam te studente.  
02 ti studenti- ja s njima ne mogu- mislim (2)  
03 ja imam problema s određenim studentima koji ne govore niti njemački, niti engleski (1.5) ništa.  
04 što su učili u školi, nešto malo njemačkog  
05 udaljeni su dvadesetak minuta vožnje od austrijske granice  
06 jer ja pokušavam na svim jezicima, onda se više spletem, onda- onda  
07 @  
08 u jednoj rečenici (1.5) svašta upotrijebim jer ne znam više kako bi im pristupila  
09 da da da  
10 ova:j, ja sam čak, evo- mislim, ja sam inače ponosna na to što-  
11 mislim, baratam i talijanskim i tako dalje, ((nejasno)) – ja volim jezike  
12 i onda sam u jednom trenutku čak rekla  
13 dobro, što mi vrijedi da toliko jezika znam [@ kad **ništa** ne mogu s njima  
14 [@@  
15 tako da, to je bila frustrirajuća situacija, ali dobro.

01 so I have these students.  
02 these students- with them I can't- I mean (2)  
03 I have problems with certain students who speak neither German, nor English (1.5) nothing.  
04 a bit of German that they learnt in school  
05 they are 20 minutes driving-distance away from the Austrian border  
06 because I try in all languages, and then I get all tangled, and then- then  
07 @  
08 in one sentence (1.5) I use all sorts of things because I don't know how to approach them anymore  
09 yeah yeah yeah  
10 I mea:n, I even- I mean- I am proud that I-  
11 I mean, I can also communicate in Italian, and so on ((unclear)) – I love languages  
12 but at one point I even said  
13 okay, what's it worth knowing all those languages [@ when I can't do **anything** with them  
14 [@@  
15 so that, yes, that was a frustrating situation, but okay.

This narrative can help to deconstruct several language ideologies which result in specific positioning of the involved social actors. Silvia's expectation was that her students would be able to communicate in languages other than Hungarian, due to the ethnic diversity of the area, the proximity of the border, and also given the fact that a considerable number of her students are in fact members of the historical Croatian minority. When it comes to classroom practices, Silvia's narrative represents a concrete example of teaching without a third, common language, similar to Klara's experience in Example 1. When teaching Croatian, Silvia cannot rely on the languages she knows, namely English, German, and Italian, because her students do not know any of them, i.e. they do not have a third common language that could facilitate the teaching process before the students have acquired at least the basics of Croatian. Therefore, Hungarian, the official and dominant language of the country, is the only

genuine symbolic capital because it is the only language that enables successful (initial) communication with students, as well as with other social actors outside of the academic world, as was also seen in Example 3. It is evident from her narrative that Silvia puts in considerable effort as a teacher, but this does not always result in successful communicative instances, but rather in frustrating situations (06, 08). Therefore, the habitus of her workplace, as well as the wider social context of her new place of residence requires considerable investment in Hungarian. Finally, Silvia's identity of a polyglot and a language specialist cannot be realized in given habitus, which results in frustrating situations and the inability to transfer all the symbolic capital she possesses into other types of capital.

### **4.3. Ivan (Brazil)**

Ivan is a linguist from Croatia who teaches language acquisition at a prestigious Brazilian university. At the same time, he is active in the minority Croatian community, where he teaches Croatian classes and organizes a variety of cultural events. This diasporic community consists of descendants of migrants who arrived in Brazil predominantly in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Inspired by his students' desire to learn more about the history of their ancestors, Ivan also conducts research on the history of Croats in Brazil. The context of his teaching engagement and, consequently, his experiences, differ greatly from those of Klara and Silvia. Firstly, he was not delegated through the Croatian Ministry of Education to teach Croatian abroad as a CUL, but rather got involved through the local Croatian community in Brazil, where he had previously moved to pursue a degree in linguistics. Secondly, his teaching of Croatian is centred around a group of learners, who as a rule, do not speak Croatian (or are familiar with it merely as an ancestry or heritage language), but maintain a strong emotional connection to Croatian identity. Therefore, fluency in Brazilian Portuguese was a prerequisite to enter the community and start teaching in the first place, which is why his narratives are indexical to a different kind of identity positioning, investment, and ideologies embedded in the habitus of his teaching post. While he is not teaching Croatian in a university context like the previous two respondents, we categorize Ivan as a university lector too, since he is a philology expert and adopts the same methods and types of materials that CULs usually do. However, Ivan's social status is considerably more prestigious, not just because he is fluent in the local dominant language, but because his ethnic and professional identity

bear a high symbolic value in the diasporic community. This is demonstrated by the following example.

#### Example 5 (Ivan)

01 kako bi ti procijenio najprije društveni status tebe kao lektora u toj zajednici  
02 i šire, u gradu u kojem živiš?  
03 evo ako možeš to malo komentirati  
04 društveni status- sad ovo, mislim neke stvari su malo više kao off  
05 ali, polubožanstvo. (1)  
06 [@  
07 [i sad, to je dosta problematično.  
08 došao je netko tko je **iz Hrvatske**  
09 znači nije više netko **rođen** ovdje pa drži nastavu  
10 ili netko tko je bio na razmjeni pa se vratio  
11 znači, nego **pravi** Hrvat  
12 i pravi Hrvat koji je jezičar  
13 dođe. kod nas. i govorit će nam nešto o hrvatskom  
14 znači **to je to**.  
15 nema veze što je moja obitelj govorila, što sam čitao-  
16 što Ivan kaže, to i vrijedi  
17 onda je to dosta (1.5)  
18 mph- to je super s jedne strane  
19 s druge strane je jako meni to bio (2) m: prava riječ  
20 ((hesitant)) m: ha pa ne bi reko stres  
21 možda neku bolju riječ bi trebalo smisliti, ali  
22 neki teret možda kao?  
23 možda teret, da i nekako odgovornost  
24 jer kad ti dođe netko tko nije zapravo- tko je donekle tabula rasa  
25 sad ja od njega radim Hrvata? mislim-  
26 <meni je to bilo na početku>-  
27 znači ja njemu gradim **identitet**  
28 koji će identitet osoba imat  
29 a ja sam glavna referenca,  
30 ja dijelim materijale,  
31 ja kažem, čuj, ljudi, ja sve što govorim i o jeziku i o povijesti, to je (1)  
32 manje više parcijalno, ali to **je** moje mišljenje  
33 znači, ja pokušavam da ne niti jednu ni drugu stranu  
34 sve to- **ta dva doma jesu antagonijski** jedan prema drugome  
35 <jedan je desni, drugi je lijevi>  
36 tako da ja njima pokušavam **dat dojam** zašto-  
37 kakva je zajednica, što se događa i tako dalje  
38 i da u Hrvatskoj isto tako postoje ta antagonijska mišljenja  
39 i da će oni vjerojatno pričat s Hrvatom koji će mislit, ne znam  
40 da je jedan političar fantastičan  
41 drugi će reć da je očajan  
42 i tako dalje.

