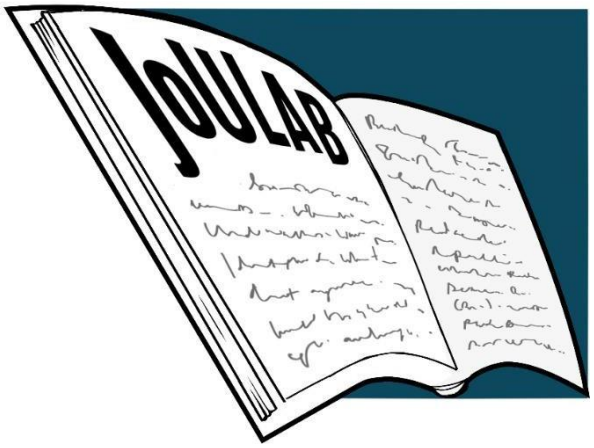
Vol. 2, Issue 1

ISSN 2754-0820

the Journal of the Undergraduate Linguistics Association of Britain.

JOURNAL OF THE UNDERGRADUATE LINGUISTICS ASSOCIATION OF BRITAIN



The *Journal of the Undergraduate Linguistics Association of Britain* (ISSN 2754-0820) was founded in July 2020 as a Subcommittee of the Undergraduate Linguistics Association of Britain. It is the only academic journal in the world taking submissions solely from undergraduates in any area of linguistics. The Journal exists to provide a forum for the publication of exceptional undergraduate research in linguistics for students across the globe and from any background. In so doing, it seeks to offer undergraduate students an introduction to academic publishing and standard practices in academia, including the opportunity for undergraduates to have their research reviewed. We aim to publish at least two issues per twelve-month period, with each volume corresponding to the Editorial Committee that oversees its production. Every manuscript is peer-reviewed over multiple rounds by two members of the Board of Reviewers, which consists of doctoral students in linguistics from a plethora of countries and institutions.

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Journal Editorial Committee

Select Members of the Board of Reviewers

Each member of the Board of Reviewers listed here was undertaking doctoral research into linguistics or a related field during the production of this issue. The Board consists of over sixty individuals from institutions across the world, with specialisations across all areas of linguistics.

Copyright Disclosure

Accessibility Declaration

The Journal is committed to the maximum accessibility of its output. As such, provisions have been sought wherever possible to mitigate accessibility issues in the production of this Issue: for example, figures and tables have been designed to ensure accessibility for those with colour vision deficiencies. However, should you encounter access difficulties with this publication, please contact the Journal's Editorial Committee via email (below) and we will be happy to assist.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in the articles published herein do not necessarily reflect those of the Journal nor of the Undergraduate Linguistics Association of Britain; they are the authors' own. Although maximum effort has been expended to ensure no factual errors or inaccuracies are contained herein, the Journal apologises for any remaining.

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Foreword from the Editor and Head of the Board of Reviewers

We are very pleased to bring you a new chapter of JoULAB: Volume 2, Issue 1. In our previous issue, we shared with you that our main goal is to be the journal to which every great linguist submits their first paper. Volume 2 is a turning point, a step further into realising this. Alongside showcasing the high-quality articles in this new volume, the Editorial Committee has undertaken several side projects to make academic publishing more attainable.

Since our last issue, we've designed several workshops answering your questions about paper designations and the review process, allowing us to establish closer relationships with authors and readers and understand how we can better tailor our processes to them. We published our Author's Guide, a pocket handbook for everything you need to know about submitting to the Journal, including FAQs and advice from past authors. We also launched our academic writing service, an optional round of feedback on academic English and structure authors may request independently of the two content-based reviews they receive. Academic English is an L2 of its own, and we want to ensure everyone who wants to submit to the Journal feels as confident as possible in their work to do so. As in our previous issues, we have worked to continue promoting accessibility by optimising our articles for screen readers and adjusting figures and tables so as not to disadvantage those with colour vision deficiencies. Going forward, we aim to further broaden our scope and diversify the research within our issues.

This publication presents three original articles. Zara Fahim's *Choosing to Study Post-Compulsory Modern Foreign Languages in England: Motivations, Sociolinguistic Trends and the Context of BAME* investigates the reasons behind the decline in enrollment in Modern Foreign Languages (MFL) from 2004 to the present. Through a questionnaire of her own making, Fahim discovers some relevant tendencies behind the interest in this matter, which undoubtedly can have important effects on educational language policy in England. In *To Align or Disalign: Navigating Japanese First-Person Pronouns from the Classroom and Beyond*, Liv Peralta analyzes the motivations behind the use of first-person pronouns in Japanese by English speakers. Through focus groups, Peralta conclusively demonstrates that, although the choice of pronouns highly depends on the context and the learner, the symbolic power of the educational institutions in which the language is learned affects the identity students assume in their second language. Our final paper, Gabriel Matheus Sales de Sousa's, *Gallicisms and the Dutch Final Stress: An Etymological Approach*, makes an important contribution to the studies of stress in Dutch from an etymological and historical perspective. This approach allowed the author to demonstrate that the high proportion of oxytone words in the Dutch lexicon is connected to the French loanwords found in this language.

Volume 1, Issue 2 marked the end of Tom Williamson's editorship; this volume is the beginning of Lydia's tenure as Editor. For many of the Committee – including Nico as our new Head of the Board of Reviewers – this publication is their first with the Journal. Lydia and Nico extend their thanks to the previous Editorial Committee for the strong foundation they worked tirelessly to build. Special thanks must go to Liam McKnight, the previous Head of the Board of Reviewers, and Tom, both of whose work at the Journal since its near inception has been invaluable. Tom and Liam were – and continue to be – pillars of the JoULAB community; their brilliance, diligence, and passion for the Journal and its cause has created opportunities for undergraduates where there were few, allowing present (and future) Editorial Committees to now expand on them. Thanks must also go to you, for reading and supporting opportunities for undergraduate publication in Linguistics. We hope you enjoy this first instalment of JoULAB Volume 2!

Lydia Wiernik
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Choosing to Study Post-Compulsory Modern Foreign Languages in England: Motivations, Sociolinguistic Trends and the Context of BAME

Zara Fahim
University of Cambridge

Abstract. Annual Language Trends reports (2004-present) note that uptake of the school subject, Modern Foreign Languages (MFL), is in decline in England. These reports stem from the Department of Education's 2004 decision to suspend compulsory MFL pedagogy in English schools at 14 years old. While previous research has focussed exclusively on motivational factors behind choosing to (dis)continue post-compulsory MFL study, this paper investigates any trends or divergences of these motivational factors in relation to extralinguistic factors, namely gender, type of school, socio-economic background, region and ethnicity. Drawing on empirical evidence from an online questionnaire of 319 recent school leavers, this study finds that: (i) MFL uptake is in particular decline at post-16; (ii) (female) students with higher social, cultural and economic capitals, originating from southern regions in England, are the group most likely to continue with post-compulsory MFL; (iii) it is external factors, such as the perceived difficulty of MFL by students and the supposed 'boring' curricula, rather than negative perceptions towards language learning, which are leading deterrents of post-compulsory MFL education; and (iv) when analysing ethnicity as an extralinguistic factor in isolation, the perceived 'Eurocentric' nature of the subject, in conjunction with the (lack of) provision of certain Heritage Languages, remain salient motivational uptake factors for students who identified as part of the Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic community. Therefore, this paper has implications for amendments to educational policies, to build an exciting curriculum and learning environment based on students' preferences and ameliorate uptake of post-compulsory MFL in England.

Plain English Abstract. In 2004, the Department for Education decided to make the school subject, Modern Foreign Languages (MFL), optional in England, signifying that it is no longer required for students to study MFL in Key Stages 4 or 5 (from the ages of 14-18). Since the introduction of this policy, annual Language Trends reports illustrate that the uptake of MFL from students has steadily been declining. While ample studies have explored possible reasons behind this motivational decline in isolation, little research in England, thus far, has attempted to explore these motivations in relation to extralinguistic factors, to see whether a student's gender, type of school attended, socio-economic background or ethnicity contributes to this decline, if at all. Therefore, this paper expands on existing scholarly effort by examining the relationship between these factors. Results from an online questionnaire of 319 recent school leavers in England, confirms that MFL uptake is lower at post-16, and is particularly noticeable in groups of students with lower social, cultural, and economic capitals in this study. Furthermore, results from this study show that it is external factors, such as perceived difficulty of exams and rigid educational policies (whereby students are limited to certain languages and a supposed 'Eurocentric' curriculum), which act as principal drivers in low uptake, rather than intrinsic negative perceptions towards language learning. Therefore, this paper calls for these educational and school policies to be revisited and modified, in order to make the subject more inclusive and attractive, based on what students want to study.

Keywords: modern languages; MFL; student attitudes; educational linguistics; education policy; language learning

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

1 Introduction

Successive annual Language Trends reports (cf. Tinsley, 2019; Collen, 2020) have long noted a growing decline in uptake of the school subject, Modern Foreign Languages[1] (MFL) in the UK. In England, schools are guided by the Department for Education (DfE), whereby policies stipulate that MFL is taught from the ages of 7-14 (DfE, 2014), leaving the decision to enforce further study in Key Stages 4 and 5[2] up to schools' individual practices. Motivational studies, thus far, have shown that the 2004 decision to discontinue post-compulsory MFL study (ibid.) is the result of a complex 'interplay of factors' (Parrish and Lanvers, 2018): namely, perceived 'usefulness' and tedious curricula, with students often enjoying material and lessons less than other subjects (Graham et al., 2012). Research in Sociolinguistics has found this optionality of MFL to affect students who are disadvantaged economically, socially, and geographically the most, too (Collen, 2020; Henderson & Carruthers, 2021). Furthermore, while statistical reports have shown that members of the Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic[3] (BAME) community are amongst the largest groups of students absent in post-compulsory MFL (Parkinson, 2020), this limited, quantitative research has precluded an exploration into ethnicity as a social factor for motivational decline, or explanations behind this absence. Therefore, this paper seeks to understand this disenrollment in England, so this 'decline' is not exacerbated, and no child forgoes the opportunity of gaining an MFL education on the basis of their class, gender, ethnicity, and/or education. Therefore, this paper raises three research questions:

> **RQ1:** What are students' attitudes towards post-compulsory MFL education?
>
> **RQ2:** To what extent, if at all, do these attitudes and motivational factors correlate with other sociolinguistic and extralinguistic factors?
>
> **RQ3:** What are the current trends and attitudes amongst BAME students towards post-compulsory MFL education? And to what extent, if at all, are there divergences

[1] This paper deploys the term 'MFL' to refer to the school-based, linguistic-focussed school qualifications. However, given that 17.1% of current secondary school students in England do not have English as their first language (DfE, 2021b), I avoid using this label when referring to language learning in general, as studying languages in this context may not be foreign for some students.

[2] Students aged 3-18 in England typically follow a National Curriculum in schools (a set of subjects listed by the DfE which schools in England are expected to implement), which the Government has further categorised into blocks of year groups called Key Stages (KS) (DfE, 2022b). The use of this term in this paper, however, should not be conflated with the official qualifications by which students are assessed, namely 'General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE),' which is the competency-focussed exam taken at post-14 in England, and 'Advanced Levels (A-Levels)', one of the formal qualifications in England at post-16. There are also alternative qualifications which can be gained in these KSs, instead (such as the International Baccalaureate (IB) in lieu of A-Levels at KS5), and thus should still be considered when talking about post-14 and -16 MFL study.

[3] Given the axiological positioning of this research, I recognise the controversies and sensitivities that arise here. For me, ethnicity is fluid, multifaceted and complex, differing between individuals and perspectives, thus, difficult to define. This paper refers to 'BAME' as 'ethnicity' (classed according to the shared cultural expression and identification; Blakemore, 2019) instead of 'race' (defined by communities linked by physical characteristics such as skin colour; ibid.). I recognise that 'ethnicity' is a social construct which does not equal not-white, thus considers white minority ethnic groups (such as White-Gypsy or Irish Traveller) as part of 'BAME,' too. For the purposes of this paper, though, I adopt the term 'BAME' predominantly to maintain and ensure consistency with previous scholarship and other existing governmental bodies (AdvanceHE, 2022), enabling me to benchmark against their data. I disaggregate data where possible and leave it up to respondents to choose to self-identify or not. Limitations of the use of this term pertain principally to the homogeneity of the ethnicities classified within 'BAME,' as it can spotlight and prioritise specific pan-ethnicities (in this case, 'Black' and 'Asian'), risking the exclusion of other ethnicities (Aspinall, 2021). Consequently, this label, along with my interpretation and conclusions, should be taken with caution, so not to generalise, misrepresent, and conflate communities

between respondents based on their belonging/identification with the 'BAME' category?

Drawing on empirical evidence from an online questionnaire of 319 recent school leavers, this paper arrives at the conclusion that students do, in fact, value the usefulness of MFL, often remaining intrinsically motivated to learn languages. It is, rather, the perceived rigid, tedious, and Eurocentric MFL curricula permeating English classrooms, which dissatisfies students. Regarding sociolinguistic trends, this paper lends credence to recent reports from Northern Ireland (NI), indicating that there are significant sociolinguistic disparities, pertaining to gender, school type, and socio-economic background, with motivation differing between these factors.

In what follows, this paper builds on a review of literature examining existing motivational trends and social factors in Section 2. Section 3 evaluates the research design, covering sampling and data collection methods, before presenting the main results of this study in Section 4. Lastly, Section 5 discusses these findings in relation to previous research from Section 2, before concluding with implications for future research.

2 Background

Before progressing in this paper, it is imperative that we first understand the current landscape of Secondary MFL in England, to help us identify which areas have scope for further research in this study. Therefore, this section first walks us through the history of motivational trends regarding post-14 MFL uptake, prior to providing an overview of explanations of why these trends may occur. Using the *British Council Language Trends* reports (2004-present), it then explores these trends in relation to any sociolinguistic factors which may appear amongst students when decision-making at post-14 and post-16, drawing on data from other nations of the UK (viz. Northern Ireland) to offer any hypotheses regarding the situation in England. Furthermore, having identified an absence of data and analysis in the aforementioned Language Reports regarding the general absence of students who identify as part of the BAME community in post-14 MFL study – as well as any explanations for this - the third section examines motivational trends amongst this community in isolation. However, due to the current knowledge gap surrounding theories for this motivational decline amongst the BAME community in England, this section draws on previous literature from the United States, to understand why motivational decline is more noticeable in this particular group of students. This section ends by outlining the present study and presenting its hypotheses on the basis of studies conducted in the literature reviewed in this section.

2.1 Existing Trends in MFL: Motivations and Uptake

A large and growing body of literature has investigated the reasons for why MFL uptake may be in decline. Most recently, Parrish and Lanvers (2018, p. 282) find the decision to discontinue MFL study by students to be the ‘result of a particularly complex interplay of factors’: namely, the difficulty of the subject, school MFL policy, and perceived usefulness. This supposed difficult perception of MFL (Fisher, 2001; Graham, 2004; Parrish and Lanvers, 2018) first emerged in the early 2000s, whereby quantitative studies by Fisher (2001) and Graham (2004) indicate that it was not only the supposed difficulty of the exams, but also the perceived difficulty of MFL lessons which deterred English adolescents. In Fisher’s (2001) mixed-method study, 59% of the 117 MFL GCSE students questioned,

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

reported MFL to be amongst the most challenging subjects across the GCSEs studied – even for the most able students who were on course for the top GCSE grades. A further third of the GCSE pupils surveyed in Fisher's (2001) study, directly used the adjectives 'difficult' and 'hard', too, when describing their respective MFL GCSE which they were studying. This was further explored in Fisher's (2001) focus groups of 18 A-Level linguists and non-linguists, who explained the insecurity and negative atmosphere felt by students in MFL lessons at both GCSE and A-Level, supposedly making studying post-compulsory MFL purposeful only if you had a natural flair for language-learning or 'excelled academically' (ibid.). More worrying still, this perception held by students grew over the decade, as echoed in more recent studies by Taylor and Marsden (2014), for example. In their study, participants noted the significant jump in difficulty between GCSE and A-Level, as evidenced further in Vidal Rodeiro (2017) who found that that students routinely perform worse in national MFL exams, than other subjects. However, the quantitative methods adopted in much of the aforementioned studies impeded an exploration of pupils' more nuanced responses, signifying that scholarship is lacking in what aspects of MFL students specifically find difficult. On the whole, though, it is understandable why students are unwilling to pursue post-compulsory MFL study in this context, thanks to this perception of difficulty of MFL by students coupled with students' increased fear of making mistakes in MFL lessons (Bartram, 2006). This may indeed generate feelings that they cannot — and perhaps may never — succeed in the subject.

Building on this phenomenon, several lines of research indicate that the level of enjoyment remains an unequivocal predictor for uptake, too (Fisher, 2001; Macaro, 2008; Taylor & Marsden, 2014). Here, students are often demotivated due to reportedly 'mundane and repetitive' teaching methods (Fisher, 2001). While Macaro (2008) claims that poor and disengaging teaching methods could certainly contribute to the motivational decline, Graham et al. (2012) has found that it is, rather, the supposed monotonous MFL curriculum and assessment constraints which to lead to boredom in an MFL classroom, subsequently causing students to enjoy MFL less than other subjects.

Scholars have commented on MFL in relation to other subjects, claiming that students are generally dissuaded because of the assessment types in MFL (Tinsley & Board, 2015; Kohl, 2019). For example, compared to subjects such as 'Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM),' – which have been increasingly promoted by the government to drive engagement (Tinsley & Board, 2015) – Tinsley and Board (2015) have found that MFL A-Levels, in particular, are 'harshly and inconsistently' marked. They claim that MFL exams are too 'unpredictable' (ibid.), which inadvertently pushes prospective students away from MFL and towards subjects such as STEM. By highlighting how competition for university places (which are dependent upon students' grades at A-Level) is getting tougher, Tinsley and Board (2015) note how it is 'inevitable' that students will select other subjects instead of MFL on the basis it may place them in better stead to be rewarded with the highest grades, and a subsequent better position of getting into university. If we compare assessment types in MFL and Mathematics, for example, MFL at assessments at post-14 are fourfold and equally weighted by exam boards to reflect their four determined assessment objectives viz. listening (25%), speaking (25%), reading (25%), and writing (25%). At post-16, however, MFL students are now typically assessed in three unequal components: paper 1 – listening, reading and writing/translation (50% of A-Level), paper 2 – writing (20% of A-Level), and paper 3 – speaking (with the inclusion of an Independent Research Project, 30% of A-Level), which generally showcase students' application and 'language in use' skills, awarding its marks exclusively on the final product (AQA, 2016; Pearson Edexcel, 2016). By contrast, in A-Level Mathematics, only one of the three papers is application-focussed, and marks within an exam can still be allocated for explicit mathematical knowledge and the learning steps (or 'working out' process), before the student reaches the final answer (Pearson Edexcel, 2017). That is, there is still scope for marks to be awarded in Mathematics even if the final answer is wrong. Kohl (2019) claims

that learner experiences are being negatively impacted further in MFL as students are often supposedly compelled to draw on a wider repertoire of skills in just one exam, by tackling too many tasks in the time available (with many of the texts deemed too enigmatic for students). A-Level exams in Mathematics, on the other hand, are mostly designed in 'clear and accessible ways' (Pearson Edexcel, 2017), allowing students to specialise in certain topics they feel strongest in (essentially tailoring exam papers/the course to students' strengths and preferences), and permit students to focus their revision for the exams more easily, as different aspects of the subject are allocated to specific and separate exams, leaving little overlap of topics (ibid.). Back in MFL, however, with students typically unable to demonstrate all of their skills in one sitting in post-16 exams, they may well receive a lower grade than they would have achieved in another subject (Kohl, 2019).

Finally, the perceived difficulty and unattainability of high MFL grades amongst students is worsened by the fact that in languages with consistently fewer students, such as A-Level German, uptake is comprised notably by native speakers, who arguably raise the grade boundaries and contribute to this supposed idea of difficulty by students (ibid.). For example, research conducted by Ofqual (2017) highlighted how in A-Level German, nearly half of students who were awarded an A* were comprised of native German speakers. This signifies that even if an assessment remains too difficult for non-native students, there will still be enough proficient students (consisted mostly of native speakers) who may, indeed, raise grade boundaries and create an impression for non-native students that top grades are only reserved for native speakers, further perpetuating this idea of difficulty. This understandably pushes students towards other subjects in lieu of post-compulsory MFL study, where there may exist a seemingly fairer or level playing field. However, this discourse is complex; while exam boards must not ignore and unintentionally discriminate against non-speakers of the target language(s), anonymity is maintained during exams, thus rendering the data pertaining to the number of native speakers in an exam cohort invisible to exam boards and examiners. It then remains unclear how amendments and implications to resolve this can be implemented.

2.2 Sociolinguistic Trends in MFL: Motivations and Uptake

Historically, MFL study in the UK was something only the elite (or those with a high capital) would do, as until the 1960s, access to MFL qualifications was reserved for those attending selective schools[4] (McLelland, 2018). While selective schools' acceptance process is largely based on academic attainment, selective schools (particularly grammar schools) are believed to be just as socially selective (albeit indirectly) (Binwei Lu, 2020), for reasons pertaining to the general socio-economic status of the family (Cribb et al., 2013), often benefitting those with a higher capital. For instance, economists note how high-income families generally place greater value on schools producing good examination results (Burgess et al., 2015), while working class parents typically emphasise a school with positive community values, often associating selective schools with a certain academic elitism (Cribb et al.,

[4] This paper categorises the various school types in England into broader groups of State schools - including but not limited to comprehensive schools, academies, faith schools, and grammar schools (whereby funding is often allocated by the Government and are free for students aged 16 and under to attend), as well as Independent schools – also referred to as 'private' and 'fee- paying' schools – which are privately funded and are not free to attend (DfE, 2022c). The aforementioned school types can be differentiated further; schools in England can also be 'selective' and 'non-selective'. This paper determines 'selective' to mean a school which admits students on the basis of any sort of selection criteria, usually academic, following the 'common entrance exam' (also known as the 11 plus, and in some instances 13 plus, exam, which is taken near the end of a child's primary education to test their academic ability). These tests are often typical of Independent and Grammar schools (DfE, 2022c). By contrast, a 'non-selective' school typically accepts all students, regardless of aptitude (such as a comprehensive school).