01 how would you describe the social status you have as the lector in the community  
02 and in a broader context, in the city you live in?  
03 if you can comment on this a bit  
04 social status- I mean some of these things are a bit off-  
05 but, like a demigod. (1)  
06 [@  
07 [now, that's quite problematic  
08 someone has come **from Croatia**  
09 so it's not someone who was **born** here and now they're teaching

10 or someone who was on an exchange and then returned  
11 like, it's a **genuine** Croat  
12 and a genuine Croat who is also a linguist  
13 comes. to us. and he will talk about Croatian  
14 like, **that's it.**  
15 it doesn't matter what my family used to tell me, what I read-  
16 what Ivan says, that's the law  
17 and so that's quite (1.5)  
18 mph- it's great on the one hand  
19 on the other hand to me it was (1) m:: the right word  
20 ((hesitant)) m: huh I wouldn't call it stress  
21 maybe there should be a better word for that, but-  
22 some kind of burden perhaps?  
23 maybe a burden, yes, and in a way a responsibility  
24 because when someone comes to you, who isn't really- who's a tabula rasa  
25 and now I'm making a Croat out of them? I mean-  
26 <at the beginning it was like>-  
27 so I am building their **identity**  
28 which identity this person will have  
29 and I'm the main reference,  
30 I share the materials,  
31 I say, look, people, whatever I say about language and about history, it's (1)  
32 more or less a partial account, but that **is** my opinion  
33 so, I'm trying not to take either of the two sides  
34 all of it- **these two communities are antagonistic** towards one another  
35 <one is right, the other is left>  
36 so I'm trying to **give them an insight**, as to why-  
37 what the community is like, what's happening and so on  
38 and that in Croatia there are also these antagonistic opinions  
39 and that they'll probably talk to a Croat who will think, I don't know  
40 that one politician is fantastic  
41 the other will say he's terrible  
42 and so on.

Example 5 demonstrates how FLTTAs' positions can be both shaped and constrained by ideologies of groups or fields and the consequent challenges they might face when they are positioned by the receiving community as the ultimate ethnolinguistic authority. Namely, the way Ivan is perceived by the diasporic community members represents a prestigious type of social capital that translates into a specific position of power. These categories are his ethnic identity, i.e. the fact that he is a 'genuine' Croat, as opposed to someone of Croatian heritage born in Brazil (09-11), and his professional background in academia and linguistics (12). Due to these social positions, Ivan represents an authority and the main source of information for his students, not just about the Croatian language, but also about the totality of Croatian identity. Ivan is aware of the problematic consequences of such 'demigod-like' status and sees it as a great responsibility (19-23). Namely, the cultural identity of his students is socio-politically loaded and shaped by the complex historical context of migration. Also, there are antagonistic attitudes between the two community associations ("homes"), due to their ideological background, best subsumed under



"left" versus "right" in a political sense (34-35). The members of the diasporic community who take Ivan's classes are descendants (third, even fourth generation) of original migrants from Croatia. For most of them, Croatian is an ancestral language; meaning, they might know or understand a few words of certain old dialects of Croatian their grandparents taught them. However, for them, the Croatian language has a strong symbolic value and represents an equivalent to ethnic identity. While the learners expect Ivan to be the main source of information that would serve as basis for their identity-building, he invests into this role by adopting a neutral, 'diplomatic' position. That is, he might see the diasporic community as having dividing and potentially radical attitudes to Croatian culture and history, and he sees it upon himself to mitigate them and provide the learners objective information (31-33). Therefore, this narrative can also be interpreted as a display of Ivan's idea of the ideal FLTTA, coupled with the compelling and even burdensome expectations and ideologies of the diasporic community.

#### Example 6 (Ivan)

01 dakle, postoji nekoliko profesora  
02 ə ə: postoji zapravo jedna cura koja je došla iz Hrvatske, udala se za Brazilca  
03 ona je završila kroatistiku u Hrvatskoj  
04 ali isto tako ona ne zna portugalski naprimjer, još uvijek nakon četiri godine  
05 i to je njima kao  
06 [kako ne znaš?  
07 [kako ne znaš? @  
08 da, ono, očekuju to- i teško im je onda opće, ono općenito komunicirat.  
09 njima je važno da im je ta potpora-  
10 na početku im je taj portugalski vrlo važan i [da znaju  
11 [znači onda to ne bi funkcioniralo  
12 uz engleski kao neki zajednički jezik? ne govore ga?  
13 ne, jer limitiraš onda tu Brazil po **klasi**  
14 znači, imaš visokoobrazovane [i bogatije Brazilce koji su živjeli vani  
15 [razumijem  
16 jer čak niti visokoobrazovani Brazilac u Brazilu nema dovoljno znanje engleskog da bi  
17 mu to bila baza za učenje  
18 tako da je to neka nužnost-  
19 ja bi reko u Latinskoj Americi općenito  
19 općenito, jel  
20 znanje portugalskog i španjolskog kao osnove

01 like, there are a few teachers  
02 ə ə: there's actually a girl who came from Croatia, married a Brazilian guy  
03 she has a degree in Croatian from Croatia  
04 but she also doesn't speak Portuguese for example, still after four years  
05 and for them it's like  
06 [how come you don't?  
07 [how come you don't? @  
08 yeah, like, they expect it- and it's hard for them to like, communicate in general.  
09 it's important for them to have that support- initially  
10 this Portuguese is very important to them and that they can [know

11 [so, that wouldn't really work  
12 with English or some other shared language? they don't speak it?  
13 no, because doing so you're limiting Brazil according to **class**  
14 meaning, you have highly educated [and rich Brazilians who used to live abroad  
15 [I see  
16 because not even a highly educated Brazilian in Brazil has enough knowledge of English  
which would be a basis for learning  
17 so that it's a necessity in a way-  
18 I would say in Latin America in general  
19 generally, right  
20 knowledge of Portuguese and Spanish as the basis