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

2013). Furthermore, the location of selective schools act as a barrier to access, too, as parents whose desire to send their children to a selective school is substantial enough, will typically pursue strategic house moves to gain entry to such schools (Cribb et al., 2013), further increasing the prices of houses in that area. For example, Cullinane et al. (2017) highlighted how parents would have to pay £45,700 more than the average house price in a catchment area of a top school. Even in the instances where children from a middle-high background are unable to live in the area of their selective school, Cribb et al. (2013) found that their parents are on the whole better positioned to cover travel expenses to enable their children to commute to schools in selective areas. Lastly, selective schools benefit those from a higher socio-economic background because, in some instances, these families see grammar schools, for example, as a more economical alternative to an Independent school. This means they often view entry to a (state funded) selective school as an active investment, using financial and/or personal connections to gain an advantage by paying for private tutoring for the entrance exam in selective schools (ibid.), which lower income families may not have access to.

In the context of MFL, however, little scholarship in England has attempted to understand this correlation between middle-high classes with high MFL motivation, to my knowledge. While annual trends in Language Reports continuously identify disparities in social factors, they focus exclusively on uptake numbers, precluding explanations of the impact of these factors on motivation (see Tinsley, 2019; Collen, 2020). To understand this impact, this paper draws on studies from other nations across the UK, such as Northern Ireland (NI), whereby focus has been given to understanding the impact of school type, socio-economic backgrounds, and geographical inequalities on uptake. Despite various demographic disparities, these reports still remain vital and applicable to this study, in order to draw hypotheses[5].

Firstly, Henderson and Carruthers (2021) found school type to play a vital role in post-compulsory MFL decision-making, elucidating that selective schools were more likely to have larger cohorts of post-compulsory MFL students than non-selective schools. That is not to say that post-compulsory MFL uptake is higher on the basis of the selective schools' academic selection criteria, but rather these schools typically have secure and consistent MFL uptake numbers – arguably due to the magnified 'socio-economic stratification' found in selective schools in NI (Henderson, 2020) – which, in turn, leaves little competition against other subjects to secure (already limited) subject funding by the school, and makes them more economically viable to run MFL (Henderson & Carruthers, 2021). Annual Language Trends reports have consistently documented that, in England, selective schools are the environments most conducive for post-compulsory MFL study, too, because these schools are, typically, found to be made up of fewer disadvantaged students with an overall high attainment level, as well as having larger MFL departments (reporting an average of 12.6 MFL teachers in Independent schools, compared to an average of 5 MFL teachers in State schools; Collen, 2020). Consequently, Independent schools (and schools with smaller populations of disadvantaged students, and/or a larger body of MFL teachers) would have more opportunities and resources to run MFL. Collen (2020) found that this socio-economic stratification is high in England, too, as State schools also often enjoy varying levels of international engagement compared to selective Independent schools. As State schools generally receive more disadvantaged pupils than Independent schools, teachers have reported being unable to run school trips abroad because many students may not even possess a passport, have never

[5] For contextualisation, it is important to note that there exist vast divergences in school characteristics between England and NI. That is, the 'comprehensivisation' of secondary education in England (whereby the former tripartite system was replaced) was not implemented in NI (Gallagher and Smith, 2000); instead, NI retained an academically selective system, in which secondary-aged students are divided into 'grammar' and 'non-grammar' schools, accommodating 44% and 56% of NI pupils, respectively (Henderson and Carruthers, 2021). Furthermore, compared to the educational landscape in England, migration to NI is strikingly lower thus schools often record fewer students of varying ethnic minorities (ibid.), but NI does maintain a promising and growing Irish-medium sector (ibid.).

been on domestic holidays, and due to the general lack of funding in MFL in the State sector, teacher training on running international exchanges remain underdeveloped (ibid.), leaving it financially and logistically unviable to offer as many international opportunities. This can indeed inadvertently affect learner experiences of MFL and uptake.

Similarly, scholarship has drawn on the *Bourdieusien* concepts of social, economic, and cultural capitals to explain the impact of these sociolinguistic factors on MFL motivations, too. Bourdieu's three theories of capital (social, economic, and cultural) explores how differences in lifestyles based on people's status or social class (viz. members who occupy similar professional positions or enjoy similar pastimes and interests when residing in similar conditions), can lead to differences in life experiences, as well as access and distribution of certain resources (Bourdieu, 1974). Applying this concept in an educational MFL context, Coffey (2018) found that students who often undertake family holidays abroad are more likely to study MFL, as it provides them with, arguably, higher economic and cultural capital. This may be more likely to have a positive influence on students' post-compulsory MFL decision-making, as students with a higher economic and cultural capital may place more importance on language learning as it is fits with their international travelling lifestyle and world view, and would still remain applicable to their lives outside of the classroom (Coffey, 2018). Similarly, Collen (2020) investigated the impact of geographical influences in relation to motivations, finding that MFL qualifications are particularly high in urban areas of England, whereby ethnic diversity remains large. I do not interpret this to mean that large ethnic diversity automatically leads to more post- compulsory MFL students, rather in these areas with greater ethnic diversity, there subsequently often exists greater linguistic and cultural diversity already. This everyday exposure to international cultures could, therefore, intrinsically attract students to the benefits of gaining an MFL education.

2.3 Languages for All? MFL in the Context of BAME

Low enrolment of BAME students in post-compulsory MFL study has permeated English schools over the decades, as evidenced by the fact that in 2007, less than 1% of African, Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi students studied MFL at A Level (Vidal Rodeiro, 2009). Despite these statistics, little attention has been given to understanding the relationship between ethnicity and MFL uptake in England. Therefore, this paper deploys scholarship exploring this disenrollment in the United States (US), to identify possible explanations[6].

Firstly, Moore (2005) found the implementation of a Eurocentric curriculum to be the principal factor behind the motivational decline amongst BIPOC (a term specific to the US which is intended to centre the experiences of 'Black,' 'Indigenous,' and communities or 'people of colour') students in the USA, suggesting students may struggle to connect with content, or draw parallels between their own language, culture, and upbringing. One can infer, therefore, that a Portuguese-speaking student with Mozambiquan heritage, or a French-speaking student from Senegal, for example, may, indeed, be equipped with sound knowledge of the mechanisms behind the target language to succeed in MFL. Both

[6] It is important to contextualise the sociocultural differences between the US and UK in relation to their respective educational landscapes. Unlike the compulsory school system in England, compulsory education in the US is threefold: comprised of 'elementary' schools (grades k-4), 'middle' or 'junior high' schools (grades 5-8), and 'high' schools (grades 9-12). The number of pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds attending these schools is disparate between the two countries, too; 34.5% of all pupils in both primary and secondary schools are from an ethnic minority background in the UK (DfE, 2021b), compared to 54% of ethnic minority pupils in the US (NCES, 2022). Note that due to the aforementioned differences in school type in England and the US, these demographic figures account for both primary- and secondary-aged school children holistically, as the measurement of determining the sociocultural makeup between the two school systems becomes more complex, with differing age groups and grade levels.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

studies by Cenoz (2013) and Finch, Theakston, and Serratrice (2020) support this, as they identified that the MFL classroom is where students with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds can excel the most academically and emotionally, often outperforming their monolingual counterparts in MFL tasks and exams. This is because when approaching their MFL studies, they are often able to draw on a 'broader repertoire of linguistic skills' (Cenoz, 2013) and are typically benefitted from the code-switching skills which they are already required to deploy in their everyday lives. This, in turn, can boost their performance in MFL lessons and exams as they are already familiar with this skill (Finch, Theakston, & Serratrice, 2020). Furthermore, students may possess an apparent greater predilection for — and greater confidence with — language learning, which can often be attributed to their multicultural background (ibid.). However, I argue that if these students are limited to a Eurocentric curriculum in England (Nuffield Languages Enquiry, 2000) — and subsequently not represented in content material – in some instances, it would be harder for them to feel included in the MFL classroom, even if students have a prominent lead in the subject compared to their monolingual counterparts (Finch, Theakston, and Serratrice, 2020).

Owing to the fact that BAME teachers make up just 14% of the teaching force in England (Weale, 2020), too, the general idiosyncrasy of MFL pedagogy can leave MFL teachers without the sufficient cultural and/or 'advanced' linguistic knowledge to teach BAME students – especially those with knowledge of other languages spoken at home (Guillaume, 1994; Wilberschied & Dassier, 1995; Finch, Theakston, & Serratrice, 2020). Glynn (2007) supports this argument as in his study of why BAME students were not pursuing foreign language courses, responses were simply because they were not understood or encouraged by teachers. Moreover, from a linguistic perspective, Finch, Theakston, and Serratrice (2020) have noted that the increasing number of English as Additional Language (EAL) pupils in MFL classrooms in England has contributed to further levels of linguistic and pedagogical complexity in MFL (Finch, Theakston, and Serratrice, 2020), because teachers' subject knowledge, their perceptions of their own abilities, and timetable constraints with an 'overburdening' schedule, may not permit educators to access the relevant training and/or resources to challenge and stretch these students (ibid.). The *Teachers' Standards released* by the DfE (2011) in England – which sets out the level of practice expected by teachers – require teachers to "have a clear understanding of the needs of all pupils, including those with English as an additional language […]; and be able to use and evaluate distinctive teaching approaches to engage and support them." (DfE, 2011, p. 12). However, Leung (2016) found that despite this requirement, there is a shortage of systematic training for education involving EAL in practice, allowing teachers to access sufficient EAL training only through Continuing Professional Development (CPD) courses once in the mainstream school setting (Howitt, 2022). This has been found to cause concerns particularly for Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs), as it leaves many entering the teaching force having little confidence in their practical teaching methods with EAL (Cajkler and Hall, 2012). This is reported in the DfE (2018)'s survey of NQTs' perceptions of how their Initial Teacher Training (ITT) prepared them for teaching, whereby only 39% of teachers surveyed reported feeling adequately trained to teach EAL.

Finally, studies have shown that the style of MFL lessons can be prominent deterrents for MFL motivational decline amongst BAME (bilingual) students. For example, Kleinsasser (1993) noted how MFL lessons are often pervaded by repetitive grammar drills, which can deter students, particularly those who have knowledge of additional languages. Zarrinabadi, Rezazadeh, and Chehrazi (2021) attribute this to the language mindsets adopted by L3 (third language) learners in MFL which can have both positive and negative implications for bi- and multilingual students' motivations and energy investment in the subject. They argue that L3 learners often possess a 'fixed' language mindset (the idea that language ability and perceptions are unchangeable; Lou and Noels, 2017), instead of a 'growth' mindset (the belief that perceptions and ability can change and improve; ibid.), which they believe is

more apparent in L2 learners. This is because L3 learners supposedly already possess a greater awareness of their language-learning abilities and performances (including strategies/approaches, successes, and failures) when acquiring L2, thus may be less optimistic and enthused when learning L3 in MFL lessons, than their monolingual peers (Zarrinabadi, Rezazadeh, & Chehrazi, 2021). Therefore, it is understandable why BAME students, who may already have knowledge of a Heritage Language[7] (HL) and an already established set of skills and experience(s) of language-learning, which is arguably more 'advanced' than their peers (Edele et al., 2018), may be unwilling to gain an MFL qualification or value its 'usefulness,' and choose not to be impeded by this perceived obstinate, unchallenging curriculum.

2.4 The Present Study

Taking into consideration research previously highlighted, the present study aims to assess the relevance of the aforementioned motivational and sociolinguistic factors on the most recent school leavers in England. Given the relatively small body of literature investigating ethnicity and language uptake in England, too, this study seeks to identify any divergences between respondents with regard to motivational factors, based on their identification with the BAME category. To assess the motivational trends amongst the most recent school leavers, this study draws on part of the quantitative experimental design of Parrish and Lanvers (2018), adopting many of the same motivational items found in their questionnaire (see Appendix One). This enables the results from the current study to be easily benchmarked against previous scholarship, examine whether the results from this investigation corroborate previously investigated data, and identify if any new trends emerge. As this present study is inspired by that of Parrish and Lanvers (2018), it can be hypothesised that the principal deterrents for motivational decline amongst English adolescents in this study will align with those found by Parrish and Lanvers (2018). That is, the perceived uninspiring curriculum married with the supposed difficulty of the subject will triumph in being the key factors for motivational decline. However, unlike previous research, the implementation of qualitative research in this study will help to further understand why motivational divergences occur.

3 Methodology

Having identified the shortcomings of previous research, this section aims to outline the methodology implemented in this study along with any potential limitations. First, this section evaluates the suitability of quantitative research designs in this context, and specifically the implementation of questionnaires to successfully meet the aims of the study. Second, this section considers significant issues and downfalls within methodology, such as data analysis procedures, sampling, and ethical considerations.

3.1 The Nature of Quantitative Research

Quantitative methodology (in particular questionnaires) is frequently utilised in Linguistics to effectively measure people's attitudes and perceptions of languages (Rasinger, 2018, p. 128). Unlike

[7] I use Heritage Languages, also known as community languages, as a generic term to embrace languages typically learned at home during childhood, but which are not the dominant language spoken in society. e.g., Urdu in the UK; Spanish in the United States.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

qualitative methods, such studies generally generate large amounts of reliable data which is simple to process (ibid., 129). As the researcher is typically not present during the completion of questionnaires (thus may not directly influence responses), quantitative research can also reduce researcher bias (Bryman, 2008), further rendering it a suitable research method for this understudied empirical study. Furthermore, questionnaires have been praised for their ease of tabulating and coding of answers, leaving little room for subjectivity by the researcher (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 26), which would typically have been more present in qualitative research (Rasinger, 2018, p. 129). This further justifies the implementation of quantitative research over qualitative research – more specifically focus groups – in this study, as it ensures little misinterpretation of answers (whether intentional or unintentional) occurs by the researcher. It must be noted here, though, that quantitative research does, indeed, present many downfalls for researchers on the basis of questionnaire design and subjectivity, too, whereby questions are sometimes formulated and phrased in a particular way by the researcher to meet their own research needs. That is, they sometimes include questions which are too leading, overly complex, and/or ambiguous (Bartram, 2019, p. 2). Further limitations in quantitative research pertain to its apparent invalid nature, whereby data is infiltrated with acquiescent, generalised, or superficial responses, which may not accurately reflect reality (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 26; Bartram, 2019, p. 2), as a result of these leading questions. This weakness was considered and limited (but by no means nullified) in this study, with the inclusion of ranking scales and open-ended questions.

3.2 Measuring Motivation

This paper bases academic motivation (a 'cognitive and behavioural drive to meet academic goals'; Kovach, 2018) on a 'self-determination continuum' (SDT) (Kotera et al., 2021), wherein students' motivations can be conceptualised as *intrinsic* (motivated by satisfaction or pleasure of an academic task, often finding it meaningful and worthwhile) and *extrinsic* (motivated by external or instrumental factors rather than the task itself) (ibid.). Indeed, the nature of motivation is multifaceted, and thus can present difficulties when categorising types of motivation, with many often overlapping. Therefore, as this study is inspired by that of Parrish and Lanvers (2018), this study continues to adopt the SDT theory as it allows a more holistic view on language learning, recognising that both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation are not mutually exclusive (Parrish and Lanvers, 2018). To determine the different types of motivation, Parrish and Lanvers (2018) draw on an SDT instrument known as the Academic Self-Regulation Questionnaire (SRQ-A) (Ryan and Connell, 1989), which has been successfully used to categorise the aforementioned motivation types in a school context. This study implements the modified table of Parrish and Lanvers (2018) to identify MFL students' position on the continuum, as seen in Table 1.

Table 1: *The self-determination continuum and modified SRQ-A responses based on motivations in Parrish and Lanvers (2018).*

Type of motivation	**Extrinsic motivation**			**Intrinsic motivation**
Type of regulation	**External**	**Introjected**	**Identified**	**Intrinsic**
Characterised by	Compliance, seeking external rewards, avoiding external punishments	Self, control, allocation of internal rewards and punishment	Personal importance, conscious valuing of outcome	Interest, enjoyment, inherent satisfaction
Identifying responses	Because that's what I'm supposed to do	So my teachers will think I'm a good student	Because I want to understand the subject	Because it's fun
	Because I will get in trouble if I don't	Because I'll feel bad about myself if I don't do well	Because it's important to me	Because I enjoy it
	Because I might get a reward if I do well	Because I will feel proud of myself if I do well		

3.3 Participant Selection (Sample)

319 respondents were recruited via snowball sampling method to an online questionnaire, which was primarily disseminated to peers through social media (namely, Facebook, Twitter, TikTok, and Instagram). The final sample of respondents (n = 280) were all over the age of 18 (245 females; 34 males; 1 non-binary persons) and hailed from all regions of England, as seen in Table 2[8]. While every effort was made to create a diverse sample, which remained a 'subset and representative of the whole population' (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 60), the questionnaire was, ultimately, self-selecting, leaving the researcher with limited control over these variables.

[8] 39 respondents left this question blank.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
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Table 2: *Final sample of regions in England* (*n* = 280).

Region in England	Number of respondents (percentage of sample)
North East	3 (1%)
North West	36 (13%)
Yorkshire and the Humber	23 (8%)
East Midlands	10 (4%)
West Midlands	49 (17%)
East of England	16 (6%)
London	53 (19%)
South East	65 (23%)
South West	25 (9%)

Diversity could be seen in nationalities, too, whereby 67% of respondents identified as White (British/Irish/Other); 21% as Asian/British Asian (Indian/Pakistani/Chinese/Sri Lankan/Bangladeshi/Other); 4% as Black/Black British (African/other); 8% as Mixed ethnic groups (White and Black Caribbean/White and Asian/White and Black African).

Although respondents attended a diverse range of non-selective, government-funded State (single sex/mixed) schools; selective, state-funded Grammar (single sex/mixed) schools; and selective, fee-paying Independent (single sex/mixed) schools, there remains an overwhelming overrepresentation of those in the State sector (see Table 3). However, given that those in Independent schools make up just 7% of the English school-aged population (ISC, 2021), this sample still remains representative of England.

Table 3: *Final sample school type attended by respondents*

School Type	Number of respondents (percentage of sample)
State (single sex)	22 (8%)
State (mixed)	170 (61%)
Grammar (single sex)	28 (10%)
Grammar (mixed)	6 (2%)
Independent (single sex)	41 (15%)
Independent (mixed)	13 (5%)

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Maintaining good ethical practices remained a top priority throughout this study. Therefore, ethical approval was immediately sought and granted from the University of Birmingham College of Arts and Law Ethics Committee before research was undertaken. Prior to partaking in this study, participants were presented with a detailed informed consent form outlining the nature of the research undertaken and informing that they were at liberty to withdraw at any point. Participants were also not allowed to start the questionnaire until they had confirmed they understood the aforementioned ethical procedures.

3.5 Questionnaire Design and Procedure

The online questionnaire[9] was constructed on the survey software, Qualtrics, launching on 24 February 2021. Participants were required to complete the questionnaire in their own time, answering 24 semi-structured questions. Firstly, they had to provide background information to document candidate diversity, followed by any knowledge and experience of HL. Next, they were asked to reflect on their personal experiences of MFL education in secondary schools, indicating whether they did/did not study it post-14. Piped questions in Qualtrics facilitated the direction of the questionnaire, which differed from participant to participant, depending on their personal answers. That is, participants who chose not to study MFL post-14 were presented with a characteristic ranking scale of influences to indicate their ranking of reasonings behind their decision, from 1 = most important, to 5 = least important. No further action was required by these participants. For those who did study MFL post-14, this procedure was repeated, but were then directed to specify their experiences of MFL at post-16, with additional ranking scales to further explain their decisions, as seen in Figure 1.

[9] A complete version of the questionnaire can be found in the Appendix Two.

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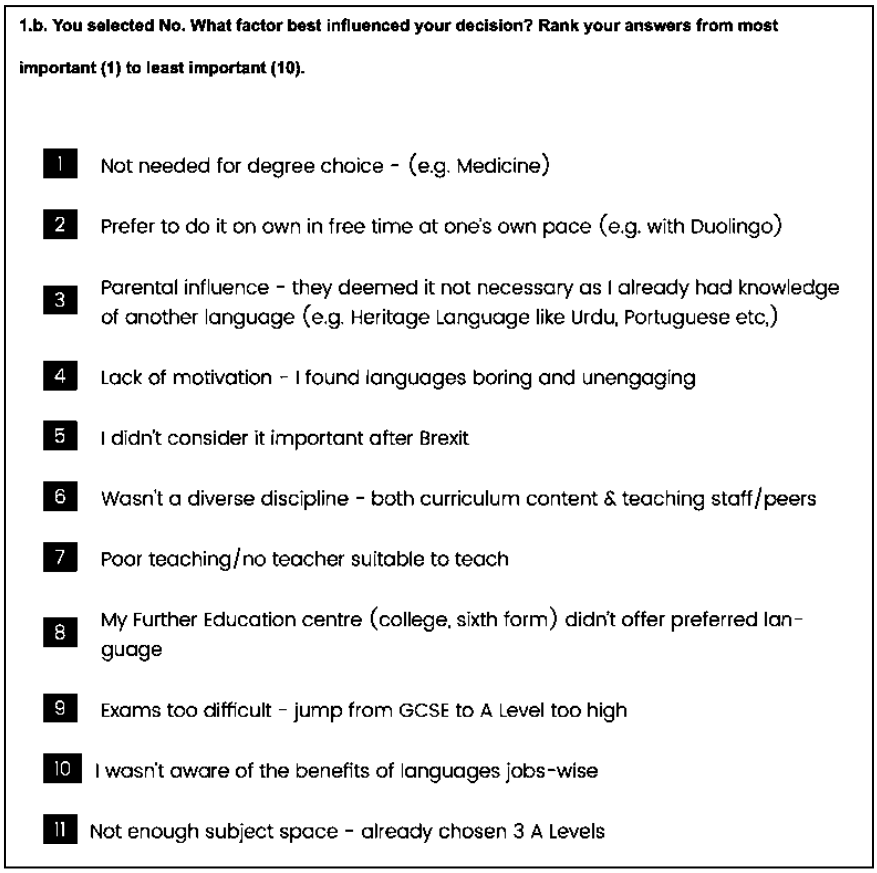

Figure 1: *Example of Ranking scale and items.*

A pilot study was conducted to test reliability and identify questions that may be misinterpreted. Consequently, certain sections were removed to overcome ambiguity, and open-ended questions were inserted at the end, to increase the validity of the study.

4 Results

This section provides an overview of current trends in MFL uptake, pertaining particularly to the research questions:

RQ1: What are students' attitudes towards post-compulsory MFL education?