In this narrative, Ivan talks about how he got to teach in the diasporic community in the first place and goes on about other Croatian language professionals living in Brazil, who are potential teachers. The anecdote about the professional with the degree in Croatian (02-06) is illustrative of the fact that the right to entry into this diasporic community is achieved primarily through the knowledge of Brazilian Portuguese. In other words, knowing the dominant language represents a form of symbolic capital because it enables access to other forms of capital. This ideology of space is reflected in the recontextualized comments made by members of the diasporic community (which are also anticipated by the researcher, lines 06-07), who expect their potential teachers arriving from Croatia to learn the local dominant language fast. This stands in sharp contrast to previous two examples of CULs, who were required to know English by their employer, and not the local dominant language, which positioned them as agentless in everyday situations. When it comes to the status of English in Brazil though, Ivan explains that asking the language course participants to follow lessons in English would be discriminatory and representing social and class division, since only more affluent and highly educated people have access to English exposure and lessons (12-20).

#### **4.4. Nicole (Croatia)**

Nicole works in Croatia's capital as a FLA. Her main responsibility is to expose students to native-like linguistic production and to introduce them to various aspects of French culture. There are fewer FLAs in the capital than there are schools offering lessons in French as a foreign language. Therefore, Nicole, just as other FLAs from this study, teaches in five different schools, both elementary and high schools, every other week. At the moment of our interview, she was just starting her one-year mandate. Previously, she worked in Germany, Argentina and Malta. Nicole decides to integrate into the receiving country by investing in the symbolically valued cultural and social capital, i.e. language. She started learning Croatian while still in France, once she was

informed about her next job location. After settling in, she continued to learn Croatian; in her free time, she engaged in tandem language learning and she uses every opportunity to learn Croatian through informal interaction. In the following narrative she talks about the role of her language repertoire in her professional life.

Example 7 (Nicole)

01 et l'anglais tu utilises l'anglais pendant tes cours?  
02 j'essaie oui parce que au fait je suis assez partisane du **plurilinguisme** et de l'utilisation de toutes les langues en classe  
03 moi aussi @  
04 merci @ ça me fait plaisir @ parce que c'est pas évident en France  
05 je sais  
06 en France on entre dans une classe d'anglais et on oublie français  
07 et pour moi non  
08 et c'est pour ça que j'ai voulu apprendre le croate  
09 pour qu'ils soient **autorisés** à dire parfois quelques mots de croate en classe de français  
10 et pour qu'ils me voient essayer en croate  
11 et il se sentent experts de leur langue donc puis ils peuvent m'apprendre quelque chose en croate  
12 et donc bah oui on dit comme ça en croate et c'est **génial**  
13 et l'anglas ça nous aide parce que c'est la langue commune de tous donc voilà

01 and English do you use English during your lessons?  
02 I try yes because I support the idea of **plurilingualism** and the use of all languages in the class  
03 me too @  
04 thank you @ that makes me happy @ because it's not easy in France  
05 I know  
06 in France we enter the English class and we forget French  
07 and for me no  
08 and that's why I wanted to learn Croatian  
09 so that they are sometimes **allowed** to say a few words of Croatian in the French class  
10 and for them to see me try in Croatian  
11 and they feel as experts in their language so then they can teach me something in Croatian  
12 and so well yes we say that in Croatian and it's **great**  
13 and English helps us because it is the common language of all so here it is

Example 7 shows that as a teacher, Nicole values and implements notions of *plurilingualism*, i.e. the ability of individuals to dynamically engage with more than one language. This language ideology is promoted by the European Union and represents an upgraded understanding of what is commonly referred to as *multilingualism*. The researcher, who also has a background in teaching French as a foreign language, values this ideology, and the two interlocutors co-construct their positioning as foreign language teachers (02-05). Overall, Nicole's imagined identity and her investment in Croatian are strongly influenced by values of plurilingualism. But in order to apply these notions in her classroom with students who are native speakers of Croatian, she

must learn Croatian. She finds Croatian particularly useful as scaffolding in her professional activities, just like the other languages she knows, most notably, English. Nicole fosters a plurilingual classroom environment in which students are encouraged to use Croatian, their first language, and English (09, 13), the joint lingua franca, as opposed to opting for complete immersion in French. By actively investing in Croatian and by positioning herself as the learner and allowing agency to her students as those who teach her (11), she changes the habitus of the educational setting and deconstructs the power relations in her classroom. It could be said that her previous experiences of teaching French abroad, but also the knowledge of English as a lingua franca, serve as important forms of cultural capital, which she uses as affordances for her positioning as a plurilingual teacher. However, as it turns out, there are also other forms of capital beneficial for her experience in Croatia, which is demonstrated in the following narrative.

Example 8 (Nicole)

01 comment les gens te perçoivent en tant qu'assistante de langue ?

02 c'est (0.2) je pense qu'ils me perçoivent de façon **très positive**

03 et en fait plus d'être une assistante ils me voient tous comme une Française

04 mhm

05 comme une native

06 comme un bonus pour le cours

07 comme une chance pour ses élèves d'avoir de pouvoir interagir avec une native au niveau de la culture de la langue

08 et je pense qu'ils voient tout ça comme une chance comme un bonus pour pour les élèves

09 ə:: m on se sent plutôt valorisé

01 how do others perceive you as a language assistant?

02 I think (0.2) they perceive me **very positively**

03 and in fact more than being an assistant they see me as French

04 mhm

05 as a native

06 as a bonus for the course

07 as a chance for her students to be able to interact with a native in terms of the culture of the language

08 and I think they see it all as a chance as a bonus for for the students

09 ə:: m we feel rather valued

This narrative demonstrates that Nicole's ethnic, i.e. her national identity, presents an important form of symbolic capital, because it is recognized as a positive trait by the people she interacts with in her professional environment. Furthermore, it gives her legitimacy as a FLA, since it is a requirement by the employer. She is aware that being French on the one hand, and a professional teacher of French on the other, enables her to develop social networks and to feel as a very valued member of her

professional community. In other words, she is positioned as the ideal FLA by social actors in her environment since this aspect of her identity now has an increased value and can be translated into other forms of capital. As a result, she feels valued and generalizes this evaluation for the entire community of FLAs (09).