RQ2: To what extent, if at all, do these attitudes and motivational factors correlate with other sociolinguistic and extralinguistic factors?

RQ3: What are the current trends and attitudes amongst BAME students towards post-compulsory MFL education? And to what extent, if at all, are there divergences between respondents based on their belonging/identification with the 'BAME' category?

4.1 Students' Attitudes towards Post-Compulsory MFL Education

4.1.1 Perceptions of MFL at Post-14

Respondents were first asked to rank five pre-determined motivators behind choosing to study MFL at post-14 (see Tables 4-5). To determine the importance of the motivators, I counted the respondents for each motivator per rank, and I ranked them from largest motivator (when picked by the most respondents as #1 motivator) to smallest motivator (when picked by the fewest respondents as #5 motivator). For example, to determine which was the top-ranked (#1) motivation amongst respondents at post-14, I examined which motivation had the greatest number of respondents who ranked it as #1. The motivation "I found it more interesting than other subjects." had the greatest influence on respondents' post-compulsory decision-making, as 103 (42%) of the 246 respondents awarded this motivation the top (#1) rank. In the instances when a motivator was chosen by most respondents in more than one ranks, the highest rank was taken into account, and the next highest motivator was picked in the lowest rank. Furthermore, in the case of ranking data wherein there exists two motivators with the same number of respondents under one particular rank (see Table 9, rank 7), I have allocated the motivators a joint ranking, and proceeded to the next rank numbers for the rest of the subsequent data. Tables 4-5 illustrate the breakdown of some principal motivations behind choosing to study

MFL post-14. Overall, data here shows that the obligation to study MFL by schools had little impact on respondents' decisions, as 64% of respondents ranked this as their least important factor (#5) when decision-making. Instead, respondents found MFL curricula to be more exciting than other subjects and felt they would perform better, academically, in MFL, which positively impacted their decision-making the most.

Table 4: *Ranking of motivations by respondents behind choosing to study MFL at post-14 – raw count (n = 246).*

	Ranks (with raw count of respondents)				
Motivations (Question)	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
I found it more exciting than other subjects	***103***	76	49	13	4
It was the only language available at school	27	29	44	***74***	72
I thought it would be the language I'd get the best grade in	43	***101***	68	29	5
It was compulsory - I wanted to study it	62	39	***77***	60	8
It was compulsory – I didn't want to study it	11	1	8	69	***157***

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

Table 5: *Final ranking of motivations by respondents behind choosing to study MFL at post-14*

Motivation behind choosing to study MFL post-14	Ranking
I found it more exciting than other subjects	1
I thought it would be the language I'd get the best grade in	2
It was compulsory - I wanted to study it	3
It was the only language available at school	4
It was compulsory – I didn't want to study it	5

The same set of motivations were displayed to the respondents who chose not to study MFL post-14, too. Unlike Tables 4-5, respondents here (in Tables 6 and 7) ranked the optionality of MFL to be the determining factor behind discontinuing with post-compulsory MFL (#1). That is, they chose not to study MFL simply because they were not required to at school. The content within MFL impacted non-linguists' decision-making here, once more; however, respondents in this group reported that the subject of MFL as a whole was conversely too difficult and unexciting[10], ranked #2 and #3, respectively.

Table 6: *Ranking of motivations behind choosing not to study MFL post-14 – raw count* (n=19)

	Ranks (with raw count of respondents)				
Motivations	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
I didn't find MFL exciting enough	5	3	***7***	2	2
Languages (and/or language teachers) weren't available at my school	1	2	3	2	***11***
I didn't think I would do well/exams were too hard	4	***5***	4	6	0
It wasn't compulsory at my school	***6***	7	2	3	1
My parents thought a different subject would be better suited	3	2	3	***6***	5

[10] While this study did not elicit information pertaining to exam boards, it is important to consider the impact of exam specifications on uptake; content enjoyment may, indeed, vary amongst different boards with varying curricula.

Table 7: *Final ranking of motivations by respondents behind choosing not to study MFL at post-14.*

Motivation behind choosing not to study MFL post-14	Ranking
It wasn't compulsory at my school	1
I didn't think I would do well/exams were too hard	2
I didn't find languages exciting enough	3
My parents thought a different subject would be better suited	4
Languages (and/or language teachers) weren't available at my school	5

Therefore, this, in line with responses in Table 4, signifies that the decision to study post-compulsory MFL at post-14 is complex and remains dependent upon students' own perceptions of MFL. More specifically, whether MFL content remains exciting and attainable enough compared to other subjects, as well being dependent upon students' individual perceptions of their own abilities to perform well in MFL.

4.1.2 Perceptions of MFL at Post-16

When asked about perceptions at post-16, respondents ranked eleven pre-determined possible motivations behind not studying MFL (see Tables 8-9). Rankings here reflect similar trends to those who discontinued with MFL study at post-14, as the perceived difficulty of the subject remained amongst the top half of rankings once more, ranking #4. What topped this set of rankings, though, was how at post-16, a qualification in MFL was seemingly not required for respondents' degree choice (#1), followed by respondents reporting not having adequate space in their subject options to choose MFL (#2).

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

Table 8: *Rankings of motivations behind choosing not to study MFL post-16 – raw count (n = 73).*

	Ranks (with raw count of respondents)										
Motivations (Question)	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**
I was influenced by parents who deemed MFL study to be unnecessary	2	2	3	5	4	11	8	4	***14***	13	7
My Further Education centre didn't offer the preferred language(s)	5	2	4	7	7	9	***9***	9	8	7	6
I thought teaching was poor	4	5	9	7	***11***	12	10	6	4	4	1
It wasn't needed for degree choice	***31***	19	8	4	4	3	2	1	1	0	0
Lack of motivation - I found languages to be 'boring'	12	10	11	6	7	2	9	5	6	3	***2***
I didn't have enough space in subject options	10	***18***	14	12	7	2	2	3	3	2	0
I prefer to learn languages in my own time	3	4	***12***	7	10	8	9	9	4	6	1
I didn't think MFL would be important after Brexit	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	4	10	***13***	42
I found the discipline to not be diverse enough (both curriculum and teaching/peers)	0	0	1	6	3	***12***	9	17	8	13	4
I wasn't aware of the benefits of studying MFL jobwise	1	4	1	8	9	6	3	***8***	12	11	10
I thought exams would be too difficult and I wouldn't do well in them – the jump from GCSE to A-Level was too high	5	9	10	***11***	10	7	10	7	3	1	0

Table 9: *Final ranking of motivations by respondents behind choosing not to study MFL at post-16.*

Motivation behind choosing not to study MFL post-16	Ranking
It wasn't needed for degree choice	1
I didn't have enough space in subject options	2
I prefer to learn languages in my own time	3
I thought exams would be too difficult and I wouldn't do well in them – the jump from GCSE to A-Level was too high	4
I thought teaching was poor	5
I found the discipline to not be diverse enough (both curriculum and teaching/peers)	6
My Further Education centre didn't offer the preferred language(s)	7
I wasn't aware of the benefits of studying MFL jobwise	8
I was influenced by parents who deemed MFL study unnecessary	9
I didn't think MFL would be important after Brexit	10
Lack of motivation - I found languages to be 'boring'	11

The same set of motivations were positively inverted and distributed to respondents who had studied MFL at post-16 (n = 160), as seen in Tables 10 and 11[11]. Even though obtaining good grades at GCSE remained amongst the top-ranked motivations, it was an *identified* factor that ranked highest, with students' own desire to obtain fluency topping the rankings (#1).

[11] While this paper has collected responses under the motivation 'other,' an examination of these responses has not been conducted as it is beyond the scope of this paper, especially since they were ranked as #10.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
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Table 10: *Rankings of motivations behind choosing to study MFL post-16 – raw count (n = 160).*

	Ranks (with raw count of respondents)									
Motivations	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
I wanted to become fluent in the language(s)	***99***	31	8	9	4	5	2	2	0	0
It was one of my best grades at GCSE	18	***38***	30	25	24	13	8	4	0	0
It was a useful subject to have jobs-wise	5	11	***35***	23	31	25	23	5	2	0
I had an inspiring teacher	8	19	21	19	***30***	32	8	12	9	2
I found the content interesting	10	22	29	***40***	23	22	10	3	1	0
I already had a background in that language	3	8	6	7	8	14	***27***	***32***	43	12
Parental influence – they thought languages would open doors in the future	2	1	2	2	10	16	***27***	***45***	52	3
I wanted to live abroad in the future	8	27	21	24	15	16	19	17	***12***	1
It complemented my other subjects well	1	1	7	10	15	***17***	34	38	33	4
Other	6	2	1	1	0	0	2	2	8	***138***

Table 11: *Final ranking of motivations behind choosing to study MFL post-16.*

Motivation behind choosing to study MFL post-16	**Ranking**
I wanted to become fluent in the language	1
It was (one of) my best grade(s) at GCSE	2
It was a useful subject to have jobwise	3
I found the content of MFL to be interesting	4
I had an inspiring teacher	5
It complemented my other subjects well	6
I was influenced by parents who deemed MFL study as important	= 7
I already had a background in that language	= 7
I wanted to live abroad in the future	9
Other	10

Tables 8 and 10 indicate, therefore, that external factors played a greater role for respondents who chose not to study MFL post-16, than for those who did, as the perceived 'difficulty of the subject' (#4) and the supposed 'poor teaching' (#5) remained amongst the top half of principal deterrents for non-linguists. Amongst post-16 linguists, however, identified and intrinsic motivations persisted, as they generally chose to study post-16 MFL because respondents wanted to 'obtain fluency' (rank #1) and felt an MFL qualification would be more 'useful' for them (#3). These were ranked as more salient factors for post-16 linguists than whether the subject was 'interesting' or not (#4). This also differed to non-linguists who reported prioritising a different subject/career pathway, thus being unable to study MFL.

To help us further understand these perceptions towards post-compulsory MFL study, qualitative responses were elicited from respondents. They focused particularly on attitudes towards the MFL curricula, the perceived value and importance of post-compulsory MFL study, the experienced quality of teaching in MFL, and the supposed difficulty of the discipline — all of which (positively and negatively) affected their post-compulsory decision-making.

4.1.3 Dissatisfaction with a Limited MFL Curriculum

Respondents in this investigation commented heavily on the post-compulsory MFL curriculum studied. Respondents (1-4) explained how, in their experiences, MFL curricula and lessons were perceived as 'uncreative' (2) and 'boring' (4), with the sole purpose of lessons existing to essentially train linguists to perform well in exams, instead of being valuable for respondents' wider ramifications beyond education and academia (3). To this end, respondents here suggest providing opportunities in MFL lessons to intertwine additional elements of teaching (such as culture, literature, linguistics etc.) into the fundamental teaching of grammar and vocabulary. They believe that this will create a potentially more exciting curriculum which is perceived as more pertinent to respondents in this study.

(1) 'It's a shame, but the way languages were taught was based on memory recall of grammar and vocab with no opportunity to learn about culture, poetry, society etc.'

(2) 'It was fun to learn and speak, but the British education system doesn't require you to be creative, instead we learn specifically to pass exams.'

(3) 'Learning languages at school doesn't prepare you for language use in the wider world.'

(4) 'In my school, a lot of students did not choose to do a language at GCSE/A Level because they thought they thought the curriculum was boring. I think this is difficult to tackle, but I support the initiative to teach more Linguistics in schools which can highlight the importance of understanding different languages and cultures, as well as the benefits of multiculturalism. As this is something different to what the current curriculum offers, it might improve engagement.'

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

4.1.4 The Perceived Value of an MFL Qualification and 'Subject Hierarchy'

Similarly, some respondents went as far to say that gaining an MFL qualification was supposedly so futile, they felt they could become better linguists through independent study, instead. When asked in this study (see Appendix for full questionnaire), "Why do you not regret discontinuing with MFL at post-16?", non-linguist respondents (5-9) explained how many felt dissatisfied with the topics and material covered in MFL lessons and curricula, so they enjoyed the autonomy of choosing to learn elements of the target language(s) which are, once again, supposedly more relevant to them. Respondents (5-9) indicate below that the increasing ubiquity of language-learning applications (such as Duolingo) had met their language-learning goals and aims more successfully than if they had studied post-compulsory MFL. Furthermore, another respondent (8) suggested that little value is placed on gaining an MFL qualification because it may, in some instances, be perceived as too easy, especially if MFL lessons are permeated by repetitive grammar drills. This apparent predictable nature of MFL lessons can, consequently, give the illusion of MFL being a 'soft subject' (8), and be placed lower in the 'subject hierarchy' by both schools and students, which can inadvertently dissuade students when decision-making.

(5) 'I carried on with language learning after GCSE independently on apps such as Duolingo. I've since travelled Europe and managed fine relying on a mix of my GCSE knowledge and language skills gained on my own without the need to gain an A-Level qualification.'

(6) 'I enjoyed learning French at school, but the topics covered were quite uninteresting. Studying on my own (with the help of apps and interactions with native speakers) has prepared me much better [than MFL A-Levels] to have natural conversations in the language.'

(7) 'I didn't study French at A-Level but kept it up in different ways through apps, films, societies at university etc. I even spent some time in France during my gap year which I feel helped way more [than MFL at A-Level] as I got to effectively immerse myself directly in the culture and become more fluent.'

(8) 'I'm fluent in French and got an A* in GCSE French solely on my memory alone! I just think learning languages [at post-14] isn't challenging enough; it should be compulsory to do some translation or politics modules about the country alongside it. That is why I saw MFL as a 'soft subject' and chose more useful/valuable subjects at A-Level, instead.'

(9) 'I would rather learn a language separate to my studies, not as part of my studies. As such, I continue to pursue a deeper understanding of the Urdu language in my own time.'

(10) 'I feel support going into MFL at A Level was non-existent at my school. Focus was instead given to STEM-related subjects and subjects related to 'popular' degrees. I loved learning Spanish, but it wasn't a viable option at my school compared to other subjects.'

4.1.5 The Quality of Teaching in MFL: the Good and the Bad

The quality of teaching in post-compulsory MFL remains a determining predictor for uptake, amongst linguist and non-linguist respondents alike. It can be deduced from comments (11-15) that respondents were more likely to pursue an MFL qualification, if they had a teacher who encouraged students, creating an environment in which all students can thrive irrespective of their ability, and who presented MFL material in engaging and entertaining ways.

(11) 'My secondary school teacher was awful, didn't believe in me nor encourage me leading to me getting a lower mark than I should have.'

(12) 'I received a D grade [at GCSE] and due to the poor teaching the entire class did not do well, too.'

(13) 'My teachers at school were terrible. If I wasn't inspired to take up MFL study through external factors. I would not have studied them. I genuinely believe the reason MFL is not popular is because of the way it is taught.'

(14) 'I was very fortunate that during my A-Levels my French teachers fostered the connection I was trying to make between my studies of French and History. This strongly influenced my decision to study both at university.'

(15) 'I only truly started enjoying language learning at my school when I got a new teacher in year 9, who really inspired the whole school with regard to language learning. It's a shame that the quality of MFL learning seems to be based on individual teachers.'

4.1.6 A Balancing Act: Difficulty of Post-Compulsory MFL as a Subject and Exams

As seen in Tables 7-8, the supposed 'difficulty' of post-compulsory MFL exams remained a salient factor for non-linguists when decision-making at post-16. Respondents (15-21) in this investigation indicate that this perception of 'difficulty' can extend beyond exams/assessments and be applied to MFL as a whole subject, holistically, too — a sentiment shared amongst both linguists and non-linguists alike, with many noting the apparent 'considerable jump' (18) between post-14 and post-16 study. Non-linguist respondents chose to discontinue formally gaining a qualification in MFL, therefore, to stand them in supposedly better stead to gaining higher grades overall — even if they did not want to officially discontinue learning languages. Therefore, it can be concluded that performance and experience of MFL at GCSE plays a role in decision-making, as if respondents felt they would struggle at GCSE, they may do again at A-Level. This perception is further supported by respondents who did continue with MFL study at post-16, as respondents (16-23) display that although many enjoyed MFL A-Level(s), it felt more of a challenge and was more demanding time- and commitment-wise compared to other subjects. Some also felt 'greater pressure' (20) to reach their desired language level goals, which ultimately became too stressful to balance alongside their other subjects.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
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(16) ‘I wasn’t good at [MFL] at GCSE so didn’t want to risk compromising my A-Level grades with the difficult exams and content.’

(17) ‘The [MFL A-Level] exams were not worth the stress it caused me at GCSE, so I decided to drop it. I haven’t regretted it since.’

(18) ‘I’m really dyslexic so language learning is really hard for me. Therefore, I don’t think I could have ever performed well in the [MFL A-Level] exams – they would have been far too much of a jump in difficulty from GCSE.’

(19) ‘I really enjoyed French [at A-Level] and thought it was a hugely important life skill. However, being made to practically become fluent in two years meant it took up most of my free time and was very stressful.’

(20) ‘I had a bad learning experience of MFL [at A-Level]. I felt there was a lot more pressure, a lot more work, but much less support by teachers.’

(21) ‘I loved doing French A-Level however it was a lot more pressure and stress than my other A-Levels (Maths and History).’

(22) ‘Languages take a lot of dedication and commitment to learn, and I think that’s what puts most people off – it can be difficult to balance alongside other subjects.’

(23) ‘I don’t think MFL is difficult per se, but just think lack of time in MFL is the biggest issue. I believe lots of people can do well in MFL, you just have to put in much more effort to learn content compared to other subjects, which is maybe what detracts people.’

4.1.7 Choosing to/not to Study Post-Compulsory MFL Again

Having explored the aforementioned reasonings behind choosing/not choosing to (dis)continue with post-compulsory MFL study, non-linguist respondents at post-16 (n = 78) in this study were then asked to declare whether they would make the same decision not to study MFL at post-16 again, if they could choose their options once more, or if they do regret their decision. This investigation found that 30 (38%) respondents out of the non-linguist sample (n = 78), declared regretting their decision to not pursue a qualification in post-16 MFL, compared to the 48 (62%) respondents who did not regret their decision. This indicates that the aforementioned perceptions towards MFL as a subject and qualification still remain somewhat negative, as respondents would still choose not to study it.

4.1.8 Interim Summary

Section 4.1 has explored potential reasons for the motivational decline at post-14 and post-16. Overall, both linguists and non-linguists appreciated learning languages, but had differing views about official MFL study. When ranking reasons behind discontinuing post-compulsory MFL education, non-linguists expressed how they did not study MFL primarily because it was not needed for their desired career pathways, thus prioritised other subjects ahead of MFL. Numerous respondents further

commented on the supposed difficulty of the subject, exams, and lessons which, ultimately, deterred them from studying MFL at post-16, having recalled negative experiences at post-14. Lastly, respondents also noted how the role of the teacher and perceived tedious MFL curricula - wherein little space is given to creatively explore different aspects of the target language(s) — contributed as factors in their post-compulsory decision-making, as some respondents would consequently place little value on the discipline and choose not to study it officially, as they felt they could learn the language and meet their language-learning goals more successfully outside of school.

4.2 How Sociolinguistic Factors Affect Uptake

This study also sought to examine the sociolinguistic makeup of respondents and explore any patterns and tendencies in relation to motivational factors. Therefore, to determine this relationship, respondents were asked to declare some demographic information.

4.2.1 Gender

Tables 12 and 13 indicate that there was a notably higher proportion of females who studied MFL at post-14 (83%) and post-16 (62%), than males who accounted for just 10% and 6% of the total sample, respectively.

Table 12: *Proportion of respondents at post-14 – By Gender (n = 272).*

	Yes (percentage of total sample)	**No (percentage of total sample)**
Male	26 (10%)	7 (3%)
Female	225 (83%)	13 (5%)
Non-binary	1 (0.4%)	0

Table 13: *Proportion of respondents at post-16 – By Gender (n = 246).*

	Yes (percentage of total sample)	**No (percentage of total sample)**
Male	15 (6%)	11 (5%)
Female	152 (62%)	67 (27%)
Non-binary	1 (0.4%)	0

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

4.2.2 Region

Regional trends (Tables 14-15) were also apparent in respondents' decision to study post-compulsory MFL; in both instances, students in South East and London were more likely to study MFL than those in North East or East Midlands, for example. However, upon closer inspection of individual regions, there remains a vertiginous drop in MFL uptake in the North West, Yorkshire and West Midlands, whereby around half of respondents in these regions discontinued MFL at post-16.

Table 14: *Proportion of respondents at post-14 – By Region (n = 272).*

	Yes (percentage of total sample)	**No (percentage of total sample)**
North East	3 (1%)	0
North West	33 (12%)	2 (0.7%)
Yorkshire and the Humber	21 (8%)	2 (0.7%)
East Midlands	9 (3%)	1 (0.4%)
West Midlands	44 (16%)	3 (1%)
East of England	15 (6%)	0
London	44 (16%)	7 (3%)
South East	60 (22%)	3 (1%)
South West	23 (8%)	2 (0.7%)

Table 15: *Proportion of respondents at post-16 – By Region (n = 246)*

	Yes (percentage of total sample)	**No (percentage of total sample)**
North East	2 (0.8%)	1 (0.4%)
North West	18 (7%)	12 (5%)
Yorkshire and the Humber	14 (6%)	7 (3%)
East Midlands	7 (3%)	2 (0.8%)
West Midlands	30 (12%)	14 (6%)
East of England	13 (5%)	2 (0.8%)
London	24 (10%)	18 (7%)
South East	41 (17%)	18 (7%)
South West	19 (8%)	4 (2%)

4.2.3 Type of School Attended

Regarding the relationship between school types and MFL uptake (Tables 16-17), respondents who attended a (mixed) State school remained the largest group of respondents to discontinue MFL study. By contrast, all respondents who attended (both single sex and mixed) Grammar schools, closely followed by those in (both single sex and mixed) Independent schools, studied MFL at post-14. Interestingly, while previous scholarship has indicated that respondents who attended an Independent school were more likely to pursue post-16 MFL study as they are supposedly the school type most (financially) viable to offer and promote the subject (Henderson and Carruthers, 2021), this is not reflected in this study; uptake numbers here in (both mixed and single sex) Independent schools had decreased from 51 to 30. That is, 67% of those who attended Independent schools at post-14 had discontinued MFL study at post-16.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

Table 16: *Proportion of respondents at post-14 – By school type (n = 272).*

	Yes (percentage of total sample)	**No (percentage of total sample)**
State (mixed)	148 (54%)	16 (6%)
State (single sex)	20 (7%)	2 (0.7%)
Grammar (mixed)	6 (2%)	0
Grammar (single sex)	27 (10%)	0
Independent (mixed)	12 (4%)	1 (0.4%)
Independent (single sex)	39 (14%)	1 (0.4%)

Table 17: *Proportion of respondents at post-16 – By school type (n = 246).*

	Yes (percentage of total sample)	**No (percentage of total sample)**
State (mixed)	104 (42%)	39 (16%)
State (single sex)	14 (6%)	6 (2%)
Grammar (mixed)	4 (2%)	2 (0.8%)
Grammar (single sex)	16 (7%)	11 (5%)
Independent (mixed)	8 (3%)	3 (1%)
Independent (single sex)	22 (9%)	17 (7%)

4.2.4 Socio-Economic Background

With regard to socio-economic factors, Tables 18-19 suggests that MFL uptake at both post-14 and post-16 was most common amongst groups of respondents whose household income was above the national average[12]. That is, 190 of respondents with a household income above the national average opted for post-14 MFL study, compared to the 39 respondents whose parental income was below the national average[13]. By no means does this signify that respondents below the average income were

[12] I follow the government's estimate for average household income to be £31,400 by the end of 2021, as reported in the 2021 census (Croal, 2022).

[13] Please note that the questionnaire contains an error in the question pertaining to 'socioeconomic background.' Where this paper refers to the term 'national average' herein, conclusions around this will be made from the '£36,000-£51,999' threshold and above. This is because this paper's group for the national average remains too broad and does not reflect the aforementioned government's definition of the national average (£31,400). That is, data is lacking within the '£26,000-£35,999' salary range; it is not known what respondents' exact parental income figures are in this group and if/whether this

lacking, though; 25% of this group continued on with their study at post-16. A large number of respondents also preferred not to declare their familial income, nor were many aware. Therefore, while uptake was seemingly highest amongst respondents with a household income of £78,000 and above (accounting for nearly a quarter of respondents at post-14), it is impossible to determine accurately which socio-economic group prevailed.

Table 18: *Proportion of respondents at post-14 – By socio-economic background (n = 272).*

	Yes (percentage of total sample)	**No (percentage of total sample)**
Less than £10,000	4 (1%)	3 (1%)
£10,000-£20,999	25 (9%)	2 (0.7%)
£21,000-£25,999	10 (4%)	0
£26,000-£35,999	23 (8%)	2 (0.7%)
£36,000-£51,999	36 (13%)	1 (0.4%)
£52,000-£77,999	40 (15%)	4 (1%)
£78,000 or more	55 (20%)	3 (1%)
Unsure	48 (18%)	5 (2%)
Prefer not to say	11 (4%)	0

falls above or below the national average. Despite this researcher error, however, focusing on the groups from £36,000 and above does not affect or impact the results and/or conclusions, thus still remains supportive in this paper's hypotheses and arguments.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

Table 19: *Proportion of respondents at post-16 – By socio-economic background (n = 246).*

	Yes (percentage of total sample)	**No (percentage of total sample)**
Less than £10,000	4 (2%)	0
£10,000-£20,999	14 (6%)	10 (4%)
£21,000-£25,999	7 (3%)	1 (0.4%)
£26,000-£35,999	20 (8%)	3 (1%)
£36,000-£51,999	25 (10%)	10 (4%)
£52,000-£77,999	28 (11%)	12 (5%)
£78,000 or more	33 (13%)	20 (8%)
Unsure	33 (13%)	15 (6%)
Prefer not to say	4 (2%)	7 (3%)

4.2.5 Ethnicity

Focusing our attention on ethnicity (Tables 20-21), participation rates at post-14 were strikingly high in nearly all ethnicity groups. However, uptake was highest at post-14 amongst White-British students (making up 60% of the post-14 sample); comparatively, uptake was lowest amongst two ethnic groups: White-Gypsy/Irish Traveller and Black/Black British Caribbean respondents — zero respondents from these communities pursued post-compulsory MFL study. Nevertheless, there are clearer trends at post-16; respondents from a White-British background remained the largest group to study MFL post-16 again, comprising of half (50%) of the post-16 sample. By contrast, nearly half of the total BAME respondents (43%) discontinued with post-16 MFL study, with the number of BAME linguists decreasing from 78 BAME linguists at post-14 to 38 BAME linguists at post-16. Digging deeper into individual ethnicity groups below, disparities are seen particularly within the Asian/Asian British (Pakistani) group. At post-14, respondents here recorded the third highest uptake numbers; however, at post-16, they dropped down to the sixth place, recording a notable loss of uptake numbers.

Table 20: *Proportion of respondents at post-14 – By ethnicity (n = 272).*

	Yes (percentage of total sample)	**No (percentage of total sample)**
White – British	163 (60%)	9 (3%)
Asian/Asian British – Pakistani	13 (5%)	2 (1%)
Asian/Asian British – Indian	28 (9%)	1 (0.8%)
Mixed ethnic groups – White and Black Caribbean	4 (1.5%)	2 (0.8%)
White – Other	8 (3%)	1 (0.4%)
Black/Black British – African	8 (3%)	1 (0.4%)
Asian/Asian British – Other	7 (2.6%)	1 (0.4%)
Asian/Asian British – Bangladeshi	0	1 (0.4%)
Mixed ethnic groups – Other	7 (2.6%)	0
Mixed ethnic groups – White and Asian	6 (2%)	0
Asian/Asian British – Chinese	2 (0.8%)	0
White – Irish	2 (0.8%)	0
Mixed ethnic groups – White and Black African	2 (0.8%)	0
Asian/Asian British – Sri Lankan	1 (0.4%)	0
Black/Black British – Other	2 (0.8%)	0
White – Gypsy or Irish Traveller	0	0
Black/Black British – Caribbean	0	0

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

Table 21: *Proportion of respondents at post-16 – By ethnicity (n = 246).*

	Yes (percentage of total sample)	**No (percentage of total sample)**
White – British	120 (50%)	39 (16%)
Asian/Asian British – Indian	9 (3%)	18 (7%)
White – Other	7 (2.9%)	1 (0.4%)
Black/Black British – African	6 (2.5%)	2 (0.8%)
Mixed ethnic groups – Other	6 (2.5%)	1 (0.4%)
Asian/Asian British – Pakistani	5 (2%)	8 (3%)
Asian/Asian British – Other	3 (1%)	4 (2%)
Mixed ethnic groups – White and Black Caribbean	3 (1%)	1 (0.4%)
Asian/Asian British – Chinese	2 (0.8%)	0
Mixed ethnic groups – White and Asian	2 (0.8%)	3 (1%)
Mixed ethnic groups – White and Black African	2 (0.8%)	0
Black/Black British – Other	1 (0.4%)	0
Asian/Asian British – Bangladeshi	0	0
Asian/Asian British – Sri Lankan	0	1 (0.4%)
White – Irish	0	0
White – Gypsy or Irish Traveller	0	0
Black/Black British – Caribbean	0	0

4.2.6 Interim Summary

Section 4.2 has illuminated any trends between students' sociolinguistic characteristics and post-compulsory MFL uptake. Overall, this section has documented that while plenteous male students studied post-compulsory MFL, the largest group of students pursuing both post-14 and post-16 MFL study is comprised mostly of female students. Furthermore, geographical trends emerged in this section,

as post-compulsory MFL uptake was highest amongst students hailing from the southern regions of England. Additionally, this investigation confirmed that the socio-economic status of a student can affect their post-compulsory decision-making, as there remained a slight divide between those who are and are not formally studying MFL: data suggests that respondents whose parental income was above the national average were more likely to study post-compulsory MFL. There was greater variation between students' school types, though, as respondents who attended a (mixed) State school remained the largest group of respondents to discontinue MFL study in this investigation, compared to the consistently high uptake numbers amongst students who attended (both mixed/single sex) Independent schools at post-14 and -16. Lastly, examining ethnicity as a factor in isolation, participation rates at post-14 were considerably high in nearly all ethnicity groups, but there remains a general absence of BAME students in post-16 MFL study in this study, who decided not to continue after post-14 education.

4.3 Current Trends and Attitudes towards MFL amongst BAME Students

4.3.1 BAME Perceptions of MFL

Given the vertiginous drop in BAME students continuing with post-16 MFL study (n = 38) compared to post-14 (n = 78), it was important to understand their attitudes towards MFL study, to examine why this group, in particular, is deterred by further MFL study, identify any trends and also, so this decline does not worsen. Results from this group (Tables 22-23) show that while the top motivations align with those in Table 9 (whereby the 'unnecessity for degree choice' and 'inadequate space in subject choices for MFL' rank #1 and #2 once again), striking divergences are evident in the remaining factors and ranks: unlike the overall non-linguist motivations, preferring to learn languages in one's own time (#3), not being able to study respondents' preferred language in their respective Further Education centre (#4), and (negative) influence by parents (#6), remain more integral to contributing factors for the group of respondents who identified as part of the BAME community.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

Table 22: *Rankings of motivations behind choosing to study MFL post-16 by BAME – raw count (n = 38).*

	Ranks (with raw count of respondents)										
Motivations (Question)	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**
I was influenced by parents who deemed MFL study to be unnecessary	2	2	2	4	2	***5***	5	0	6	6	1
Lack of motivation - I found languages to be 'boring'	4	6	6	3	3	1	4	2	3	2	***1***
My Further Education centre didn't offer the preferred language(s)	2	0	2	***5***	5	5	3	5	2	2	4
I thought teaching was poor	0	3	4	4	***5***	5	5	3	3	2	1
It wasn't needed for degree choice	***18***	11	2	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0
I thought exams would be too difficult and I wouldn't do well in them – the jump from GCSE to A-Level was too high	2	3	6	5	4	3	***6***	4	2	0	0
I didn't have enough space in subject options	6	***8***	4	6	5	1	2	1	1	1	0
I prefer to learn languages in my own time	0	2	***8***	1	5	4	3	4	4	3	1
I didn't think MFL would be important after Brexit	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	2	***8***	20
I found the discipline to not be diverse enough (both curriculum and teaching/peers)	0	0	0	3	1	3	1	***7***	2	3	0
I wasn't aware of the benefits of studying MFL jobwise	1	0	0	3	3	4	1	4	***8***	5	6

Table 23: *Rankings of motivations behind choosing not to study MFL post-16 – By BAME.*

Motivation behind choosing not to study MFL post-16	**Ranking**
It wasn't needed for degree choice	1
I didn't have enough space in subject options	2
I prefer to learn languages in my own time	3
My Further Education centre didn't offer the preferred language(s)	4
I thought teaching was poor	5
I was influenced by parents who deemed MFL study unnecessary	6
I thought exams would be too difficult and I wouldn't do well in them	7
I found the discipline to not be diverse enough (both curriculum and teaching/peers)	8
I wasn't aware of the benefits of studying MFL jobwise	9
I didn't think MFL would be important after Brexit	10
I found languages to be 'boring'	11

Qualitative answers from members of the BAME community in this study expanded on respondents' (negative) decision-making. Unlike the overall motivations, respondents from this group (24-39) commented specifically on the impact of diversity within MFL classrooms, intrinsic and extrinsic perceptions towards the subject, and the impact of Heritage Languages — all of which played a greater role in their decision-making. Similar to Section 4.1.3, BAME respondents here (24) further highlighted the supposed tedium associated with MFL curricula and restriction regarding skills demonstrated, expressing a preference for study of alternative elements, such as Translation, to further excite students and enhance the curriculum.

> (24)'I love learning languages but ultimately found lessons boring. I wish MFL lessons and curricula incorporated other skills such as translation skills and training too. I'm fluent in Hindi/Urdu and love it especially when I'm watching Bollywood films with English subtitles and think 'that's not what they mean' or 'if they said this, it would have been better to this sentiment' etc.'

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

(25)'I think the way languages are taught in schools made me lose interest and passion for the language. It would've been too much stress, if I had taken a language at A-Level, as I did not enjoy the lessons that much at GCSE – I enjoyed other subjects more (Latin and Sciences).'

(26)'I wasn't really interested in languages at all, at least the languages that were on offer weren't that interesting to me.'

4.3.2 (Lack of) Diversity in the MFL Classroom as a Factor Affecting Uptake

This study also spotlighted how the diversity in the MFL classroom, or perceived lack thereof, remains a salient predictor for uptake, too. One respondent who identified as part of the BAME community (27) felt they were not included in MFL, and thus chose not to pursue a formal qualification in it. However, it is unclear from these comments who some respondents felt ostracised and discouraged by (for example, by teachers and/or peers at school, or by members of the family and/or wider BAME community who hold negative perceptions towards MFL), and whether it was the MFL lessons or MFL subject content material, in which they did not feel represented in.

(27) 'MFL at school was a predominately white subject. It's a shame the education infrastructure doesn't facilitate/encourage a larger intake of BAME into language and the arts subjects.'

4.3.3 Attitudes towards MFL as a Discipline amongst the BAME Community

In the same vein, some respondents in the BAME community (28-30) explained how, in some instances, there remains extrinsic negative attitudes towards MFL as a discipline, which in turn dissuaded them from pursuing post-compulsory MFL. Respondents here commented on the subject's perceived worth and value in comparison to other subjects viz. STEM-related subjects. Though accounting for a small minority of responses, the overall theme amongst these answers is that obtaining a successful job and career is of great importance to some members of the BAME community. Thus, students are often supposedly pressured to prioritise subjects which are perceived as more vocational, subsequently leaving MFL out of consideration. That is, even if respondents did intrinsically want to study MFL, extrinsic pressure ultimately prevailed.

(28) 'Sometimes attitudes towards [MFL] from family members growing up gave me the idea that it is a 'soft subject' which made me worried about job prospects, so I chose not to study it because of this stigma.'

(29) 'Though I continued with MFL study at A-Level and then degree level, I had little support from the BAME community because it isn't vocational and "doesn't lead anywhere," but I chose my own happiness over my family's and extended family's.'

(30) 'In my personal experience, [people from the BAME community] can sometimes be dismissive of an MFL qualification/don't think there's much of a point, and put pressure to take a specific pathway e.g., medicine or law instead.'

4.3.4 The (Lack of) Provision of Heritage Languages in the MFL Classroom and Uptake

This study also sought to explore whether any BAME respondents (*n* = 93) had knowledge of a Heritage Language and investigate whether the respondents had the same attitudes towards gaining a qualification in HL, as they do towards gaining formal MFL qualifications, or not.

First, BAME respondents were asked to declare whether they did/did not have knowledge of a HL: of the 93 BAME respondents, 71 (76%) reported having knowledge of a HL, compared with the 22 (24%) who did not. There was a variety of Heritage Languages acquired by BAME respondents in this study, including (but not limited to): Urdu (*n* = 15), Hindi (*n* = 10), Guajarati (*n* = 7), Telegu (*n* = 4), Farsi (*n* = 3), Tamil (*n* = 3), Arabic (*n* = 2), Spanish (*n* = 2), Cantonese (*n* = 1), Mandarin (*n* = 1), Patois (*n* = 1), Russian (*n* = 1), and Zulu (*n* = 1). It is important to note also that a number of respondents here (*n* = 11) had knowledge of more than one Heritage Language, too.

Respondents in this study were then asked to declare whether they had gained a qualification in their respective Heritage Language (such as a GCSE), or not, and an explanation behind their decision: although 76% of BAME students in this study reported having knowledge of a HL (as seen above), 13 (18%) of the 93 BAME respondents went on to pursue a qualification in HLs, compared with the 58 (82%) respondents who did not.

To further understand why students with knowledge of a HL are generally not pursuing formal study of these languages, qualitative answers were elicited from this group of respondents (31-36). A pattern emerged from respondents (31-36) here; many of whom expressed the importance of learning their respective HL and desire to study the language(s) officially. However, respondents here felt they were unable to do so because they did not have access to centres which taught HLs or offered HLs as a subject/qualification. Of the 58 BAME respondents who reported knowing a HL but did not formally gain a qualification in it, 36 (62%) of the qualitative responses collected from this group directly mentioned how their HL was "unavailable to study at school."

(31) 'My school didn't offer Punjabi GCSE as I went to a white majority school. I didn't even know I could. I would've liked to, though.'

(32) 'My school wouldn't allow me to take a non-European language for GCSE.'

(33) 'I think languages are so useful in travelling, reading, and generally having access to another culture and way of thinking. I grew up speaking Punjabi and would have liked to formally study it and regret doing it in my free time (although also not offered as an option at school).'

(34) 'I wanted to gain a qualification [in the HL], but I couldn't read or write it and I had no formal education in it at school like I did with French and Spanish.'

(35) '[The HL] wasn't offered to me at school. I did check as I would've liked to.'

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

(36) '[The HL] wasn't a popular language at my school so there was no option to gain a GCSE in it.'

4.3.5 The Desire to Study Languages Outside of the 'Big 3' (French, German, Spanish)

In the same vein, a number of respondents (37-39) commented on their appreciation for language learning but discontinued with post-compulsory formal language study because of the languages on offer. That is, they would have formally gained a qualification in MFL at post-16 but were unable to do so at their education centres.

(37) 'The languages on offer in my school at the time (French and Spanish) would not help me in my medical job, whereas knowledge of Romanian or Polish, for example, would really help.'

(38) 'I would have studied MFL at A-Level, but I am interested in other languages that weren't available at Sixth Form.'

(39) 'I do like learning languages but not the languages my Sixth Form offered.

4.3.6 Interim Summary

The data presented in Section 4.3 demonstrates that students who identify as part of the BAME community are generally absent from post-16 MFL study. Once again, qualitative responses in this section expand on the negative perceptions towards the study of MFL (this time perpetuated by parents, institutions and/or communities) which, in turn, remains a greater factor for motivational decline. Furthermore, respondents here also appreciated language learning, but were further detracted from MFL study due to the languages available at further education centres. Given that a large proportion of BAME respondents in this study declared having knowledge of a Heritage Language (76%), some respondents commented that they would have valued gaining a qualification in their Heritage Language(s) more than the 'big 3' (French, German and/or Spanish) which are typically favoured by most schools. Lastly, BAME respondents here mentioned not feeling included in the MFL classroom which also remained a culprit for motivational decline at post-16 (though it was not specified who they felt discouraged by — peers, teachers, and/or MFL curricula/material circulated by the exam boards?).

5 Discussion

This study aimed to explore current motivational trends towards post-compulsory MFL in England, focussing particularly on the impact of sociolinguistic factors and how this affects those in the BAME community. In summary, this study aligns with previous research (Parrish and Lanvers, 2018); results from this study concur that the perceived uninspiring MFL curricula by students and supposed difficulty of MFL, remain the biggest contributors to motivational decline. Regarding sociolinguistic factors, this study finds that group of students pursuing post-compulsory MFL at both post-14 and post-16 is comprised largely of White(-British) females. Furthermore, while there remains a slight socio-economic divide between those who are and are not studying post-compulsory MFL, there exists larger variations between school types. That is, students from a selective school (Grammar and/or Independent), in this study, were more likely to have MFL on their school profile. Finally, geographical tendencies occurred;

post-compulsory MFL uptake was highest amongst students coming from the southern regions of England. Focusing on trends within the BAME category in isolation, this paper found there to be a general absence of students who identified as BAME studying MFL at post-16. What follows in this section, therefore, is a critical discussion of the main findings in relation to the aforementioned research questions, which are also considered in light of the existing theories, scholarship, and empirical research. This section then concludes with an outline of the limitations of this study and any implications for future research.

5.1 Motivational Trends in the MFL Uptake

Much of the motivational factors behind choosing to discontinue studying post-compulsory MFL in this paper corroborate existing literature, whereby the (lack of) enjoyment of MFL in schools, difficulty of exams, and poor teaching remain amongst the top five factors for motivational decline (see Parrish and Lanvers, 2018; Taylor and Marsden, 2014; Fisher, 2001). Although Fisher's (2001) initial survey into MFL motivations was conducted in 2001, it still remains applicable to the present study, insofar as highlighting possible reasons for motivational decline. Fisher (2001) found that MFL was not a favourite amongst pupils, even if they did appreciate learning languages, due to the perceived disengaging curriculum, compared to other subjects (Fisher, 2001). This is echoed in the present study, whereby 62% of respondents who chose not to study MFL post-16 did not regret their decision, as seen in Section 4.1.7 of this paper. Respondents who did not continue with post-compulsory MFL study commented on both the subject's supposed usefulness and rigidness, which negatively affected their decision. Unlike studies by Parrish and Lanvers (2018), qualitative data here show that respondents do in fact value the usefulness of languages, often recalling positive experiences regarding language *learning*. However, this does not translate to official *study* of MFL in schools. Respondents feel it is external factors, such as fixed, exam-focused school policies[14], whereby little room is left to develop transcultural competencies which renders MFL supposedly futile. That is, respondents feel they could grow as better linguists through individual language study, where they learn supposedly more useful language[15], through language apps or direct immersion in the country (or countries) where the target language is spoken. They believe this will, in turn, help them achieve a greater level of fluency, which, for them, a qualification in MFL cannot. It is important to note, though, that while language learning apps may appear more attractive because of its quick and easy access to language learning and immediate feedback, general lack of overt corrections, and avoidance of a potentially stressful classroom context, apps, such as Duolingo, also implement the use of vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation drills to reinforce language learning. Therefore, while students may find these apps supposedly more useful, the premise itself does not differ greatly from a MFL classroom.

[14] Reactions towards these fixed, exam-focussed policies from educators arrive after the recent announcement of post-14 MFL content reforms which will be implemented in 2024. Students taking GCSE French, German and/or Spanish will be prescribed predetermined lists of 'high frequency vocabulary' (DfE, 2022a), of which at least 85% appear in the reading and listening elements of MFL exams (ibid.). Educators have expressed their disapproval of these reforms as though it encourages accessibility to students who may have previously struggled with the vast, open-ended content of MFL GCSEs (Martin, 2022), it remains 'prescriptive and grinding' (ibid.), focussing mainly on rope-learning and memorisation. This could, indeed, prove counterproductive and leave both students and teachers too exam focussed. Finally, this discourse raises two important questions: Firstly, *what* is defined as 'useful' vocabulary? Second, *who* decides what is 'pertinent' and 'exciting' and *for whom*?