Example 8 demonstrated how Nicole is positioned in her professional environment, but not much is different in her everyday life. In the following narrative, Nicole talks about her experience of being a foreigner, of French nationality in particular, in Croatia.

#### Example 9 (Nicole)

- 01 j'ai de **très très** bonnes expériences (0.2) tout le monde est **très** aimable  
02 tu penses c'est parce que tu es une étrangère?  
03 oui je pense qu'on est des étrangers de bon côté  
04 ça malheureusement j'ai l'impression  
05 c'est possible  
06 je pense que c'est mieux d'être une étrangère française que d'être étranger d'un pays de l'est ou d'un autre continent  
07 mhm  
08 je je sais pas c'est voilà
- 01 I have **really really** good experiences (0.2) everyone is **so** kind  
02 do you think it's because you're a foreigner?  
03 yes I think we are foreigners on the good side  
04 unfortunately I have the impression  
05 it's possible  
06 I think it's better to be a French foreigner than to be a foreigner from an eastern country or from another continent  
07 mhm  
08 I don't know, that's it

It is evident from Nicole's narrative that the similar favourable treatment goes for her outside of her French-teaching environment. Namely, her national identity is recognized by the locals as a positive trait, and she is aware that this positioning is a result of certain ideologies about the 'desired foreigner/migrant' (06). In other words, Nicole is sensible to the fact that the transformation of her cultural capital into symbolic capital, which in this case is her national identity, depends on the ideology of space. Overall, Nicole's narratives, just as her identity, seem to be affected by the local ideology of space and the global ideology of multiculturalism and plurilingualism. In other words, through investing in symbolically valued cultural capital, she is frequently positioning herself as agentive in her process of becoming the ideal FLA.

#### 4.5. Corinne (Croatia)

Corinne works as a FLA in several primary and secondary schools in the capital. Previously, she worked as a FLA in Vietnam. At the moment of our interview, Corinne was also just starting her one-year mandate. Yet, unlike Nicole, she does not invest in integrative social practices; she does not learn Croatian and does not socialize with native speakers of Croatian. On the contrary, she builds social networks only with native Francophones, and in everyday situations with locals she communicates in English. In the following narrative, Corinne compares her integration into the Croatian local community with her previous experience of integration in Vietnam.

##### Example 10 (Corinne)

01 et ici, est-ce que tu t'es déjà un peu intégrée, même si tu ne passes pas trop de temps avec des locaux?

02 ə::m intégrée ə::m

03 je me sens bien

04 mhm

05 après c'est beaucoup plus familier

06 par exemple je suis beaucoup plus indépendante parce qu'il y a du transport en commun et cetera

07 le Vietnam c'est que des motos @ ils marchent pas, même pour cents mètres ils sont à moto

08 et là-bas, j'ai pas fait beaucoup de sport @ mais il fait **très très** chaud aussi donc voilà

09 alors qu'ici je peux marcher, me balader (0.2)

10 c'est une vie **totalem**ent différente et cela se rapproche beaucoup plus à ma vie en France donc ə c'est vraiment une expérience

10 et est-ce que tu as repris tes habitudes françaises ici en Croatie ?

11 ə ben, au final, oui (0.2) je ne sais pas (0.2) les habitudes de vie en général, c'est pour moi quasiment la même chose qu'en France, **à part la langue**

01 and here, have you already integrated a bit, even if you don't spend too much time with the locals?

02 ə::m integrated ə::m

03 I feel good

04 mhm

05 everything is so familiar to me

06 for instance I am much more independent because there is public transport and so on

07 in Vietnam nothing but scooters @ they never take a stroll, even for a hundred meters they take a scooter

08 and there I didn't do a lot of sports @ but it gets **really really** hot

09 here I can take a stroll (0.2)

10 it's a **totally** different lifestyle and here it is much closer to my life in France so ə it's really an experience

11 and have you resumed your French habits here in Croatia?

12 well, in the end, yes, (0.2) I don't know (0.2) lifestyle in general, for me it's almost the same as in France, **apart from the language**

Corinne draws parallels between her experiences in Vietnam and in Croatia, wherein she favours the latter, due to the cultural similarities with France and the ability to enjoy the lifestyle she usually does in her home country (10). Obviously, the

cultural capital she possesses that is related to her Western cultural identity seems to be valuable enough for Corinne to make her feel comfortable in Croatia. This Western cultural identity is a set of various ideologies, which allow Corinne to feel confident and independent, even without knowing the local language. This was not the case in Vietnam, where she had to invest into practices that made her integration into Vietnamese local community possible (e.g. riding a scooter, giving up doing sports, 07-08). In other words, Corinne does not perceive the language barrier as an obstacle for her integration.

In the following narrative Corinne describes the role of her ethnic, gender and professional identity in Croatia.

Example 11 (Corinne)

01 et le français, ça te donne certains avantages ici en Croatie ?  
02 de parler français ?  
03 oui  
04 ə::m avantages non pas forcément ə::m  
05 et d'être française ?  
06 **oui**, être française partout ə::m être française et en plus être une **femme** ça joue aussi pas mal  
07 parce que nous, nos expériences avec les personnes ici tout le monde est toujours **très** gentil, **très** aidant et cetera  
08 je pense que ça joue beaucoup qu'on soit française et qu'on soit aussi des femmes, donc je pense oui oui oui, c'est ə oui ə  
09 plus qu'au Vietnam au Vietnam il fallait être un **américain** @  
10 aaa @@  
11 là il vaut mieux d'être un américain qu'un français @@  
12 @@  
((part omitted))  
13 et quelle est la renommée d'un assistant de langue en Croatie ?  
14 ə::m je pense déjà ə:: m (0.2) oui peut-être, peut-être, ça joue, je sais pas, au fait je ne sais pas comment on peut être perçus  
15 je sais qu'au Vietnam par exemple le fait d'être professeur de français, c'était oh wo::w  
16 mhm  
17 je l'ai **vraiment** senti au fait  
18 mhm  
19 ici je vis surtout dans un milieu francophone, j'ai pas fait tellement attention à ça

01 and French, does that give you some advantages here in Croatia?  
02 to speak French?  
03 yes  
04 ə::m advantages not necessarily ə:: m  
05 and to be French?  
06 **yes**, being French, everywhere ə::m being French and in addition being a **woman**, it also plays a lot  
07 because we, our experiences with the people here, everyone is always **very** kind, **very** helpful and so on  
08 I think it matters a lot that we are French and that we are also women, so I think yes yes yes, it is ə yes ə  
09 more than in Vietnam in Vietnam you had to be an **American** @  
10 aaa @@  
11 there it's better to be an American than French @@

12 @@

((part omitted))

13 what's the reputation of a language assistant in Croatia?