[15] I take the respondents' interpretation of 'usefulness' with caution, though; for me, grammar and vocabulary retention, for example (which respondents refer to as 'boring' or 'ineffective'), remains unequivocally fundamental in providing the foundations for learning any language, and thus cannot be avoided.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

More attention could, indeed, be given to developing transcultural curricula, though, whereby perceived mundane elements of language learning are presented in innovative and more engaging ways. For example, Cazzoli (2022) has highlighted England's large focus on, and prioritisation of, acquiring sound proficiency of the Target Language(s) (TL), without consideration of the cultural makeup of the countries, wherein these languages are spoken. Instead, Cazzoli (2022) suggests that schools should be working alongside exam boards and educational publishing bodies to prioritise creating interculturally aware linguists and exposing students to diverse perspectives, by drawing extensively on the capital of linguistic and cultural diversity already present at most schools (Cazzoli, 2022). That is, MFL departments are typically made up of a body of multilingual students and staff (particularly if the school has access to native TL Teaching Assistants), which can be integrated and utilised as much as possible to achieve sufficient linguistic and cultural immersion (ibid.). While I appreciate that this is a significant first step towards intertwining culture into language learning, which may indeed render MFL more exciting, I believe it is not enough for students to be labelled 'culturally aware' on the basis of possessing the ability to recite facts and statistics about a language and the county's (or countries') makeup. Instead, I believe students should be taught how to reflect and think critically on this cultural knowledge, too, to effectively engage with the culture(s), deploy their newfound TL skills and become well-rounded, globally adaptable, robust linguists.

Furthermore, extrinsic factors, such as poor teaching and perceived difficulty of exams, further contributed to the negative perception of post-compulsory MFL study in this study. Respondents highlighted how, in some instances, little support was given by teachers in the MFL classroom, especially when grasping more challenging concepts, which ultimately deterred students from wanting to continue MFL study. More worrying still, one respondent in this study noted the alienation they felt as a dyslexic student and how unattainable a post-compulsory MFL qualification seemed for them, thus rejecting the subject in favour of others which they deemed as more accessible. Naturally, this one respondent cannot represent an entire community of students with learning difficulties, but it does raise the question: is enough support and training is given overall by exam boards and schools to sufficiently equip teachers with the adequate tools to render MFL as inclusive and accessible as possible, bridging the gap between GCSE and A-Level, and helping all students overcome that supposed 'jump,' irrespective of their learning abilities?

This overall perception of MFL qualifications being challenging aligns with previous research, though, whereby students in MFL typically score 0.5-1 grade lower compared to other subjects (Myers, 2016; Vidal Rodeiro, 2017). To understand how young people make choices at post-14 and 16, Blenkinsop et al. (2006) identified a series of educational mindsets, viz. the confident aspirational, the indecisive worrier, the unrealistic dreamer, the determined realist, and the comfort seeker (among others). They identified that 'the comfort seeker' student focusses on the outcome of their decisions, possesses a low risk tolerance, and would rather take choose subjects which they enjoyed, which then creates little pressure on them during their GCSE/A-Level years (Blenkinsop et al., 2006). In their study, this type of educational mindset was the second most frequently identified amongst their sample of secondary school-aged students. This 'comfort seeker' mindset can also be applied in the current MFL context: this pernicious combination of lower grades overall (as seen in previous literature), with students' experiences of discouragement from MFL teachers (in both literature and this study), justifies why students would not want to study a subject they feel they could not fare well in.

However, we cannot ignore how a minority of respondents in this study highlighted how they felt the current post-compulsory MFL curricula is, in fact, *not challenging enough*. They suggest that, in their experiences, uptake is in decline because content is too easy which in turn makes curricula and lessons, once again, supposedly boring and futile. One respondent noted how MFL exams did not permit students to adequately showcase their linguistic skills, but rather remained a simple test of memory

recall and/or rope learning skills. Further responses encouraged the implementation of new elements of language study (such as Linguistics and/or Translation) into post-compulsory MFL curricula to not only increase interest amongst non-linguists, but to stretch the minds of those who are considered more advanced, too. Sheehan et al. (2021) investigated the feasibility of implementing elements of linguistics into A-Level MFL classrooms, reporting that interest towards MFL did increase, as students welcomed the opportunity to engage intellectually with the history and/or structure of the target language(s). They also documented that the study of linguistics as part of their A-Level course augmented students' language-learning skills (Sheehan et al., 2021), too, as students reported acquiring a deeper understanding of specific aspects of the TLs (ibid.). Therefore, by bridging the gap between language skills and content, the introduction of linguistics into post-compulsory MFL curricula could, indeed, be a plausible first step towards improving engagement in MFL study, particularly amongst the most able students. We must remember, though, that the majority of respondents in the present study reported finding the existing MFL curriculum challenging. Therefore, perhaps the aforementioned linguistic elements could be introduced as specific pathways to take within MFL A-Level, for example, rather than become a mandatory component, so not to further overwhelm students with new aspects of linguistic study which they have not studied before.

Finally, Brexit, its aftermath and subsequent effect on MFL uptake, has been feared in MFL motivation studies, with research indicating that Brexit caused a supposed negative shift in attitudes towards MFL study (Broady, 2020). Interestingly, findings from this study dispute this claim altogether, as Brexit was considered the least important factor for motivational decline. However, it is important to note that a sample of respondents in this questionnaire may have completed their A-Levels prior to the Brexit era, whereby this concept would not have been applicable.

Overall, this paper concurs that the national decline of post-compulsory MFL has been attributed to growing negative attitudes and perceptions by students towards the systematic and policy issues within MFL.

5.2 Sociolinguistic Trends in MFL Uptake

Regarding the impact of sociolinguistic factors on MFL uptake, the present study aligns with ample studies from other anglophone contexts (viz. NI), insofar as discrepancies in school type are concerned. That is, respondents, in this study, were most likely to study post-compulsory MFL if they had attended a selective school. Henderson and Carruthers (2021) recounted similar results, whereby over half of NI non-selective schools (56%) reported having zero candidates for MFL in the 'big 3' (French, German or Spanish) in 2017/18. I do not take this to imply that students, in the present study, are 'missing' in English state schools, but rather, dwindling entries and subsequent diminishing cohort sizes are more prevalent in these schools, rendering them, perhaps, less financially viable to offer and run MFL, than selective schools, wherein there is less competition between subjects (Henderson and Carruthers, 2021). Data in this study supports this (see Section 4.1.4), wherein a respondent stated how they would have loved to have continued with post-compulsory study of Spanish, but felt it was not feasible at her school, where greater focus (and consequently funding) is supposedly given to STEM-related subjects.

In the same vein, this study highlighted the impact of socio-economic background on uptake, too. It revealed that the group of students who were more likely to continue on with post-compulsory MFL had a familial income above the national average. This corroborates previous evidence, illustrating that uptake is often highest amongst the most financially advantageous social groups, while conversely, remaining lowest amongst Free School Meal Entitlement populations (Collen, 2020; Henderson and

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

Carruthers, 2021). To explain this, *Bourdieusian* concepts are gaining credence among scholars, insofar as exploring ways in which attitudes towards MFL pertain to economic and cultural capitals. In a study of learners' attitudes towards MFL in state and Independent schools in London, Coffey (2018), reports the significant impact of economic and social capital: families attending the Independent school, where languages were taught, often undertook multiple European holidays, annually. Therefore, gaining a qualification in MFL could, arguably, be better valued for those with a higher economic capital, as it remains highly compatible with their travelling lifestyle and world view. By contrast, in the school where MFL was not offered, students reported coming from families who did not enjoy international mobility for leisure, and placed little importance on studying MFL.

This study also reported various geographical disparities regarding uptake, with uptake being favoured extensively by students in the southern regions of England. Collen (2020) discovered similar regional differences; an overwhelming percentage (65%) of students study post-compulsory MFL across inner London boroughs, yet only 43% of students study in the North East. The media has depicted this as the generalised 'North-South' divide (Coughlan, 2017). However, by choosing to focus their article on geographical inequalities in isolation, Coughlan (2017) fails to consider wider demographic disparities which could, indeed, affect uptake in the North: namely socio-economic inconsistencies or cultural and linguistic diversity which varies geographically (Graham, 2017). Therefore, given the greater linguistic diversity in London (Office for National Statistics, 2018), general higher rates of tourism, and greater access to international flights, it is understandable why uptake may remain higher there.

5.3 Trends in MFL: the Context of BAME

Examining ethnicity as a factor in isolation for motivational decline, this study confirms the findings by Vidal Rodeiro (2009), insofar as documenting a vertiginous drop of MFL uptake by the BAME community at post-16. Motivational factors for this group did not drastically deviate from the overall motivations, as the perceived boring curriculum, once again, remained a salient factor. However, divergences in this study are prevalent in the latter half of the motivational rankings, whereby the (lack of) provision of (Heritage) languages in school remained more important to BAME students. For example, 76% of those who identified as BAME reported knowing a HL; however, when asked if they pursued - or would consider pursuing – gaining a qualification in it (given that many are provided by the main exam boards), only 19% of these respondents chose to carry it on.

There are many reasons for the motivational decline of post-compulsory MFL study amongst 'BAME' students. While Moore (2005) found that BIPOC students in the United States were less likely to relate to a Eurocentric curriculum (Moore, 2005), qualitative answers in this present study revealed that it was a combination of both the 'racially exclusive' European curriculum[16] coupled with the importance placed on European languages by schools which deterred BAME students from pursuing post-compulsory MFL study in England. That is, even if students remained intrinsically motivated to gain qualifications in a language, it was often unviable, as HLs were perceived as inferior to the 'big 3.' Respondents in this study further commented on how schools often do not do enough to encourage

[16] During the time of this paper being written, important talks encouraging the *Decolonisation of the MFL classroom* were becoming more prevalent across the country. Here, academics, teachers and policy makers came together to discuss how to 'counteract racially discriminatory practices in the Secondary MFL classroom' (Panford, 2021). Ultimately, Panford and Irvine(2021) suggest that while teachers can actively promote diversity themselves by incorporating and considering diverse histories and ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in their lessons, it should fundamentally become the responsibility of the Government and exam boards to review subject and exam materials effectively to promote inclusivity (ibid.). While these recommendations have yet to be implemented, these discussions have contributed to a broader debate promoting inclusivity in the MFL classroom, which, once acted upon, could indeed promote uptake amongst BAME students.

a larger intake of BAME students into language and arts subjects, too. Collen (2020) and Carruthers and Nandi (2020) support this finding that schools often place non-European languages at the bottom of the 'language hierarchy.' This begs the question of whether BAME students would be more inclined to gain an MFL qualification, if the right or most valuable languages to them were offered at school? However, as seen above, non-selective schools typically struggle to gain funding to run MFL; therefore, financial constraints could, indeed, hinder the possibility of studying HLs, rendering this discourse more complex. Furthermore, while it is unclear from the aforementioned responses who the respondents were being discouraged by, this finding aligns with Glynn's (2007) study, wherein BAME students discontinued with MFL study after feeling misunderstood and discouraged by schools.

In the same vein, BAME non-linguists in this study expressed a high preference for independent language learning over formal language study, which influenced their decision to discontinue with formal MFL study. Further conclusions can be deduced in this context, thanks to the aforementioned interplay of HLs. That is, language apps, such as Duolingo, often provide a greater array of languages at users' disposal, which, in turn, presents students with the opportunity of mastering languages more pertinent to their aims and desires (especially in the case of BAME students with knowledge of a HL), than the 'big 3' (French, German and Spanish) dominating English schools.

Lastly, the apparent unnecessity of an MFL qualification remained a top predictor for (lack of) MFL uptake at post-16 amongst students who identified as part of the BAME community, reflecting a similar trend to the overall motivation, too. This signified that an MFL qualification was not undertaken, as respondents reported pursuing a career which required a different set of subjects. However, amongst BAME respondents, parental influence was a greater motivational factor when decision-making, with general negative attitudes towards MFL generally stemming from both the respondents' family and wider community (instead of schools). Qualitative responses here illustrated how MFL can, in some instances, be perceived as a 'soft subject' with supposedly little job prospects, thus for them, can be seen as supposedly futile and not worth studying, compared to more 'vocational' subjects such as 'STEM'. Reasons behind the increased uptake of 'STEM' subjects and consequent decrease of MFL (and arts) uptake amongst BAME students[17] — whether driven by cultural differences or biases (institutional or individual) – remains unclear in existing scholarship. Supported by responses in this study, one theory pertaining to relative risk aversion by BAME students has gained prominence amongst scholars. Mcmaster (2017), for example, theorises that BAME students are amongst the group of students who are most likely to make financially beneficial decisions to study subjects which supposedly have more secure job prospects and a higher financial return (Mcmaster, 2017). Mcmaster (2017) notes that minority ethnic students are less likely to receive high degree classifications and are more likely to be unemployed after graduation (Runnymede Trust, 2014). Therefore, given the apparent additional barriers generally experienced by BAME students, it is understandable why a vocational degree and subject may be more attractive to this group as it presents greater security when entering the job market.

A further theory explores the idea that parental educational and professional backgrounds can perpetuate this negative perception of MFL, thus influencing BAME students' post-compulsory choices. For example, Archer et al. (2012) found that when BAME students are choosing their A-Level subjects, they may, indeed, be more influenced by family to study subjects which are already familiar

[17] Note here that the relationship between 'ethnicity' and participation in 'STEM' is complex. While I refer to minority ethnic students as 'BAME' generally, there often remains disparities between ethnic groups in uptake of STEM-related subjects. For example, while Chinese and Indian students are more likely to study STEM-related subjects, African, Caribbean and Bangladeshi girls are notably underrepresented here (Mcmaster, 2017). Therefore, conclusions and theories made in this section should be interpreted with caution and generalisations should not be made, so not to conflate communities.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

to them and their familial background. This means that if a student's father had studied a STEM degree, there would often exist a relative 'science capital' within the family (Archer et al., 2012), which can further perpetuate and (directly or indirectly) influence the next generations of students to study a subject which parents or elder family members have experienced to be a perceived 'success.' While this remains a credible theory behind negative perceptions towards MFL by some members of the BAME community, data including parental background and their respective education and career trajectories, if any, is lacking in this study. Thus, future qualitative research could explore the aforementioned sentiments further, and focus specifically on whether student and parental attitudes mediate the relationship between post-compulsory subject choices, particularly in MFL and the arts. This is so effective interventions are implemented, and no further students forgo an MFL education, as a result of their ethnicity.

5.4 Limitations and Implications for Future Research

Whilst the current study remained significant in highlighting current motivational trends, there are several limitations to consider. Firstly, although this study improved the validity and reliability of previous research (especially with the contribution of qualitative answers), the sample for non-MFL respondents was considerably small. Similarly, respondents who identified as BAME constituted for less than half of the overall sample. While this was expected, generalisations based on these findings should be made with caution, as they account for just a small minority. Nonetheless, given the paucity of research in this manner, it does not significantly impact results, but instead acts as a plausible first step towards ethnicity and language uptake research in England. Furthermore, this study failed to recognise various significant GCSE and A-Level reforms which occurred throughout this decade, which may have, indeed, impacted respondents' decisions. Finally, while this study has attempted to explore any extralinguistic factors in relation to post-compulsory MFL uptake, it has not fully considered socioeconomic factors, insofar as the number of family members, postcode and potential entitlement to free school meals are concerned. Therefore, these results should, once again, be interpreted with caution. Given the time, word, and resource limitations, though, these identifications and analyses remained too large for the nature of this project.

To this end, future qualitative study could be given to further understanding and improving, BAME motivations towards MFL, achieved through interviews, for example. Though not addressed here, future research could build on Graham et al.'s (2012) study by comparatively exploring motivations in relation to other, more popular subjects (which respondents in this study noted as more exciting), highlighting what features are perceived as more attractive and why. These suggestions would facilitate the identification of MFL specification discrepancies, enabling policy makers to implement effective interventions and play a role in potentially transforming MFL pedagogy. In the same vein, future study could follow on from current discourses encouraging the *Decolonisation of the MFL Classroom* (see footnote 18), by exploring the feasibility and idea of moving away from the 'big 3' group of languages (French, German and Spanish), and offering languages which perhaps may be seen as more pertinent and useful to students, particularly those part of the BAME community (of whom 76% reported knowing a HL in this study but refrained from gaining a qualification in it due to rigid school policies and lack of availability in schools). Similarly, respondents of all ethnicities in this paper commented on the desire to study transnational and transcultural material wherein their TL is spoken, as they feel this education would help students become more engaged in MFL and render them supposedly better globally aware than from the content currently covered in MFL curricula. To this end, future research could build on Cazzoli's (2022) argument of maximising resources existing in MFL departments, by exploring the role of TL Teaching Assistants in schools and their effectiveness in MFL

classrooms, for example, as well as evaluating current TL teaching approaches and curriculum design. Building on MFL pedagogy, multiple respondents in this study further commented on the supposedly poor quality of teaching they experienced which dissuaded them from pursuing post-compulsory MFL study. Previous literature has also highlighted that, in some instances (such as with students whose L1 was not English), MFL teachers have felt the least prepared to teach this group of students, compared to other disciplines (Hewitt, 2022). Worse still, this paper has seen that pre-service training in this area is somewhat lacking, despite it being stipulated by the English DfE. Therefore, future qualitative study could interview current educators of EAL students to effectively comprehend the current situation, discern what aspects of preparation are supposedly lacking from current ITT, suggest effective implications, and revisit and redesign the training materials distributed on ITT courses. Additionally, although ethical constraints prevented collaborating with school-aged children in this study, a study on a greater scale, could further test the existing findings on the current and/or next generation of linguists and educators, assessing the effectiveness of governmental reforms. Finally, this study focussed solely on a small subset of the English population. Therefore, an amplification of this study could comparatively examine the robustness of wider MFL curricula across all four nations of the UK, to discern various functionalities and recognise any interventions required.

Although the aforementioned considerations have broader implications for further MFL research, the empirical evidence showcased here has, on the whole, successfully highlighted a national motivational decline in pursuing post-16 MFL study, not entirely because of sociolinguistic factors, though; but rather the interplay of intrinsic and extrinsic factors, such as supposed rigid school policies and perceived boring curricula. Therefore, this paper concludes by calling for amendments to school and educational policies, insofar as building a curriculum which extends beyond Europe to enhance inclusivity, as well as providing the pedagogical tools, training, and support for educators to effectively do so.

6 Conclusion

This empirical study has exhibited robust findings, lending credence to previous research, insofar as documenting that, while there remain plenteous highly motivated students pursuing post-compulsory MFL in England in this study, there, ultimately, remains a national motivational decline, particularly at post-16. Deep analysis of the motivational factors behind this decline in this study, signified that students are, generally, intrinsically motivated to learn languages but are dissuaded from gaining qualifications, due to negative perceptions of curricula, lessons, and supposed exam difficulty. Furthermore, sociolinguistic trends occurred, indicating that gaining qualifications in MFL is, typically, limited to those with higher economic and cultural capitals (Carruthers & Nandi, 2020). Lastly, this paper confirms the general absence of BAME students in post-compulsory MFL in England. Building on previous theories from the United States, it concludes that motivational trends do not differ based solely on respondents' identification with the BAME category, as students do, generally, want to study MFL. Instead, it is external factors, such as rigid school policies impeding the study of non-European HLs, for example, which do not avail. However, the increasing attention surrounding the *Decolonisation of the MFL Classroom* discourse in England — wherein focus is dedicated to revising the current MFL curricula, forcing exam boards to promote the ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of the target language countries, including those beyond Europe (Panford, 2021) — indicates the essential first step taken by the relevant bodies towards tackling the ethnicity decline in post-compulsory MFL uptake, and promoting interventions to counteract this.

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

Although this study has contributed to the reliability and validity of existing research, it would be fruitful for future research to build on this current study, by adopting additional qualitative methods, to explore motivational factors in relation to other subjects, in turn enabling effective reforms to be made. Given the relatively small sample of those who chose not to study MFL and those who identified as BAME in this study, too, this need for qualitative methodology and further study is particularly essential to avoid generalisations. A qualitative study (such as the implementation of focus groups with both students and teachers alike) would further promote a controlled environment, enabling the researcher to determine an accurate and representative sample and effectively elicit responses, so to avoid disparities that occur with the self-selecting nature of the snowballing research methodology.

While this article does not naturally lend itself to definitive conclusions about the vastly differing experiences of (socially, racially and financially) disadvantaged and minoritized students in post-compulsory MFL in England, the research in this study has, ultimately, successfully provided rich contextual and empirical evidence in support of its hypothesis and illuminated gaps in existing literature. Overall, this study acts as an invaluable and unequivocal first step towards tackling the so-called 'MFL Crisis' and improving recruitment to post-compulsory MFL in England.

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8 Appendices

8.1 Appendix One – Motivational Items in Parrish and Lanvers (2018)

The following appendix contains the response options for the motivational item: 'As far as you can remember, how important were each of these things when you decided whether to take a language or not?' as seen in Parrish and Lanvers (2018).

1. Getting an EBacc

2. Being seen as an academic student
3. Whether I liked the teacher
4. Whether my friends were doing it
5. Whether I thought I would get a good grade
6. How much I liked the subject
7. Choosing subjects I thought were important to know
8. How useful I thought it would be

8.2 Appendix Two – Copy of Questionnaire

Section One: Background Information

The following questions ask for demographic information. Please answer as accurately as possible.

Q1. How would you best describe your gender?

1. Male (including transgender men)
2. Female (including transgender women)
3. Non-binary
4. Prefer not to say
5. Other

Q2. What nationality do you best identify with?

1. White - English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British
2. White – Irish
3. White - Gypsy or Irish Traveller
4. White – Other
5. Asian / Asian British – Indian
6. Asian / Asian British -Pakistani
7. Asian / Asian British – Chinese
8. Asian / Asian British - Sri Lankan
9. Asian / Asian British – Bangladeshi
10. Asian / Asian British – Other
11. Black/Black British – African
12. Black/Black British – Caribbean
13. Black/Black British – Other
14. Mixed/multiple ethnic groups - White and Black Caribbean
15. Mixed/multiple ethnic groups - White and Asian
16. Mixed/multiple ethnic groups - White and Black African
17. Mixed/multiple ethnic groups – Other

Q3. What is your parents' annual household income on average?

1. Less than £10,000

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

2. £10,000-£20,999
3. £21,000-£25,999
4. £26,000-£35,999
5. £36,000-£51,999
6. £52,000-£77,999
7. £78,000 or more
8. Unsure
9. Prefer not to say

Q4. Where in England did you go to secondary school?

1. North East
2. North West
3. Yorkshire and the Humber
4. East Midlands
5. West Midlands
6. East of England
7. London
8. South East
9. South West

Q5. What type of school did you attend?

1. State (mixed)
2. State (single sex)
3. Grammar (single sex)
4. Grammar (mixed)
5. Independent (single sex)
6. Independent (mixed)

Q6. Is English the first language you acquired as an infant?

1. Yes, only first language
2. Yes, English was my first along with another language
3. No, I learned English later in my childhood/life

Q7. Did you grow up with knowledge of a Heritage Language?*

*A language typically learned at home during childhood, but which is not the dominant language spoken in society. e.g., Urdu in the UK; Spanish in the United States

1. Yes
2. No

Q7a. You selected **Yes.** Please specify which Heritage Language you know. Please select all that apply:

1. Spanish
2. Mandarin
3. Russian
4. Cantonese
5. Korean
6. Arabic
7. Tagalog
8. Hindi
9. Urdu
10. Tamil
11. Japanese
12. Portuguese
13. Other

Q7b. Did you gain a qualification in your Heritage Language? E.g., a GCSE in Arabic, Urdu or Bengali etc.?

1. Yes
2. No. Please specify why _____

Section Two: Experience of MFL in Schools (post-14)

The following questions ask about your experience of MFL in secondary school (post-14). Q1. Did you take a GCSE in a Modern Foreign Language (MFL)? **Please respond to each question using the scale below. Please answer open and honestly, there are no right or wrong answers.**

1. Yes
2. No

Q1.a. You selected **Yes.** Which language(s) did you take your GCSE in? Select all that apply:

1. French
2. German
3. Spanish
4. Other

Q1b. Why did you take that specific language(s) over the others? Please rank your answers from most important (1) to least important (5).

I found it more exciting than the others (1)
It was the only language available at my school (2)
I thought it would be the language I'd get best grade in (3)
It was compulsory - My school made me do one but I wanted to (4)
It was compulsory - BUT I didn't want to do one (5)

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

Section Three: Experience of MFL in Schools (post-16)

The following questions ask about your experience of MFL in secondary schools (post-16).

Q1. Did you choose to study a language post-16? (i.e., at AS/A Level, IB or University?)
Please respond to each question using the scale below. Please answer open and honestly, there are no right or wrong answers.

1. Yes
2. No

Q1b. You selected **No.** What factor best influenced your decision? Rank your answers from most important (1) to least important (10).

_____Parental influence - they deemed it not necessary as I already had knowledge of another language (e.g., Heritage Language like Urdu, Portuguese etc.) (1)
_____Lack of motivation - I found languages boring and unengaging (2)
_____My Further Education centre (college, sixth form) didn't offer preferred language (3)
_____Poor teaching/no teacher suitable to teach (4)
_____Not needed for degree choice - (e.g., Medicine) (5)
_____Exams too difficult - jump from GCSE to A Level too high (6)
_____Not enough subject space - already chosen 3 A Levels (7)
_____Prefer to do it on own in free time at one's own pace (e.g., with Duolingo) (8)
_____I didn't consider it important after Brexit (9)
_____Wasn't a diverse discipline - both curriculum content & teaching staff/peers (10)
_____I wasn't aware of the benefits of languages jobs-wise (11)

Q1c. Do you regret not carrying on with MFL post-16? Please explain why/why not.

1. Yes__
2. No__

Q1d. Hypothetically, if you had carried on with MFL post-16, what would your motivation(s) have been for doing so? Please rank the following from most important (1) to least important (10).

_____I would've wanted to become fluent in the language (1)
_____It would've been (one of) my best grade(s) at GCSE (2)
_____It would've been a useful subject to have (3)
_____I would've been motivated by an inspiring MFL teacher (4)
_____I would've found content interesting (5)
_____I'd already had a background in that language (6)
_____Parental influence - I would've been taught that languages open doors in the future (7)
_____I would've wanted to live abroad in the future (8)
_____It would've complemented my other subjects well (9)
_____It might've helped me get a job after school (10)
_____Other (11)

Q1b. You selected Yes. What factor best influenced your decision? **Rank your answer from most important (1) to least important (10).**

_____I wanted to become fluent in the language (1)
_____It was (one of) my best grade(s) at GCSE (2)
_____It was a useful subject to have jobs-wise (3)
_____I had an inspiring teacher (4)
_____I found the content interesting (5)
_____I already had a background in that language (6)
_____Parental influence - they thought languages would open doors in the future (7)
_____I wanted to live abroad in the future (8)
_____It complemented my other subjects well (9)
_____Other (10)

Q1c. Do you regret carrying on with MFL post-16? Please explain why/why not.

1. Yes _
2. No __

Q1b. You selected **No.** Why didn't you choose to study a language post-14?
Please rank your answers from most important (1) to least important (5)

_____I didn't find languages exciting (1)
_____Languages (and/or language teachers) weren't available at my school (2)
_____I didn't think I would do well/exams were too hard (3)
_____It wasn't compulsory (4)
_____My parents thought a different subject would be better suited (5)

Q1d. Do you regret not carrying on with MFL post-14? Please explain why/why not.

1. Yes__
2. No__

Q29 Any other comments?

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. If you are happy to be contacted by the researcher for a follow up interview, please leave a name and email address to be contacted by:

About the Author

Zara Fahim is an MPhil Theoretical and Applied Linguistics student (by advanced study), specialising in Romance linguistics at Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages and Linguistics and St John's College, University of Cambridge. The work of this paper, though, was completed during her time at University of Birmingham, when studying for the BA Modern Languages (French, German, Italian) degree, graduating in 2021. Originally having a predilection for pedagogical, educational and racial

Received: 19/10/2021
Revisions: 01/10/2022
Accepted: 09/11/2022

linguistics (including attitudes, sociolinguistics and Heritage Languages), she has since revisited her multilingual roots and is now focussing her research interests on theoretical syntax, comparative Romance linguistics, Italian dialectology and contact issues, particularly between the Germanic and Romance families.

Acknowledgements

I must thank every tutor and peer who has taught, advised and/or supported me (and this paper) cross-linguistically throughout the BA Modern Languages course at Birmingham, with particular gratitude to my two linguistics academic rocks, without whom none of this would be possible: To Dr Alice Corr, primarily for supervising this project, bringing all of my overambitious ideas into fruition, all the 'nitpicking,' and being the general sounding board to my (somewhat chaotic) academic & life ideas, even in life post-graduation. Most importantly, I thank you for being the first teacher to truly believe in me, introduce me to this world, and push me towards academic opportunities way beyond my own perceived capabilities (such as applying to JoULAB, Cambridge, and beyond).

Thanks must also go to the other half of my linguistics 'hype' team, Dr Norma Schifano, for sparking a love for syntax and Romance (especially Italian) linguistics, pastorally pulling and guiding me through a turbulent bereavement period in which this paper was primarily written (with daily check-ins, motivational quotes and songs), the endless, honest academic feedback (even when no longer a student at Birmingham), and for always, always being at the other end of my 5am emails and tearful 6pm Zoom calls (even on a Friday!), equipped with academia- and Cambridge-related, personal and relatable anecdotes, advice and rational action plans to my habitual catastrophic thoughts.

Ultimately, the success of this paper would not have been possible without data from the incredible (and unknown!) 319 respondents across the country who kindly gave up their time during multiple COVID-19 lockdowns to help me conduct primary research. Never did I expect to reach a sample size that high, but it brings me great hope and joy that so many of our current young generation are just as invested in fighting for a more inclusive MFL.

Special mention should also go to those for further insightful academic and amicable support when writing this paper at Birmingham, namely: Dr Caroline Ardrey, Lucy Mountain, Ashleigh Wiggins, Emily Petrie, Sophie Redvers, Hannah Evans, Eleanor Smith, Ellie Ashley and Hollie Barber, alongside the unwavering academic support system I have found on Twitter in Dr Mathew Rickard, Dr Antonia Wimbush, Dr Tara Talwar Windsor, Lauren Ogden and Owen McArdle, and the emotional support from my parents and guinea pigs, Loretta and Liesl, who were the perfect cuddly companions during data analysis and never-ending tabulation sessions.

Finally, to my late maternal and paternal grandmothers, and uncle who I lost in the process of writing this paper, in loving memory.

To Align or Disalign: Navigating Japanese First-Person Pronouns from the Classroom and Beyond

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Abstract. First-person singular pronouns in Japanese act as a salient tool for identity construction. Japanese speakers have dozens of pronoun options available to them, with each indexing manifolds of pragmatic information such as masculinity/femininity, assertiveness, and social distance. Despite this, Japanese second-language (L2) classrooms typically take an over-simplistic and prescriptivist approach to Japanese speech styles, begging the question of how those who have learned the language primarily through classroom instruction are able to navigate such a highly-pragmatic pronominal system, especially when existing literature overwhelmingly focuses on L2 speakers who have experience in full-immersion settings. To address these discrepancies, I conducted a focus group with five English-speaking classroom learners of Japanese. By taking a grounded approach and subsequently coding the data for affective stances, I found that certain stance-takings allowed participants to either align, or disalign with the pronoun choices that were taught to them in the classroom. It was additionally found that the intersubjective tactics which shaped participants' pronoun choices were highly contextual and learner-dependent, with the symbolic authoritative power of academic institutions playing a crucial role in hindering not only L2 identity construction but also L2 identity exploration. As such, this study calls for critical pedagogy where classroom learners are empowered, rather than prescribed the L2 identities they are able to negotiate.

Plain English Abstract. For effective communication to take place, it is said that sociopragmatic competence is key: the ability to appropriately vary one's speech depending on the social situation. Japanese is one such language where sociopragmatic competence is especially crucial. One instance of this is the selection of first-person singular pronouns (1PPs). Whereas English only has one 1PP, 'I', Japanese has over one dozen, with each expressing varying degrees of pragmatic information such as masculinity/femininity, politeness, etc. Thus, in selecting a 1PP, Japanese speakers are inherently creating a distinct social identity. Navigating such a highly-pragmatic pronominal system would seem rather challenging for Japanese second-language (L2) learners. Yet, existing research overwhelmingly focuses on the experiences of study abroad students, ignoring a major population of L2 speakers: those who have learned Japanese primarily in the classroom. Moreover, studies show that classrooms present Japanese speech styles in an oversimplified fashion, inhibiting students from wholly expressing their L2 selves. To address these discrepancies, I conducted a focus group with five English-speaking classroom learners of Japanese. Through employing a grounded data analysis approach, affective stances emerged as a salient trend, and it was found that certain stances allowed participants to either align or disalign with the pronoun choices they were taught in the classroom. By drawing connections between their experiences in authoritative academic institutions and their notable ambivalence towards exploring new identities in Japanese, this paper concludes by calling for critical pedagogy, so that classroom learners may feel more empowered in choosing their true, desired L2 identity.

Keywords: sociolinguistics; L2 identity negotiation; second language socialisation; Japanese; first-person pronouns; stance-taking

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1 Introduction

For speakers of English, the act of 'choosing' a first-person singular pronoun (1PP) is not a difficult one as there is only one option: 'I'. However, for speakers of Japanese, this decision becomes more nuanced. Japanese theoretically has an infinite number of personal pronouns because they make up an open syntactic class (Toguchi, 1997). This means that existing 1PPs frequently change and new forms can easily be added to the language. With so many pronoun options available to the Japanese speaker and with each one indexing vast collections of pragmatic information, both first-language (L1) and second-language (L2) speakers, then, essentially have a great deal of self-agency in the construction of their social identity.

However, for effective communication to take place, Japanese speakers must also have a certain degree of sociopragmatic competence. This can be described as the ability to appropriately vary one's speech in consideration of the social context and communication conventions typical of that culture/language. As an L2 Japanese speaker myself, the task of navigating the Japanese pronominal system became rather daunting as I grew more aware of such sociopragmatic complexities; yet prescriptivist pedagogies in the classroom continued to restrict my linguistic choices to ones deemed as 'appropriate' for foreign speakers, in effect, controlling the L2 identity I was able to construct for myself. Indeed, Japanese L2 classroom instruction in North America largely fails to equip students with the framework needed to navigate such a pragmatic system; and at the same time, full-immersion settings are argued to be the key in attaining such competence, with studies often depicting learners who, after their time abroad, blossom into active social agents (Iwasaki, 2010) when negotiating their L2 identity. This raises two important questions: Firstly, for L2 speakers who have never been immersed in Japanese-speaking communities, how do they come to understand the highly-pragmatic Japanese pronominal system? Secondly, how do learners decide on what 1PP to use when they may not identify with, nor want to align with the narrow scope of options presented to them in the classroom?

This paper will explore such questions while making reference to Language Socialisation Theory (Ochs, 1993; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), and more critically, the Relationality Principle as defined by Bucholtz and Hall (2005). Through conducting a focus group and coding the data for affective stances, I will first describe the ways in which participants' affective stances diverged from each other, allowing them to assume either convergent or divergent social identities that aligned or disaligned with their classroom instruction. I will also attempt to report on the intersubjective relations and personal factors that became salient in participants' selection of pronouns, and the extent to which this is incidental to their past experiences as students in Japanese L2 classrooms.

2 Background

2.1 Japanese First-Person Singular Pronouns

One hallmark of the Japanese language is gendered speech, which includes first-person singular pronouns. With a society based on traditional gender roles, gendered speech in Japanese is both a reflection of and a means by which these social expectations are perpetuated, as males and females are expected to stick to their prescribed speech styles. Despite this, when we look at real discourse practices by L1 speakers, we find that gender alone cannot predict one's discourse, and it is not uncommon to hear even girls using stereotypically masculine speech (Miyazaki, 2004; Okamoto, 1995). Existing

Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

literature has additionally shown that both L1 and L2 speakers use pronominal forms as a means to index manifold social meanings such as assertiveness, solidarity, formality, and social distance, to name a few (Abe, 2004; Brown & Cheek, 2017; Hanaoka, 2020; Lee & Yonezawa, 2008; Miyazaki, 2004; Sturtzstreetharan, 2009). Other factors such as age (Sturtzstreetharan, 2009) and even the topic of conversation (Lee & Yonezawa, 2008) can influence one's pronoun choice in Japanese. As each 1PP carries a unique set of social indexes, and with no one pronoun being entirely neutral (Coomber, 2013), the act of choosing a self-referential form is heavily situated in context (Abe, 2004; Miyazaki, 2004). To ignore the social dynamics of the immediate environment is to ignore the very foundation upon which Japanese pronouns take on pragmatic meaning, making sociopragmatic competence especially key to intercultural communication.

Table 1 (adapted from Hanaoka, 2020) shows some of the most commonly used first-person singular pronominal forms via a scale of intensity, albeit being a highly simplified representation. There is a positive relationship between intensity and strength of gender indexicality and a negative relationship with politeness indexicality. For example, the coarse male pronoun 'ore' would be considered highly masculine and also informal (Miyazaki, 2004). It should be noted that the most common 'form' of 1PPs in Japanese is actually non-occurrence (i.e., when the pronoun is not overtly marked). However, since significant sociopragmatic meaning emerges when pronouns are overtly stated (Lee & Yonezawa, 2008), this study will only focus on such forms.

Table 1: *Gender indexes of common first-person singular Japanese pronouns, by intensity*

	Intensity			
	Delicate.....Coarse			
Male	'watakushi'	'watashi'	'boku'	'ore'
Female	'watakushi'	'watashi'	'atashi'	

Not listed above, but nonetheless important to the discussion of this paper is the pronominal form, 'jibun'. Originally a self-reflexive pronoun, 'jibun' has more recently begun to be used as a 1PP, with Shibamoto and Smith (2003) classifying it as masculine and formal, traditionally associated with men in sports or militaristic groups (Kanamura, 1997, as cited in Abe, 2004). On the other hand, in a study investigating speech styles used at lesbian bars in Tokyo, Abe (2004) found that lesbians, especially those in their early twenties, highly favoured 'jibun' because they believed it most indexed gender neutrality. Given the insufficient research on this pronominal form, I will not attempt to position it among Table 1.

2.2 Normative Practices in Japanese L2 Classrooms

Students in Japanese L2 classrooms are made aware of Japanese first-person pronouns from the very start of their education, as one of the first things they learn is self-introductions. However, there are limitations in how students are invited to use these pronouns. For example, they are merely taught that 'watashi' is used by both boys and girls, and that 'boku' is only used by boys. Thus, learners recognize

early on that pronoun selection in Japanese is based on social factors, yet this approach fails to convey the full extent of sociopragmatic complexity within the Japanese pronominal system. In a survey of seven popular Japanese language textbooks, Siegal and Okamoto (2003) found that stereotypical differences in gendered speech styles and gender roles were overemphasised, and readers are given the impression that they must adhere to these prescriptivist rules. Additionally, Cook (2008) found that there was an oversimplification of 'polite' speech in beginner-level Japanese textbooks, implying that this style *only* conveys politeness, and failing to mention the highly situation-dependent metapragmatic considerations that must be accounted for during Japanese discourse. Expanding on this topic in the classroom would seem especially important English L1 students who are entirely unfamiliar with these types of speech style contrasts.

The powerful role that teachers assume within classrooms must also not be underestimated, as endowing such prescriptivist approaches and punishing colloquial ways of speaking runs the risk of deterring students away from their Japanese studies. The prevalence of traditional gender ideologies in Japanese society, even today, is not to be dismissed; however, given that the discourse practices of L1 speakers themselves clearly do not always obey those social expectations (Abe, 2004; Miyazaki, 2004; Okamoto, 1995), Japanese L2 instruction should effectively communicate the reality of the Japanese language. Recent literature has pointed out the utility of authentic teaching materials (Cook, 2008; Ohara et al., 2001; Yoshida, 2011) and advocated for critical pedagogy[18] (Brown & Cheek, 2017; Cook, 2008; Higgins, 2010; Kumagai & Sato; Moody, 2014; Ohara, 2011; Ohara et al., 2001) so that students may make informed linguistic choices vis-a-vis real L2 practices, and thus feel empowered in the L2 self that they are projecting.

3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Second Language Socialisation

The study of language socialisation, as defined by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986, p. 167), 'has as its goal the understanding of how persons become competent members of social groups and the role of language in this process'. That being so, it is perhaps not hard to understand why research on L2 socialisation overwhelmingly focuses on speakers who have studied abroad, showing how this immersive environment can increase sociopragmatic competence (Dewaele & Regan, 2001; Iwasaki, 2010; Iwasaki, 2011), metapragmatic awareness (Kinginger & Farrell, 2004), and Japanese sociolinguistic competence (Cook, 2008; Hanaoka, 2020; Siegal, 1994; Siegal, 1996; Yoshida, 2011). At the same time, this literature generally fails to acknowledge an essential group of L2 speakers: those who have been socialised primarily in the classroom and have zero experience being immersed in L2 speech communities (this population will be broadly referred to as 'classroom learners' hereinafter). It is, needless to say, unrealistic for all L2 speakers to live in such immersive speech communities. Hence, the current study aims to present classroom learners as equally legitimate participators in language socialisation processes.

In a culture like Japan's, which prioritises social order and tradition, it has been argued that the goal of speakers is to adhere to Japanese social norms (Ide, 2012) where self-agency and self-expression are largely irrelevant in the appraisal of speech styles (Mishina, 1994). However, to assume this level of passiveness on part of the speaker would not account for the studies which showcase the often

[18] See Ohara et al. (2001) for more discussion on how critical pedagogy may be implemented in an L2 Japanese classroom.

Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

deliberate, non-conforming practices by Japanese L2 speakers, even in the face of L1 speakers who try to 'correct' their speech via explicit verbal socialisation (Brown & Cheek, 2017; Coomber, 2013; Iwasaki, 2010; Iwasaki, 2011; Kinginer & Farrell, 2004; Siegal, 1994). Siegal (1994) conducted an ethnographic longitudinal study on the study abroad experiences of four young adult women and found that they strategically constructed their speech styles vis-a-vis their personal views on Japanese gender ideologies. One speaker, for example, chose to adopt more masculine speech because she viewed the interactional behaviours of the Japanese women around her as 'shallow' (ibid., p. 335) and did not wish to portray herself in that way, even despite being chastised by other L1 female speakers. Indeed, L2 speakers are able to assume active learner roles, and the socialisation process is not merely a linear assimilation into L2 norms (Rampton, 1991). That being said, however, as classroom instruction alone largely fails to equip students with a robust sociopragmatic framework, the effect of prescriptivist ideologies and explicit socialisation on classroom learners' willingness to not conform warrants further investigation.

3.2 L2 Identity and the Relationality Principle

L2 language socialisation and L2 identity go hand in hand, as social identities are co-constructed and rooted in interaction (Ochs, 1993). Social identities are further discursively established via stances, defined by Ochs (1993, p. 288) as 'a display of a socially recognised point of view or attitude'. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) present a comprehensive analysis framework in an attempt to highlight such intersubjective aspects of identity. For the purposes of this study, I will be focusing specifically on their Relationality Principle, which calls to attention three complementary relations ('tactics of intersubjectivity') that inform and are created via identity construction:

(1) Adequation and Distinction stresses that two entities must only be situated as adequately (dis)similar for them to be positioned as (dis)alike (e.g., choosing a 1PP in Japanese because its gender indexes are viewed as most akin to your own gender identity)
(2) Authentication and Denaturalisation emphasises how identities are discursively verified/falsified, and how 'real' identity is a social process situated in interaction (e.g., using the same 1PP to index different social meanings depending on the immediate context)
(3) Authorisation and Illegitimatisation shows us how through institutionalised structures and ideologies, identities may be affirmed, dismissed, or even ignored (e.g., using a certain 1PP because academic institutions instructed you to).

Research has demonstrated that L2 Japanese speakers, both beginner and advanced, are very much active agents in constructing their L2 identity (Brown & Cheek, 2017; Iwasaki, 2010; Iwasaki, 2011; Ohara, 2001; Ohara, 2011; Siegal, 1994). They are able to strategically form speech styles based on their existing knowledge of how social meanings are indexed via linguistic forms, even those who come from dissimilar linguistic backgrounds such as English. However, research in the field of L2 identity, like that of L2 socialisation, widely focuses on speakers who have been lived fully immersed in the L2 (Higgins, 2011; Kumagai & Sato, 2009; Morita, 2004; Ohta, 1993; Pavlenko, 2001). This completely dismisses the experiences of classroom learners, even though classroom instruction arguably remains the norm for L2 acquisition. Moreover, in my survey of literature hitherto, I have come across zero

studies that look specifically at the identity negotiation of classroom learners via 1PPs, even though pronouns are a particularly salient tool for identity construction in Japanese (Ide, 1979). Further considering the limitations of normative classroom practices, if students are only given a prescribed list of pronoun options, we must ask ourselves what happens when an individual does not identify with, nor wants to align with the L2 positionality they are subjecting themself to/being subjected to.