14 ə::m I think ə:: m (0.2) yes maybe, maybe, it plays, I don't know, by the way I don't know how we can be perceived

15 I know that in Vietnam for example being a French teacher, it was oh wo::w

16 mhm

17 I really felt it

18 mhm

19 and here I live mostly in a French-speaking environment, I didn't pay much attention to that

Example 11 aptly illustrates which aspects of Corinne's identity become particularly valued symbolic capital in the new environment in Croatia. Something similar was already noted in example 9 by Nicole, who observed that her Western cultural identity positions her in a more favourable situation than it would other migrants and foreigners. But as Corinne notes in this narrative, there is another prevailing aspect of a FLA's identity that plays an important role in investment and integration; gender. Namely, apart from Corinne's national identity, her gender seems to represent a form of symbolic capital, which she can use as affordances to gain other types of capital. There seems to be a certain value system in her habitus; to be French, to speak French, and to be a female is a particularly favourable combination (06, 07) which, the local community in Croatia finds appealing. When it comes to her status as a FLA, she yet does not recognize it as a particularly valuable aspect of cultural capital outside of the professional context (14). Overall, it seems that Corinne, in order to negotiate her professional identity and position herself as an ideal FLA, instead of investing in new forms of capital, mostly relies on the cultural capital she already possesses.

#### **4.6. Brigitte (Croatia)**

Brigitte, just as her colleagues Nicole and Corinne, assists in several primary and secondary schools in the capital. At the moment of our interview it was the first year of her mandate. Prior to working in Croatia she was located in Hungary, where she taught French in a secondary school. During our interview she brought up the importance of integrating into the local community.

Example 12 (Brigitte)

01 et tu es plutôt avec des francophones ici ou tu aussi ə?

02 oui malheureusement parce que

03 pourquoi, pourquoi malheureusement @?

04 parce que les Français je les connais déjà



- 05 mhm  
06 et j'aimerais bien apprendre le croate
- 01 do you spend more time with Francophones here or @?  
02 yes unfortunately because  
03 why, why unfortunately @?  
04 because I already know them  
05 mhm  
06 and I would like to learn Croatian

The main reason Brigitte does not invest in the local language could be explained by the fact that she does not recognize the knowledge of Croatian as something that would help her acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which would, in turn, increase the value of her cultural capital and social power. As can be seen in example 12, Brigitte mostly spends time with other Francophones, but it is clear from the tone of her narrative that she regrets this (02) and sees it as a major impediment to learning Croatian. Her narratives demonstrate that the general assumption that living and working in a foreign country will immediately result in immersion in its 'authentic' linguistic and cultural practices is rather problematic. Namely, Brigitte's experience shows that it is quite difficult for professionals working abroad to establish social connections with the locals and to interact with the speakers of the locally dominant language. There might be certain ideologies behind the reluctance of the locals to engage or socialize with foreigners, and this positions the glomad as an agentless social actor. Therefore, the discrepancy between Brigitte's motivation and investment could be explained by her initial experience with Croatian colleagues that was quite negative and marked with a kind of rejection. So it could be said that Brigitte tried to invest, but was rejected, which then resulted in her recognizing investment in Croatian as useless. This is further underscored in the following example.

Example 13 (Brigitte)

- 01 tout au début de l'année j'avais envoyé des mails aux profs si on pouvait se rencontrer **avant** pour boire un café  
02 il y a elle et encore une prof qui m'a proposé un café  
03 déjà ça fait plaisir  
04 comparé à d'autres qui n'ont pas même pris le temps de répondre à un mail  
05 mhm  
06 déjà on sent déjà qui veut travailler en communion  
07 et (0.2) après il y a de comportements aussi où bah on n'est pas forcément présenté dans la salle des profs on a jamais été introduit aux autres profs  
08 je comprends  
09 et c'est **dommage** dans le sens professionnel parce qu'on est des **collègues**  
10 et **personnellement** aussi parce qu'on peut aller prendre un verre, et puis nous en tant **qu'étrangères** on peut commencer à tisser les réseaux et **ça fait du bien**  
((part omitted))  
11 et quelle est la renommé d'assistant de langue en Croatie ?

12 @@@@  
13 est-ce que les gens te regardent d'une certaine manière parce que tu es l'employée de l'ambassade ?  
14 non (0.1) comment dire (0.2) on est (0.2) je ne veux pas parler au nom des filles mais j'ai l'impression qu'on est plutôt des bouche-trous  
15 des quoi?  
16 des bouche-trous  
17 qu'est-ce que c'est @@?  
18 c'est des des des **paillettes**  
19 on est là une fois toutes les deux semaines donc c'est très peu pour connaître les élèves (0.2) on passe une ou deux fois par semaine dans une école donc impossible de les connaître  
20 ə :: m pas génial

01 at the beginning of the year I had sent emails to the teachers if we could meet **beforehand** for a coffee  
02 it was her and another teacher who suggested we go for coffee  
03 it's already nice  
04 compared to others who did not even take the time to reply to my mail  
05 mhm  
06 we can already feel who wants to work together  
07 and then we are not presented in the teachers' lounge, we have never been introduced to other teachers  
08 I understand  
09 and that's a **shame** in a professional sense because we are **colleagues**  
10 and also **personal** because we could go and have a drink, and then we as **foreigners** can start to build networks and **it feels good**  
((part omitted))  
11 what is the reputation of a language assistant in Croatia?  
12 @@@@  
13 do people treat you in any other way because you are an employee of the embassy?  
14 no (0.1) how to put it (0.2) we are (0.2) I don't want to speak in other girls' names but I have the impression that we are more of a filler  
15 of what?  
16 of holes  
17 what do you mean @@?  
18 we are we are **glitter**  
19 we are there once every two weeks so it's hard to get to know the students (0.2) we spend once or twice a week in a school so it is impossible to know them  
20 ə :: m it's not great

There are certain workplace ideologies at play here that clearly hinder Brigitte's wish to invest into Croatian and to perform her imagined FLA identity. Namely, her impression is that she was rejected by her Croatian colleagues. She starts her narrative with a personal anecdote about only one colleague replying to her email and inviting her for coffee (01-04) and continues with a generalization about FLAs being ignored in the schools in general (note the usage of *we* in the rest of the narrative). The fact that the FLAs are practically shunned (06, 07) and not presented in the teacher's lounge could be interpreted as "negative symbolic capital", i.e. the fact that they are foreign devalues their professional identity. This results in tension between her imagined identity as a colleague and an equal member of the faculty on the one hand, and the

“foreigner” category which she is put into, on the other. In other words, unlike other FLAs interviewed in this study, Brigitte does not seem to feel valued (enough) as a professional. It is clear from the remainder of her narrative that there are certain workplace ideologies that position these language assistants in an unfavourable way, and Brigitte uses very illustrative metaphors for this positioning (they are glitter and a kind of filler; 14, 18). In other words, Brigitte does not feel her job is valued, because the amount of time the assistants are allowed to teach is not nearly enough for them to get to know their students and build rapport, i.e. to practice their idea of what FLAs should do as teachers. Simply put, this narrative illustrates that the FLAs are quite limited by workplace ideologies and the wider patterns of control which delineate their job description and which are in contradiction with the didactic principles they uphold. So, Brigitte’s idea of an ideal FLA cannot be realized in this context.

In conclusion, we could say that Brigitte’s non-investment was primarily influenced by her perception of the value of her cultural capital in Croatia. In other words, unlike the case of other FLAs from this study, she did not perceive her cultural capital related to her national and professional identity as having a symbolic value. Another explanation could be in the space between her professional expectations and real-life experiences. Namely, there was no consistency between her imagined professional identity and the way she was positioned by her colleagues.

#### **4.7. Anne (Croatia)**

Unlike the other FLAs interviewed in this study, Anne is the only one who is not located in the capital, but assists in several schools in one of the larger towns in Croatia. Additionally, she teaches French at the local university, which makes her a university lecturer as well. Her professional journey is quite curious and differs from the other respondents’, even though she has previously taught French abroad. Namely, about two years before our interview, Anne was working as a FLA in the capital, but eventually decided to move to Slovakia. After her one-year FLA mandate in Slovakia, she returned to Croatia after all. In the following narrative she compares her experiences in the two countries and explains the reasons behind the decision to return.

##### Example 14 (Anne)

- 01 et pourquoi tu es donc venue ou revenue de Slovaquie en Croatie ?  
02 ə:ːm j'ai hésité parce qu'en Slovaquie j'avais des **super conditions**  
03 c'était vraiment de **très très** bonnes conditions  
04 Quand tu dis les conditions, c'est financier ?

- 05 financiers  
06 j'avais **qu'un seul établissement**  
07 mhm  
08 ə::m j'étais, j'avais un appartement **dans** l'établissement, je ne payais pas, j'avais l'accès à la **piscine**  
09 oh là là  
10 à la cantine gratuitement tous les jours (0.2) vraiment de **très très bonnes conditions** mais ə (0.2)  
11 la vie sociale ça était un peu difficile pour moi là-bas (0.3)  
12 mhm  
13 ə je sais pas (0.2) c'était ass:ez difficile de se faire des amis et j'ai été ə **très** malade aussi  
14 donc ə j'ai **vraiment** ə pas du tout bien vécu **l'hiver**  
15 mhm  
16 parce que j'étais pas bien et il faisait vraiment **très froid** et cetera (0.2)  
17 pour moi cette ville c'est vraiment un type d'endroit que j'aime beaucoup  
18 cela veut dire quoi ?  
19 ə::m c'est pas trop grand, c'est **au bord de la mer** ə::m c'est beau ə::m et aussi pour **le climat**  
20 je n'avais pas envie de vivre dans un endroit avec beaucoup **de neige** des moins **15** et cetera (0.3)  
21 et bah donc sinon j'avais beaucoup apprécié ma vie ma vie ma vie en Croatie  
22 la Croatie pour moi c'est **parfait**  
23 c'est pas trop loin de la **Fra:nce**  
24 donc pour moi c'était vraiment une bonne idée @@
- 01 and why did you come or return to Croatia from Slovakia?  
02 ə::m I hesitated because in Slovakia I had **great working conditions**  
03 **really really** good working conditions  
04 when you say conditions you mean material?  
05 material  
06 I worked in **only one school**  
07 mhm  
08 ə::m I worked and lived **in the same building**, and my rent was free, I had free access to the **po:ol**  
09 oh la la  
10 every day I had a free meal at the school cafeteria (0.2) these were **really very good material conditions** but ə (0.2)  
11 social life was quite difficult for me here (0.3)  
12 mhm  
13 ə I don't know (0.2) it was pre:tty hard to make friends and I was ə **very** sick too  
14 so ə it was **really** hard for me to survive the **winter**  
15 mhm  
16 because I didn't feel well and it was **really very cold** and so on (0.2)  
17 for me this city is really the type of place that I like a lot  
18 what does it mean?  
19 ə::m not too big, it's **by the sea** ə::m it's beautiful ə::m and also for **the climate**  
20 I didn't want to live in a very **snowy** place with temperature lower than **15** degrees and so on (0.3)  
21 and well otherwise I liked a lot my life in Croatia  
22 Croatia is a **perfect** place for me  
23 it's not far away from **Fra:nce**  
24 so for me it was a really good idea @@

This narrative clearly illustrates the intertwined relationship between imagined identity, investment, and capital. While Anne's post in Slovakia ensured outstanding material conditions (08-10), it seems that access to economic capital (i.e. the fact that

she does not need to spend a portion of her income on transport, accommodation, recreation, etc.) does not automatically imply satisfaction with the post. On the contrary, Anne allocates greater symbolic value to social capital (11, 13), and even the regional climate (14, 16). In other words, for Anne, social life and cultural experiences seem to be more important features of her imagined professional identity than the material conditions ensured by the teaching post. Therefore, her returning to Croatia was, in fact, her way of investing in the imagined professional identity of a FLA. Anne chose a town that corresponds to her idea of the perfect place to live in (geographically, culturally, etc., 19-24), which confirms the prioritization of social capital over economic. She expected or hoped to have a good return on that investment, and this narrative leaves the impression that she did (24). However, while the new landscape is rather ideal, especially when compared to her previous post, it seems that it is just another 'in-between' place she occupies on her professional path as a FLA, which is brought up in the following example.