With the rapid globalisation of modern societies, increased exposure to media sources also becomes a rich source of authentic L1 input. Consequently, the opportunities to learn about and explore new L2 identities increase manifold, especially for those in restrictive classroom environments who would not have access to such identities otherwise (Ohara, 2011). That being said, the act of (re)positioning (Pavlenko, 2001) oneself amidst the new language is not always a frictionless process, even for those immersed in the L2. In fact, a common theme within Japanese L2 research is speakers who struggle to balance their 'foreigner' identity and its accompanying social expectations, with the L2 identity that aligns with their personal values and authentic self (Coomber, 2013; Iwasaki, 2010; Iwasaki, 2011; Ohta, 1993; Siegal, 1994; Yoshida, 2011). Coomber (2013) conducted semi-structured interviews with four male L2 speakers living in Japan and found that one speaker, despite being told by his wife that he matched the image of moderately-masculine 'boku', continued to use the more gender-neutral 'watashi', stating that using the other forms would feel as if he is 'artificially choosing the type of person [he wants] to be perceived as' (p. 177). These tensions are further complicated by learners' desire to position themselves as authentic users of Japanese, often altering their speech to legitimise themselves as competent speakers (Brown & Cheek, 2017; Ohara, 2001). From this, we can see that the act of choosing a pronoun is not always a simple projection of self-identity onto pronominal form, but rather the pronoun navigation process is one guided by an interaction of similarity, authentication, and authoritative axes. These relations ultimately allow the speaker to either align with their desired L2 identity, or align with the L2 identity that their immediate social group wants them to project.

At the nexus of language socialisation and L2 identity negotiation, lies the current study. To address the disparities outlined in this Section, the current paper is guided by the following research questions:

> **RQ1** – When L1 English learners of Japanese are faced with a differing system of first-person pronouns, how do they navigate this system and decide what pronoun to use, while remaining immersed in a predominantly English-speaking environment?
> **RQ2** – What connections, if any, can be drawn between their past experiences in the Japanese classroom and the stances they express toward pronouns, and their selection of first-person pronouns when using the language?

This study is not an investigation into the direct effects of classroom instruction on students' pronoun choice, nor does it assume that classroom instruction is their sole source of information on Japanese 1PPs. Rather, this is an investigation into the ways one's experiences in the Japanese L2 classroom may, or may not, influence their acquisition of pronouns and process of pronoun selection, inside and outside of the classroom, and beyond.

Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

4 Methodology

4.1 Participants

Participants were recruited via word-of-mouth through classmates at my home university with whom I was enrolled in Japanese courses at the time of this study. They all consented to participate on an entirely voluntary basis, and the eligibility requirements were as follows: be an L1 speaker of English, be at an intermediate–advanced level of Japanese, have not lived in/attended school in Japan, and be in a predominantly English-speaking environment at home and school. In other words, participants had to be strictly L2 speakers of Japanese who have received classroom instruction for a prolonged amount of time (classroom learners). As the aim of this study was to investigate how participants' overall role and experiences as a classroom learner, not instructional content itself, may have influenced their pronoun choice, it was not necessary to control for the type or length of classroom instruction that they received. Students with a higher level of proficiency were chosen for this study not to dismiss novice learners who could indeed very well identify with their L2 identity (Ohara, 2011), but the linguistic choices of advanced speakers may be more firmly rooted in personal ideologies vis-a-vis the L2 (Ohara, 2001), and hence, they were thought to be more capable of verbalising these stances. While a proficiency test was not administered, all participants were in the third or fourth year of their respective Japanese degree programs at the time of the study, of which upper-division language courses and thus advanced-level proficiency is required.

A total of five participants were selected; the lack of resources and fixed participation requirements resulted in this limited sample size. Nonetheless, diversified gender identity representation was strived for even among this smaller participant group. See Table 2 for a more detailed overview of the participants[19]. Their ages ranged from 20–23, with total years of Japanese classroom instruction ranging from 3 years (having only taken university-level classes) to 9 (having taken classes since middle school). At the time of this study, all participants were attending universities located on the west coast of the United States. Everyone's linguistic backgrounds consisted of only English (L1) and Japanese (L2)[20].

[19] All participant names used in this paper are pseudonyms.

[20] There are dialectal variations of Japanese self-referential forms (Fujiwara, 2000 as cited in Lee & Yonezawa, 2008). However, since all participants reported in the demographic survey that they do not speak any regional dialects, and as their most commonly used pronouns can all be described as Standard Japanese, the discussion of this paper does not expand on dialectal forms.

Table 2: *Overview of focus group participants*

	DEJAH	JESSICA	LAUREN	HUNTER	RYAN
Age	21	23	21	20	22
Gender	Non-binary	Female	Female	Male	Male
Race	Asian	White	Asian	Asian, White	Asian, White, Pacific Islander
Long-term residence	California	California	Hawai‘i	Hawai‘i	Hawai‘i
Major	Japanese, Linguistics	Japanese	Japanese, Computer science	Japanese	Japanese
Years of Japanese classroom instruction	3	5.5	9	5	9
Non-classroom instruction	Clubs, tutoring, online videos/apps	Clubs, online videos/apps	Online videos/ apps	None	None
Primary 1PPs	‘watashi’, ‘jibun’	‘watashi’	‘watashi’	‘watashi’, ‘boku’	‘watashi’ (mainly) ‘boku’ (sometimes)
Main source of Japanese input	Friends, news, social media	Teachers, friends, TV	Friends, social media	Teachers	Teachers, friends, TV, social media

4.2 Data Collection

Data were collected in the form of a demographic survey and focus group. In addition to basic demographic information, the survey collected data on participants’ Japanese language use and instructional history; participants completed this before the focus group. A single focus group was conducted on April 3 2022 and lasted approximately one hour. This method was chosen because group dynamics allow for a self-reflective environment and richer exchange of ideas; thus, topics can be explored in greater depth to uncover insights that may not have been verbalised without such interactional data (Ho, 2006). With this approach, ‘the information obtained reflects the social and overlapping nature of knowledge better than a summation of individual narratives through interviews and surveys’ (Nyumba et al., 2018, p. 29). Furthermore, as a focus group generates discussion ‘without imposing a conceptual framework compared with a structured individual interview’ (ibid., p. 29), it is particularly suited for tackling relatively unexplored areas of research, such as the topic of this current paper.

The current focus group was conducted entirely in English (except when stating Japanese pronouns). Combined with the small participant number, this ensured that each participant had their voice heard. A list of questions was made beforehand (see Appendix One), and the set and order of questions were largely adhered to during the actual focus group. I, acting as both the facilitator and moderator, was able to draw on my own experiences as an L2 Japanese speaker to encourage participants to voice their personal stories and create a friendlier atmosphere. The focus group was conducted entirely online via the video conferencing platform *Zoom*. Audio and video recordings were

Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

taken and participants consented to keep their cameras on throughout its duration, allowing for a more natural discussion and the nonverbal communication hallmark of an in-person, face-to-face (FTF) focus group. Studies that implement, or even studies that take a descriptive analytic approach to fully virtual focus groups are tremendously scarce, and rarer still within the field of sociolinguistics. One limitation to this method may be technological challenges due to the individual's lack of experience with virtual mediums; still, it has been shown that the amount of data richness produced in online audiovisual focus groups is chiefly similar to that of FTF (Abrams et al., 2014). Further, given that all participants were enrolled in classes conducted via *Zoom* for at least one full academic year due to the Coronavirus pandemic, they were assumed to be much more accustomed to online-synchronous interaction than previous literature may convey. Finally, as going fully virtual would widen the scope of my already limited target population, the benefits of this data collection method outweighed the potential limitations.

4.3 Analysis

After the focus group was conducted, the audio was transcribed verbatim with conventions adapted from Hepburn and Bolden (2013) and Higgins (2011) (see Appendix Two for full transcription conventions). Nonverbal cues were not analysed as they did not play a significant role in participants' accounts. This study took on a grounded approach and employed emic coding, where the themes were generated from participants' discourse (Saldaña, 2013). In prioritising participants' voices, salient codes were not determined by frequency, but rather were taken from the comments that participants themselves made salient during the focus group (e.g., via impactful word choice or emotive tone). When analysing the data under this approach, it became apparent that social identities and affective stances needed to be specifically addressed. These data were then further categorised into stances that allowed participants to (1) align or (2) disalign with their classroom instruction on 1PPs. Eight overall trends were then extracted (four from each (1) aligning and (2) disaligning stances) and one focus group excerpt that most explicitly illustrated each trend was chosen. Two out of the eight trends were further broken down into two sub-trends, and in these cases, one quote was selected per sub-trend. This made for a total of ten excerpts, or ten salient instances of stance-taking which summarised the overarching themes found in the data.

As this study took on a qualitative approach, it aimed for a holistic understanding of how this group of participants was able to make sense of the Japanese pronominal system, while taking into consideration their experiences as classroom learners. The tactics outlined in the Relationality Principle were referenced when exploring how different social relations may have influenced participants' pronoun selection. Their responses were examined against other participants', against various points in the focus group, and against the information collected via the demographic survey in order to extract comprehensive trends. Interesting insights were also gathered by looking at the interaction of learning experiences and social stances.

5 Findings

5.1 Mapping of Findings

Overall data findings are summarised in Figure 1. They will be further discussed throughout this section, with Figure 1 acting as a theoretical roadmap guiding the trajectory of this analysis. At the centre of the diagram, and focal to this current study, is Japanese 1PP learning experiences via classroom instruction.

This is shown as an interaction with real-world learning experiences to account for the often intersecting and concurrent ways that these types of 'instruction' were found to shape the language socialisation of participants. Through these experiences, and stemming out from the centre of the diagram, are the stances that allowed participants to either discursively align or disalign with the pronoun choices taught to them in the classroom. These stances then inform participants' convergent or divergent social identities, ultimately assimilating to or challenging the 1PP teachings of instructors. The eight stances depicted correlate with the eight overall trends extracted from the data analysis, and their respective labels in Figure 1 are directly inspired by the 10 chosen excerpts, summarised into the specific stances participants displayed at that moment in time. The 10 quotes selected will guide the discussion in the following subsections.

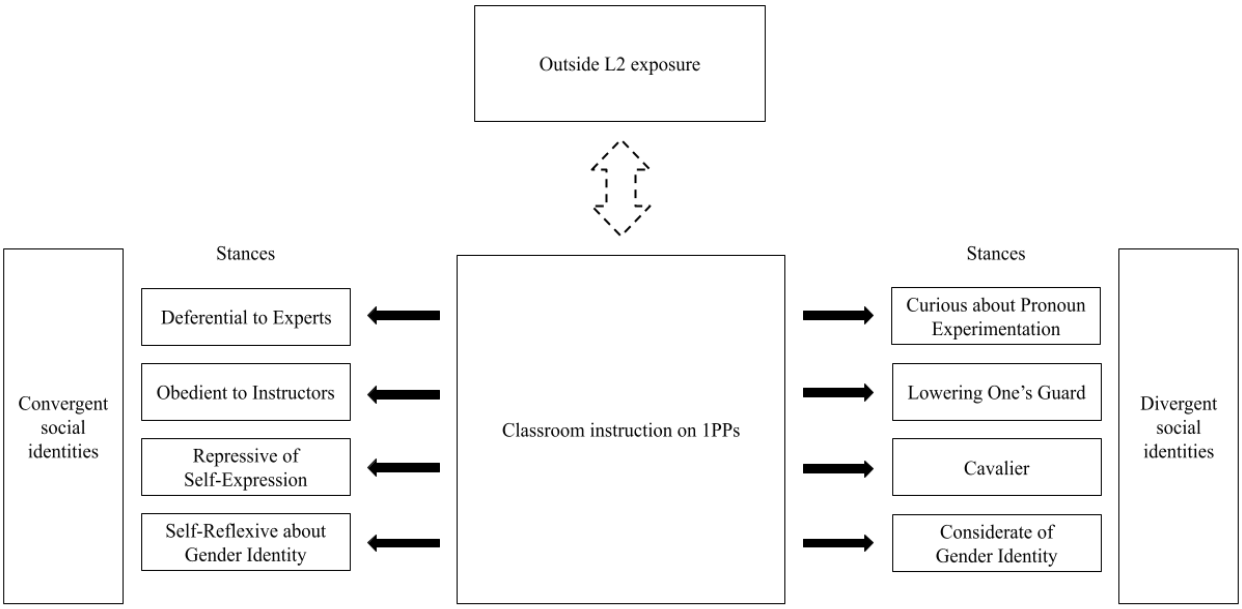

Figure 1: *Mapping of aligning and disaligning stances in relation to instruction.*

Classroom experiences are represented as the starting point of participants' navigation process, precisely because this was where their first interactions with Japanese 1PPs took place. Defining such experiences serve as a necessary baseline for answering RQ2, and thus I will dedicate this paragraph to do just that. Similar to previous findings (Cook, 2008; Siegal & Okamoto, 2008), all participants in this study reported receiving very minimal instruction on 1PPs. Regardless of participants' varying geographical locations and levels of academic institutions, they reported that their classroom instructions predominantly centred around the notion that 'watashi' is for both boys and girls, and 'boku' is only for boys. This binary spectrum of 'watashi' and 'boku' is the classroom instruction that I refer to hereafter when describing participants as assuming an 'aligning' or 'disaligning' stance. Participants also noted that even in instances where 1PP variations were introduced (e.g., 'ore', 'atashi'), their copious indexical usages were not expanded upon. It was additionally clear from the data that albeit being classroom learners, outside exposure to the L2 (e.g., media, L1 speakers models) played an important role in the stance-takings of all participants by challenging what was being taught in the classroom. This interaction of real-world and classroom learning experiences thus necessitated a place in Figure 1. However, it should be noted that it is depicted as a dotted arrow, rather than a solid one, as

Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

it was not always made clear from the data whether or not participants' outside explorations directly affected, or were necessary for the production of the eight specific stances shown above.

5.1.1 Convergent Social Identities

The first aligning stance that I will discuss is labelled, 'Deferential to Experts', with experts being L1 speakers. This was the most common aligning stance, and it was one that I could further categorise into sub-stances: 'Scared' and 'Reticent'. Ryan frequently exhibited the 'Scared' variety and cited his awareness of Japanese sociolinguistic complexities as causing him to overthink his pronoun choice. Notably, when I asked participants whether or not they liked Japanese 1PPs, most participants responded with mixed feelings, whereas Ryan never explicitly mentioned any positives and expressed a great deal of overwhelmingness and fear:

(1) Deferential to Experts: Scared

> Ryan: In Japan there's like, like kind of like this 'senpai-kohai' relationships and like, kind of like that vertical hierarchy in the way. So you kind of like need to be careful, like when you use like certain pronouns. So like you don't re-, like in a way like, 'watashi' is like the safest and 'boku', kind of like, maybe in the way creates like maybe a closeness, or something like that? But then I think like one time I also learned like, other pronouns like 'ore' can kind of come across as a little offensive in a way if, if you don't use it, like in the right context and the right situations.
> [...]
> So it's kind of a little, um, a little scary to like venture, venture out with like that proper like native knowledge, or like guidance, on how to use pronouns in different situations.

Defaulting to 'watashi' as a means of coping with sociopragmatic-related anxiety and confusion was also a strategy seen in Hanaoka (2020). Ryan goes on to note later in the focus group that he would like to experiment with other pronouns, but that his 'shy' and 'neutral' personality hinders this possibility, highlighting the effect of one's natural disposition in the construction of L2 identity.

Turning now to the other sub-stance, 'Reticent', Jessica exhibits reserve via a rather interesting avoidance strategy:

(2) Deferential to Experts: Reticent

> Jessica: I think I use 'watashi' in the hopes that it won't cause any perceptions that I don't want there.
> [...]
> I think that just the, the amount of times I'll use 'watashi' in a sentence definitely shows that I'm not a native speaker because I'm always tryna like denote, like "I'm talking about me here." Um, in that regard, it could be like, 'Oh my gosh, she's so self-centred, always using this pronoun all the time.' Like maybe, I don't know. But yeah, I think I, I almost want it to not say anything at all about me because we want to avoid the assumptions made by other ones.

Jessica experiences dissonance between the way she wants to be perceived (unmarked) and the way she thinks she is being perceived by L1 speakers (marked as a non-native speaker). However, this dissonance is created unintentionally, as it is her English background, which requires overtly-marked

pronouns, that consequently leads to her uncontrollable/unconscious (over)use of 1PPs in Japanese. Giving unnecessary information (e.g., overtly marking the subject) is a sign of clumsiness in Japanese (Maynard, 1997, as cited in SturtzSreetharan, 2009), yet trying to adhere to these interactional norms as an L2 speaker can result in sociolinguistic inappropriateness for those who do not yet have complete control of the language (Siegal, 1996). In Excerpt (2), then, it is the act of using pronouns itself that risks exposing Jessica's identity as an incompetent speaker, and she opts to use 'watashi' as a counteractive measure, similar to how Ryan reasoned that 'watashi' was the 'safest' choice as an L2 speaker. Thus, their decision to use 'watashi' is motivated by both a desire to fit in with L2 norms and as a means of deflecting attention away from their 'foreigner' identity; in Excerpts (1) and (2), it is the use of the term 'native' that relationally positions Ryan and Jessica as outsiders, inferior to the authoritative power of L1 experts.

The second aligning stance is labelled, 'Obedient to Instructors'. Jessica identifies a new type of authoritative power in Excerpt (3), that is, the hegemonic academic institution, and squarely positions herself against instructors, rather than general L1 experts. It is worthy to note that while Japanese language instructors may very well be L1 speakers, this is not something to be assumed; instructors will be discussed here as merely representative of larger institutionalised powers in the context of academia.

(3) Obedient to Instructors

> Jessica: Something that I kind of felt that I wish was a little different when we were being taught it, was like, there are all these pronouns, but there is like a limit to what we were allowed to use in class almost? Like, the way that it's taught like, for example if I was taking like an exam and I needed to write a sentence in a certain like, situation, um, like I dunno, like you're, doing an interview or something and like address the, introduce yourself to the speaker or something like that. It'd almost be like, well I feel like I have to use this pronoun or I'm going to get the question wrong because this isn't how it was taught to me and what's appropriate.

As a follow-up to Excerpt (3), I asked the group if anyone else has had an experience similar to Jessica's. It was then Lauren who notably remarked that while the learner would have more pronoun agency when interacting with speakers outside of the classroom, it is the teacher who both influences and restricts the learner inside of the classroom. Hence, Jessica's choice to align is no longer motivated by a desire to establish legitimacy as a Japanese speaker, but rather a desire to succeed as a student. When considering the broader academic institution, it would be over-simplistic to denote this as passive obedience, for the maintaining of face (Goffman, 1967) via alignment with institutional authority can have significant consequences on one's academic and professional career. If the L2 learner is predominantly socialised in the classroom, then, these findings suggest that the influence of the institution itself may be the most salient factor in determining a convergent social identity.

The fourth aligning stance is labelled, 'Repressive of Self-Expression', and as Jessica further exhibits, one can take on multiple stances depending on the matter at hand. When proposed the hypothetical situation, 'In this focus group right now, if we were speaking Japanese, what pronoun would you use?', Jessica was able to critically apply her understanding of Japanese discourse practices:

Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

(4) Repressive of Self-Expression

> Jessica: In a focus group, like an academic focus group I think that 'watashi' is just like appropriate. I think 'atashi' would be, I don't know, I'm not even sure exactly why, but it just doesn't seem right. Maybe it's, cause it's not the time to like, project femininity, like, in this setting. Do you know what I mean? Like, there are times like maybe if I was out like, doing something cute, I'd want to use 'atashi', but here it's like, it's a formal like thing where that part of me, part of my identity isn't relevant. So I think 'watashi' is just kind of almost like more plain, and therefore appropriate.

Jessica earlier noted that the only times she uses 'atashi', if at all, is in extremely casual or joking settings with friends, showing that at the same time she exists as an obedient student, she is also a Japanese speaker keenly aware of sociopragmatic concerns. In Excerpt (4), however, her decision to not use 'atashi' is not grounded in the fact that 'atashi' is informal; rather, it is the fact that 'atashi' is marked for femininity, and when speaking Japanese in formal settings, one should instead aim to project a 'plain' identity. Thus, she is able to evaluate the immediate context and decide the social indexes upon which to base her pronoun choice. Unlike Excerpt (3), she is no longer opting for 'watashi' out of compliance with institutional powers; this is a conscious, selective restriction of self-identity stemming from advanced sociolinguistic understanding in the L2, in the act of maintaining face.

The final stance that I will discuss in this section is labelled as 'Self-reflexive about Gender Identity.' Hunter exhibited this stance-taking as he contemplated between pronominal forms 'ore' and 'boku':

(5) Self-Reflexive about Gender Identity

> Hunter: I was looking at like stuff online, like apps and stuff like that too. And then it was saying 'ore' was more like masculine and I don't really think I would classify myself as that? I would just stick to like 'boku'.

Here, the influence of L2 media is unmistakable: It introduces Hunter to a new pronoun option, 'ore', yet it is precisely because of this that Hunter continues to use 'boku' because exposure to media created an opportunity for him to be self-reflexive about his masculinity and the L2 identity he wanted to project. The interaction of media and classroom instruction, however, is not always as frictionless as Excerpt (5) may depict. For example, Hunter also described the first time he heard a female using 'boku' when he was watching an 'anime': Because of the way that 'boku' was presented in class, he assumed that it was used only by males, leading him to be thoroughly perplexed when the female character used it, even going on to question if she was actually a man. The reason for Hunter's confusion is precisely his experiences as a classroom learner, for if he was not taught a binary spectrum of merely 'watashi' and 'boku', he would not have such a constrained impression of Japanese pronouns in the first place. This highlights the ways that narrow-scope instruction may actually hinder students' acquisition processes, if every interaction with authentic L2 input utterly contradicts what they were taught in the classroom up until that point. For Hunter, what could have been a normal media interaction was a fundamental breakthrough in his understanding of Japanese. This type of confusion, caused by a disparity between L2 practices in the media versus in the classroom, was a prominent trend throughout the focus group. Therefore, it can be generalised that participants' experiences as classroom learners significantly influenced their pronoun selection, even beyond classroom walls; and, that L2 media plays

a key role in the socialisation process of classroom learners as it introduces them to authentic discourse practices.