#### Example 15 (Anne)

01 au fait je me sens jamais vraiment chez moi que ce soit ici ou en France  
02 ah oui ?  
03 au fait (0.2) j'en discute souvent avec d'autres personnes qui sont aussi des profs de français à l'étranger  
04 et à un moment donne il y a un sorte de (0.2) déracinement mais aussi de de (0.2) perte d'identité  
05 enfin à un moment donne on ne sait plus trop (0.1) qui on est, ce qu'on fait dans la vie ə  
06 moi je pense que ça aussi à voir qu'en France on a des amis qui achètent des maisons, qui se marient, et cetera  
07 et nous on est **complètement** à la traîne et on ne sait jamais où on va **vi :vre**  
08 c'est très dur d'avoir une **famille**  
09 et ə c'est un peu déroutant (0.2) au fait je sais toujours que, c'est provisoire ma vie à l'étranger  
10 parce que de toute façon, même si j'ai un contrat, je ne peux pas rester plus de trois ans  
11 mhm  
12 donc je ne peux pas vraiment me sentir comme chez moi  
13 **même** si je commence à construire quelque chose à un moment donne je dois partir  
14 donc c'est assez difficile à dire  
15 et quand je suis en France (0.2) j'y suis chez mes parents, et comme ça fait plusieurs années que je suis partie je ne me sens plus chez moi, je suis chez mes parents (0.2) ils ont habitude de vivre sans moi  
16 donc c'est plus la même chose que quand j'étais adolescente  
17 et voilà si je veux aller quelque part je dois leur dire **où** je vais, avec **qui**, je dois demander la voiture  
18 @@  
19 au fait je me sens même plus chez **moi** maintenant en Croatie parce que j'ai mon appartement  
20 mhm

21 même si pour l'instant j'ai plutôt l'impression d'être dans un Airbnb parce que je suis pas encore bien adaptée à cet appartement mais je sais que je vais commencer me sentir chez moi  
22 ə::m je commence à avoir mes habitudes  
23 mhm  
24 mais au fait on est toujours un peu dans l'adaptation je pense  
25 et moi, ça me fait peur, de rentrer en France  
26 à chaque fois que je rentre en France au fait les gens m'appellent la petite **Croate** ou la petite **Slovaque**  
27 à l'étranger je suis très **française** et en France je suis un peu étrangère  
28 mhm  
29 et aussi je connais pas la nouvelle musique, je connais pas les nouvelles célébrités à la télévision ə::m  
30 je me sens un peu @ un peu ə à l'écart des fois @  
31 je connais pas de nouveau mots  
32 c'est un peu bizarre après je m'adapte très vite mais (0.2) je pense qu'il me faudrait un certain temps d'adaptation quand je rentre en France pour vivre et ə::m  
33 je vais avoir besoin d'objectif  
34 mhm  
35 par exemple ə::m je sais pas, acheter une mais :on ou ə::m j'aimerais adopter un enfant  
36 donc voilà me lancer dans des projets qui me donne des **raisons** de vivre en France  
37 mhm  
38 parce que ə::m sinon je préfère voyager

01 I don't feel at home anywhere, whether when I am abroad or in France  
02 oh really?  
03 in fact (0.2) I often discuss it with other French language assistants  
04 sooner or later we experience a sort of (0.2) uprooting, a loss of identity  
05 so at some point we no longer really understand (0.1) who we are and what are we doing in life ə  
06 I guess it has something to do with our friends in France buying hou:ses, getting ma:rried, et cetera  
07 and we are **completely** behind them a:nd we never know where our li:ves are going to take us  
08 it is really difficult to start a **fa:mily**  
09 and ə it's a bit confusing (0.2) because I always know, in advance, that my life abroad will be temporary  
10 because in any case, even though I have a contract I cannot stay longer than 3 years  
11 mhm  
12 so it never feels like home and  
13 **even** if I start building something sooner or later I'll have to leave  
14 so this is quite hard to say  
15 and when in France (0.2) I live with my parents and since I left a few years ago that place doesn't feel like home either, I am with my parents (0.2) they have their life now  
16 so it is not the same thing as when I was a teenager  
17 if I want to go somewhere I have to say **where** I am up to, with **whom**, I have to ask for the car  
18 @@  
19 I mean at the moment I feel more at **home** in Croatia because I have my my flat  
20 mhm  
21 even though sometimes I have an impression as if I were in an Airbnb because I am still not well adapted to this place but I know that soon I will start feeling at home  
22 I started developing my habits  
23 mhm  
24 but we are always in this process of adaptation I think  
25 and I, now I am scared of going back to France  
26 every time I go to France they call me the little **Croat** or the little **Slovak**  
27 when in France I'm the little foreigner while abroad I'm very **French**

- 28 *mhm*  
29 and I don't know new music, new TV celebrities ə::m  
30 I feel a little bit @ a little bit ə kind of apart @  
31 I don't know new words  
32 that's weird then I adjust really quickly but (0.2) I think it will take me a little longer to adjust when I finally return to France ə::m  
33 I'll need a goal  
34 *mhm*  
35 for instance ə::m to buy a ho:use or ə::m I would like to adopt a child  
36 I will have to start a project that will give me the **reason** to stay in France  
37 *mhm*  
38 because ə::m otherwise I prefer to travel

The way Anne describes her identity aligns well with the poststructuralist theoretical underpinnings described earlier, which view identity as multiple, a site of struggle, and continually changing over time and space. In this narrative Anne mentions different forms of investment that contribute to the strengthening of national identity, such as staying within national borders, starting a family, buying a house, or having a child (06-07, 31-35). At the same time, her life as a FLA implies fluidity and instability as ordinary features of her everyday life, and she explicitly mentions this several times in her narrative. It seems that her sense of confusion and uneasiness could have appeared as a result of incongruity between her lived experience defined by constant change and the ideology that promotes stability and continuity. Moreover, she clearly indicates her positioning as less agentive than her friends in France and implies that she sees stability as power and fluidity as weakness (06-07). Anne also tackles the question of instability or relativity of identity and its dependence on both the interlocutor's personal ideology and the ideology of space. By frequently moving, she is repeatedly disconnected from one space and positioned in another, which is governed by different values and rules and where different aspects of her identity become salient. Namely, among her compatriots in France, she is somewhat condescendingly referred to as the foreigner, either as the 'little Croat' or the 'little Slovak', whereas abroad she is defined primarily by the fact that she is French (26-27). This makes it very difficult to truly belong or root anywhere, since anywhere she goes, she is consistently positioned as 'the Other'. To summarize, Anne's experience shows that FLTTAs constantly have to navigate between the various spaces they occupy and balance between the ideologies and systemic patterns of control that define those spaces.

## 5. Concluding remarks

Darvin and Norton have provided researchers with a solid theoretical framework for qualitative studies of language and identity. Their well-established and defined descriptions of identity, capital, ideology, and investment, coupled with an in-depth analysis of narrative discourse, allow researchers to provide reliable explanations of these complex notions and their intertwined relationship in the case of this particular type of glomads.

The analysis of personal narratives based on Darvin and Norton's model of investment (2015; 2017) allowed us to draw some conclusions regarding the intertwined relationship between ideology, capital, and identity in the case of foreign language teachers teaching abroad (FLTTA). More specifically, we focused on the case of Croatian university lecturers (CULs) teaching in Poland, Hungary, and Brazil, and French language assistants (FLAs) teaching in Croatia. We start this section by answering our research questions and continue with a discussion of several other themes that emerged during our analysis.

Firstly, our study confirmed that motivation cannot be singled out as the only factor that contributes to investment (or the lack of it) in languages and in various aspects of one's (imagined) identity. Namely, investment depends on factors that constitute ideologies of space that an individual occupies. In the case of our FLTTA respondents, these most frequently include, but are not limited to, various language and workplace ideologies, which are often intertwined. For example, a frequent requirement for CULs is the knowledge of English, rather than the local dominant language, even though this skill does not have any practical value in their new environment nor can it be turned into any aspect of symbolic capital. One aspect that was presently not taken into consideration, but is worth examining in the future, is the perception of English or our respondents' first languages as "small", i.e. "large", depending on the landscape they potentially inhabit as FLTTAs. Additionally, the narratives told by our respondents confirm that imagined identities and interpersonal relations play a major role in this process. For example, Nicole, a FLA, invests in learning the local language, which aligns with her imagined identity of a FLA who promotes the notions of plurilingualism, while Brigitte's lack of investment in Croatian was most likely a consequence of the rejection by her colleagues.

Secondly, when it comes to various forms of capital that our glomad respondents possess and use to invest to position themselves as FLTTAs, their narratives predominantly point to linguistic capital (e.g. knowledge of more languages, or of



English as the dominant international language of communication), education (e.g. diplomas and other professional credentials that qualify them to teach languages), and even their national or ethnic identity (e.g. the prestige of being French in Croatia, or being an authentic Croat in the diasporic community).

In the case of CULs, the cultural capital they bring with themselves to foreign countries seems to have only a limited value, i.e. only in the academic context, where they are valued as important sources of native-like language production and informants about Croatian culture. There is a striking level of similarity between Silvia's experience in Hungary and Klara's in Poland. In both cases the lecturers arrive in the country with certain linguistic capital (the required knowledge of English), which turns out to be worthless in the new context and impossible to use as affordances to gain other, new forms of capital. As a result, they decide to invest in learning the dominant local languages. The exception seems to be in the diasporic community in Brazil, where Ivan's right to entry was granted based on his previous knowledge of Brazilian Portuguese. It seems that the symbolic capital of being a speaker and teacher of Croatian is additionally valued there because for that community, Croatian has a status of an ancestral or heritage language and its learners have a strong emotional connection and a deep sense of ethnolinguistic identity.

In the case of FLAs, their existing cultural capital (i.e. diploma in teaching French as a foreign language, knowledge of French language and culture), as well as their national and professional identity, seem to have a symbolic value in Croatia. On the other hand, their living experiences appear to be characterized by a sense of pressure to be integrated into the community, and for some of them with a sense of confusion and uneasiness, that may arise as a result of incongruity between their personal experience and stability and continuity that is endorsed through the mainstream ideology.

Apart from answering our research questions, the analysis of personal narratives told by these FLTTAs lead us to come to some further conclusions and open new potential discussion themes. First of all, it is evident that learning the language of the host country was not the prerequisite for any of the posts (with the exception of Ivan, who teaches the diasporic community in Brazil), and the FLTTAs were not required to learn the local language upon arriving, nor did the employer offer them possibilities for organized learning, such as enrolling them into language courses. Moreover, as Klara noted, in her case, it was even preferred for the arriving lecturer not to be familiar with the host language. Therefore, only those FLTTAs who estimated that learning the

local language would benefit them in everyday life and in their workplace decided to invest in learning it. This leads us to the conclusion that the habitus of the FLTTAs prioritizes vague generic curricular requirements necessary for the language programmes to be authorized and carried out, whereas the FLTAAs' practical needs or wishes are not really taken into consideration, before or after the recruitment process. As a result, there is an underlying tension between the private and the professional aspects of FLTTAs' identity.

Additionally, those forms of capital that enabled the interviewed FLTTAs to acquire new ones in the host country are alike for CULs and FLAs. While their experiences differ to some extent their national or ethnic identity and the language and culture that derive from it seem to be an important type of symbolic capital for both those groups. On the other hand, their professional competencies resulting from their diplomas do not seem to have a symbolic value in the new landscape, except from being a formal prerequisite for the post. Therefore, the question that would need further exploration is the following. While being positioned as FLTTAs, do they invest in the imagined identity of a foreign language teacher or in the identity of a foreigner which holds more symbolic value in their host community?

## Appendix

### Transcription conventions

<u>underlined</u>	researcher/interviewer
<b>bold</b>	emphasis; loud speech
*word*	quiet speech
(0.5)	pause (in seconds)
@	laughter (one @ roughly equals one 'ha')
[word	overlap between utterances
<word>	quicker pace than the surrounding talk
word-	self-interruption; abrupt cut-off
?	rising intonation (as in interrogative sentences)
,	continuing intonation
wo:rd	extension of the sound or syllable
((comment))	researchers' comments

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