5.1.2 Divergent Social Identities

The first disaligning stance is labelled, 'Curious about Pronoun Experimentation,' and is further broken down into sub-stances 'Cautious' and 'Frustrated'. This highly salient and affective stance-taking would occur when participants expressed their interest in exploring non-normative 1PPs, and notably, Excerpts (6) and (7) come as Lauren's and Jessica's response to my question of whether or not they have ever encountered any challenges when using 1PPs. This is perhaps symbolic of the fact that participants' desires to experiment were often followed by feelings of caution, disappointment, and frustration, a phenomenon not entirely uncommon among Japanese learners as a whole (Yoshida, 2011).

Again showcasing the powerful role of L2 media, it was Lauren who first communicated her desires to try non-normative 1PPs within the first six minutes of the focus group: Through YouTube videos, she was exposed to the pronoun 'ore', yet as most of the YouTubers were male, she felt that she was not allowed to use 'ore' even though it seemed very 'fun.' Excerpt (6) describes her contradicted feelings towards using another 1PP not commonly taught in the classroom, 'atashi':

(6) Curious about Pronoun Experimentation: Cautious

> Lauren: For example, 'atashi', like the way that's perceived, like whenever I hear it in like, um, these are like dramas or like show settings, but whenever like a character would use it, it would be like a super duper like really really cute or a flirty girl. And I'm like, 'I don't know if I want to be perceived as tha:t.' But there's also settings for like, you know, like other girls use it too, but it's like, what are they gonna, you know, what is the immediate perception of me using this in this situation?

In Excerpt (1), Ryan also exhibited hesitancy deriving from fears of projecting an undesirable image of himself; however, that positionality resulted in fear and deference, whereas Lauren continues to inquire about and use non-normative forms. One rationale for this divergence might lie in their overall attitudes towards the Japanese pronominal system. As mentioned earlier, when I asked participants whether or not they liked Japanese 1PPs, most expressed mixed feelings, and Ryan was the only one who failed to mention any positives. By direct contrast, Lauren was the only one who announced, 'I like Japanese pronouns. Straight out.' It can be argued then that strong positive attitudes towards Japanese pronouns correlate positively with stances that allow the learner to disalign with classroom teachings.

The second sub-stance is labelled as 'Frustrated', with Jessica relaying her desires to experiment through her exasperations with narrow-scope classroom instruction:

(7) Curious about Pronoun Experimentation: Frustrated

> Jessica: I don't recall who said it, but one of us in this focus group was like, there are so many that I like want to try using just because they seem kind of fun. And I felt like I shouldn't use a lot of them, learning like from books and also just from my professors being like, 'Don't use that, that sounds weird.' But I'm like, 'Well, why not? It's kind of, it's kinda cool.' So, I don't think that's a challenge, but maybe just something I was like a little bit, sad about maybe?

Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

While Jessica effectively displayed convergent identities in Excerpts (2), (3), and (4), it is evident from Excerpt (7) that she is in fact still eager to experiment and diverge from classroom teachings. One's L2 identity is not static; it is rooted in interaction. Likewise, the factors which influence identity construction may also take on different roles when we look at these scenarios via different scale points. For example, it was institutional authority that led to Jessica's obedience in Excerpt (3), yet also her resistance in Excerpt (7); and looking more closely at the type of academic context, we find that Excerpt (7) refers to general classroom interactions, while Excerpt (3) refers to test-taking scenarios in which the salience of institutionalised authority and desire to maintain face is arguably much greater. Thus, it is not hard to see how the settings that occasion learner deference may also occasion defiance, as these identities are constructed via distinctive degrees of authorisation relations.

The second disaligning stance that I will discuss is labelled, 'Lowering One's Guard'. Lauren said early in the focus group that she sometimes uses 'oretachi' (the plural form of 'ore') when hanging out with male friends. But, she later expressed her hesitancy towards using the singular form of 'ore', which I then questioned her about:

(8) Lowering One's Guard

Liv:	Have you ever used 'ore' when talking just about yourself?
Lauren:	I guess it would depend on the person. Um, if they kind of knew like, how I already am and like, we're kind of just like long time friends then I guess I would if like, kind of joking around or having fun? But not to someone who I don't know that well.

Lauren was more likely to use this highly-masculine form when talking to close friends, not necessarily as a way of indexing familiarity and playfulness, but because it is in these intimate settings that she feels able to express these social meanings and not create any off-putting perceptions of herself. Similarly, Ryan mentions that only if he had a close group of Japanese-speaking friends, would he feel comfortable exploring more masculine pronoun options such as 'boku' and 'ore'. This is not because he wishes to project a masculine identity only around close friends, but rather because the repercussions of creating a potentially marked gender identity are less severe in casual settings (again touching upon their knowledge of Japanese interactional norms). Thus, the choice to use marked pronouns does not always directly stem from a desire to index masculinity/femininity or familiarity among interlocutors; sometimes, the immediate social dynamics are judged to be more tolerant of L2 speakers who merely wish to explore new L2 positionalities, especially by those who have already grown acculturated to confining classroom environments. When Lauren and Ryan use coarser pronouns only in intimate settings, it is a symbolic authentication, and exploration, of such identities that allow them to lower their guard when speaking Japanese.

These smaller social groups allow for more nuanced settings even within otherwise seemingly monolithic structures, such as the classroom. For example, L2 speakers may limit themselves to 'watashi' and 'boku' when assuming the role of student, and at the same time, may use 'ore' when assuming the role of classmate or friend. Even Hunter, who previously noted that he did not identify with the gender indexes of 'ore', later mentioned that he occasionally used 'ore' when talking to his friend in class. It is the immediate context that determines what factor(s) become most salient in pronoun choice and suggests 'the rhetorical flexibility [people] have to position themselves in different ways at different moments for different purposes' (Abe, 2004, p. 211).

The third stance, labelled as 'Cavalier', comes in contrast to all previous excerpts, with Dejah expressing high modality in choosing 'jibun' as her preferred pronoun:

(9) Cavalier

Dejah: I feel pretty comfortable using what I, I use.
[...]
Um, I'm just like, eh, if I used 'jibun' and they think it's wrong then I'm just like, whatever. It's like, it has enough overlap, there, I'm just like, I don't care.

The phrases 'whatever' and 'I don't care' are especially reflective of, and performative of their cavalier stance. Another characteristic that sets Dejah apart from the other participants is their passion for pronouns, even stating that they investigated the indexical usages and history of Japanese 1PPs on their own time. It is important to note, however, that in addition to being a Japanese major, Dejah is the only participant with a Linguistics background as well, keeping in mind the potential effect that this could have had on their L2 understanding and consequently L2 self-confidence. Even considering this, however, it seems important to once again call attention to the influence of natural disposition on L2 identity. Ryan was another participant who displayed sociolinguistic awareness in Excerpt (1), yet his shy personality frequently results in hesitation when speaking Japanese, a direct contrast to Dejah's cavalier stance. Jessica also demonstrates sociolinguistic competence in Excerpts (3) and (4), yet she never displays modality to the extent of Dejah's. Therefore, it may be argued that sociolinguistic competence does not correlate with levels of L2 self-confidence, nor whether one assumes a disaligning or aligning stance. Even with similar classroom experiences, the language socialisation processes of classroom learners can significantly differ nonetheless, in which the influence of personal factors must not be overlooked.

Another factor to consider in the construction of L2 identity, is gender identity. As discussed in Excerpt (5), a self-reflexive stance towards gender identity may lead to alignment with classroom teachings. However, using 1PPs as an adequation of gender identity may instead lead to non-convergence, as Dejah shows us in this final disaligning stance called, 'Consideration of Gender Identity':

(10) Considerate of Gender Identity

Dejah: When I use 'jibun', it's not as a reflexive pronoun. I typically use it, well, I mean, I do use it in the reflexive, as a reflexive pronoun, but also as a personal pronoun. Um, because it, it does denote kind of more gender neutral- I guess it indexes more gender or gender neutralness and like non-binary-ness or queerness.

Here, unlike Excerpt (5), a consideration of gender identity is no longer a mere by-product of exposure to new pronominal forms; instead, gender identity is the consideration upon which Dejah chooses her 1PP. Stating that it denotes gender neutrality, their interpretation of 'jibun' precisely aligns with the findings of Abe (2004). Interestingly, however, Dejah also mentions in the focus group that, due to the frequent use of zero subjects in Japanese, her use of 1PPs becomes a form of emphasis and focus, rather than a means of indexing gender or formality. If this is the case, then perhaps the indexical meanings upon which one chooses a pronoun, are not always the same indexical values upon which one negotiates identity in real-time discourse. In other words, even though Dejah recognises 'jibun' as her preferred pronoun because of its gender indexes, other meta-linguistic phenomena may take prominence when

Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

using ‘jibun’ in actual speech. This is a clear example of identity authentication, as ‘jibun’ serves to construct Dejah’s L2 identity by taking on the indexical values they themself wish to make salient in the present discourse.

In line with existing literature on L2 identity construction (Coomber, 2013; Iwasaki, 2010; Ohara, 2001; Ohara, 2011; Siegal, 1994; Siegal 1996; Yoshida, 2011), the participants in this present study were very much active social agents in their navigations of Japanese pronouns. Rather than choosing pronominal forms which merely projected the L2 selves they identify with, or the formality indexes that are most appropriate for a given context, the findings suggest that such a straightforward one-to-one mapping is not always the case and that the indexical meaning(s) of pronouns may arise from, or change as a consequence of the pronominal form and social setting itself. As discussed through Excerpts (8) and (10), Japanese 1PPs may be chosen as a means of identity authentication at the same time they act as identity adequation, where the set of indexes embedded in a certain form may not always be the indexical values that speakers’ wish to project in actual discourse as other social meanings or goals become more salient. Moreover, the immediate social environment alone may authenticate one's desire to simply explore a new form, notably, without much personal attachment to the form itself. Whereas previous studies have depicted the linguistic choices by L2 speakers as heavily grounded in reasoning, where the decision to use a certain pronoun is a direct consequence of previous learning experiences and/or the self-reflexive states brought on by such experiences (Coomber, 2013; Hanaoka, 2020), the current findings unveil a complementary, rather light-hearted decision-making process, that is, wishing to use a pronoun because it seems ‘cool’ and ‘fun’. Such a stance, seeming to exist irrelevant of participants’ background, is perhaps a phenomenon familiar to classroom learners who have continued to be restricted by academic institutions, while still being exposed to outside L1 sources that challenge the scope of such narrow instruction. In these cases, prior to and more salient than a strong level of identification with the pronominal form comes a simple desire to get acquainted with the form for themselves, the version of the form that exists outside of the classroom. This additionally points to the authoritative powers of instructors and academic institutions in shaping L2 identity negotiation, which appears to take prominence over other identity relations when looking at the L2 socialisation processes of classroom learners as a whole.

5.2 The Influence of Non-Nativeness on L2 Identity

Given the above findings, there still remains one theme that was critical to the L2 identity construction of all participants: the dichotomisation between themself, the ‘non-native foreigner speaker,’ and ‘expert native speakers’. When I asked Hunter about the ways in which he thought other Japanese speakers perceive him, rather than commenting on one of the many social indexes tied to 1PPs, he seems more concerned about his positionality as a non-native speaker:

(11) Non-native foreigner speaker identity

Liv:	What are some assumptions you think other speakers make about you based on the pronoun you use?
Hunter:	Maybe you’re like, or like almost still a learner of Japanese, not like fluent or anything? So like, kind of like, ‘Oh, he’s kind of like using like maybe like basics’ or something like that, and is not like, using like, stuff that’d be like normally used in a Japanese speaking environment.

Previous studies have showcased L2 speakers who do not heavily associate with their Japanese self and view parts of this identity as ingenuine to their true character (Coomber, 2013; Iwasaki, 2011; Siegal, 1994), suggesting that speakers regard their L2 and L1 selves as rather independent from each other. By contrast, when participants were asked if the ways they expressed themselves in English differed from Japanese, none expressed detachment or heavy identification with either language. Nor did they comment that their positionalities in either language felt performative or inauthentic, implying that their L1 and L2 identities are viewed as one 'self'. Nonetheless, while participants did not outright reject their positionality as a 'non-native speaker', it was a component that they did not wish to call attention to, despite being highly salient, as previously discussed in Excerpts (1) and (2). This can be linked to a keen desire to fit in and maintain positive face, which when analysed vis-a-vis group membership dynamics plays a key role in being accepted by L1 speaker communities and increasing sociolinguistic competence (Iwasaki, 2011). All participants agreed that their choice of pronoun would change if they were to live in Japan citing the reason for increased exposure to L1 models, not with a desire to imitate such models, but because they thought hearing how pronouns are used in authentic discourse would allow them to feel more confident in their own pronoun choices. Their goal as speakers of Japanese was to develop high enough sociopragmatic competence to where they are capable of freely using non-normative practices in an unmarked way; and still, this statement relies on one key assumption: that being an L2 speaker inherently taints their legitimacy as users of Japanese.

The fact that these participants are L2 speakers is something that, needless to say, remains true regardless of their proficiency levels. It is the fact that they view this part of their identity as a flaw, as something to deflect attention away from, that is problematic, and what is more so, the institutions and ideologies that have engendered upon them this belief. The continued prevalence of the 'native speaker' construct in L2 classrooms is an area of concern within the field Second Language Acquisition. This doctrine relies on the belief that 'nativeness' is a birthright and ultimately out of the speaker's control (Cook, 1999), which means that L2 speakers' 'battle to become native speakers is lost before it has begun' (ibid., p.204). This may cause learners to feel a sense of defeat, which, in fact, was a sentiment tremendously prevalent throughout the current data set. In actuality, the linguistic repertoire of L1 and L2 speakers exists on a non-binary spectrum, and discourse practices by L2 speakers are not any less valid than those by L1 counterparts. Thus, I urge Japanese language instructors to reflect on their pedagogical approaches and materials, asking themselves if students are being reprimanded for 'non-normative' discourse practices merely because of their status as a 'non-native', or if students are allowed to exercise self-agency in the construction of their desired L2 self. Just as L2 instructors are capable of hindering students' classroom performance, they are also capable of empowering students to negotiate more liberating positionalities (Morita, 2004).

6 Implications

Previous research on second language socialisation has argued that sociolinguistic competence (Dewaele & Regan, 2001; Iwasaki 2010; Siegal, 1996) and metapragmatic awareness (Kinginger & Farrell, 2004) primarily emerge from full immersion contexts. However, the current findings imply that this is not the case, as participants were keenly aware of the indexes tied to non-normative pronouns and were able to apply that knowledge in discursively navigating such choices. Through the assistance of outside exposure to the L2, it is possible for classroom learners to attain high levels of sociolinguistic competence, even while remaining immersed in English. The findings also show that, parallel to how explicit verbal socialisation plays a key role in the socialisation processes for those living immersed in

Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

L2 communities (Brown & Cheek, 2017; Cook, 2008; Coomber, 2013; Siegal, 1994), explicit verbal instruction is a fundamental part of classroom learners' socialisation processes as well. Jessica even stated that she tends to opt for 'watashi' because that is what she 'was taught to do from the very beginning of [her] Japanese education.' Therefore, it seems important to further explore the ways in which one's initial classroom experiences can have long-term implications on one's choice of 1PP, and thus on one's L2 identity throughout the entire acquisition process.

Given the saliency of explicit instruction and institutional powers in the identity construction of classroom learners of Japanese, it is not hard to see how prescriptivist pedagogical approaches become daunting for the student, especially if we consider the factor of natural disposition. For speakers like Ryan, for example, who naturally assume a shy demeanour and use words such as 'overwhelming' and 'scary' to describe L2 identity negotiation, prescriptivist approaches would only increase levels of reticence. Notably, it is not the act of presenting students with discursive options that feels overwhelming; in fact, learners feel liberated when they possess such a toolkit to negotiate their identity (Cook, 2008; Moody, 2014). Rather, it is when instructors punish non-normative practices and colloquial ways of speaking that potentially risk discouraging students from pursuing Japanese altogether (Ohara, 2011). Especially when the reality of L1 linguistic practices itself is non-conforming,

> 'Failure to observe a normative usage [by L2 speakers] is no longer seen as a violation of social rules… Rather, when learners do not choose the normative usage, they are understood to be indexing social meanings different from those of the norm' (Cook, 2008, p. 194)

This study, therefore, assumes the argument overwhelmingly made by recent literature, that is, a need for critical pedagogy, which informs and empowers, rather than dictates and controls.

7 Conclusion

This paper has examined the ways in which L2 Japanese speakers' process of pronoun selection is influenced by their classroom experiences, and from this, the stances and correlating intersubjective tactics which inform their pronoun choices. This was an exceptionally small-scale investigation and is by no means transferable beyond the specific conditions of this account. I must also recognise several of its limitations, the first of which is its reliance on self-reported data. Without also collecting spontaneous conversation data, I am not able to corroborate if participants' reports on pronoun usage are actually reflected in their discourse; such data would seem important in an investigation of discursive identity negotiation. Secondly, the circumstances which necessitated me to juggle both roles of group facilitator and moderator might have very well hindered the scope of depth with which I was able to probe participants' responses for further elaboration. By way of contrast, however, everyone in the focus group was acquaintances with me and/or at least one other participant, allowing for a more laid-back and intimate setting, in which the extent of participants' frankness and openness in their responses is believed to have further added to the trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of this report.

Building upon previous studies (Brown & Cheek, 2017; Iwasaki, 2010; Iwasaki, 2011; Ohara, 2001; Ohara, 2011; Siegal, 1994), the current findings further exemplify that L2 Japanese speakers are very much active agents in the construction of their L2 identity, and that:

> 'At the same time as they exist as learners of a foreign/second language working to achieve proficiency in Japanese, they also remain rational and interpretive social

> beings who base their decisions not only on a desire to emulate L1 speakers of Japanese.' (Ohara, 2001, p. 242)

Using the concepts outlined in Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) Relationality Principle, participants were shown to use 1PPs as a means of both identity adequation and identity authentication while simultaneously navigating the authoritative powers that manifest from specific social dynamics. The saliency of each such relationality force was highly contextual and also influenced by personal factors such as gender identity, natural disposition, and overall attitude towards Japanese pronouns. At the foundation of these exchanges were the various learning experiences that pragmatically conditioned subsequent interactions with the L2, and also the foreigner–expert dichotomy that led to 'non-nativeness' being an extricable, governing part of participants' L2 identity. It is from this nexus that participants were able to assume either an aligning or disaligning stance.

This study serves to fill existing gaps in L2 acquisition research, particularly by shining a light on the voices of classroom learners. There is a demand for critical pedagogy to support students in the negotiation of their L2 identity, where their linguistic choices as L2 speakers, normative or not, are no longer perceived as impinging on their legitimacy as users of Japanese. More research is needed to explore the full potential of L2 media in developing high sociolinguistic competence, the effect of language proficiency levels on L2 identity negotiation, the long-term effects of narrow-scope classroom instruction on the overall L2 socialisation journey of speakers who continue to remain immersed in their L1.

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Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

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9 Appendices

9.1 Appendix One: Focus Group Questions

When necessary, what first-person pronoun do you use when speaking Japanese? Why?

How did you first learn about Japanese 1PPs?

Are there any specific experiences that influenced your choice of pronoun?

Has your choice of pronoun changed as you became more proficient in Japanese?

With English as a native language, is it difficult to navigate the Japanese pronoun system? Are there times when this system feels more comfortable because you're able to further express politeness, gender identity, etc.?

Received: 18/08/2022
Revisions: 11/12/2022
Accepted: 05/01/2023

Do you think this pronoun system is more of a good or bad thing?

What are some challenges you've encountered while learning or using Japanese pronouns?

If you use multiple pronouns, in what scenarios do they differ?

What are some assumptions you think other speakers make about you based on the pronoun you use?

Do you think the way you express yourself in English is the same as in Japanese?

Would your choice of pronoun change if you were living in Japan?

9.2 Appendix Two: Transcription Conventions

'talk'	constructed dialogue or reported speech
talk	emphasis
ta:lk	sound prolongation
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
,	continuing intonation
-	cut-off speech
[...]	text deleted

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Acknowledgements

I would like to sincerely thank the five participants for their time and willingness to take part in this study. I also wish to express my gratitude to Christina Higgins for her invaluable guidance and insights, without whom this study would not have been possible. Finally, I want to extend my gratitude to the friends and family members who provided me with constructive feedback and supported me throughout this process.

Gallicisms and the Dutch Final Stress: An Etymological Approach

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Abstract: In the light of the discussions regarding the Dutch word stress, syllable weight theories and generalisations were formulated and discussed in Metrical Phonology literature. Despite the minor differences in the postulations among different scholars, the main generalisations of the Dutch syllable weight theory seem to be overall in accordance. However, the very existence of a few exceptions in the lexicon reveals some of the inconsistencies to the main rules which Kager (1989) tried to soothe by adding minor rules. Since the realisation of final stress according to the main generalisations of the syllable weight theory in place is restricted, the aim of this text is to analyse final stress in the Dutch lexicon through an etymological and historical insight. The corpus analysed are words extracted from Kager (1989). The results of the analysis lead to a strong connection between final stress and Gallicisms and that phonological changes in French and Dutch are responsible for the high occurrence of oxytones in the Dutch lexicon.

Plain English Abstract: Discussions about word stress in the Dutch language gave rise to many theories about primary stress placement. In most theories, primary stress is found within the last three syllables of a word and can be predicted based on syllable weight. However, can primary stress be predicted by syllable weight only? In Dutch, primary final stress is restricted to superheavy syllables, which have a long vowel and a consonant, a diphthong and a consonant or a short vowel and two consonants as their rhyme. Although this main generalisation is consistent, words that deviate from it can be found in the lexicon. The nature of the words selected to substantiate the main generalisations of the syllable weight theory are also to be questioned: many of them happen to be loanwords, especially from romance languages that stress the last three syllables and derive from a quantity-sensitive language, Latin. Another oddity is the vast existence of words with primary final stress in Dutch, since final stress is unusual in Germanic languages and Latin. One of the hypotheses for the substantial occurrence of final stress in Dutch is the extensive borrowing and contact with French. Therefore, the goal of this paper is to investigate the correlation between final stress and the influence that French has had on Dutch through an etymological scope, as it is believed that French is responsible for the vast contingency of words with primary final stress in the Dutch lexicon.

Keywords: word stress; Dutch; French loanwords; final stress

1 Introduction

Dutch is considered a free stress language in which the placement of primary stress within a word can vary. According to some authors of the syllable weight theory for Dutch, among them Kager (1989) and Booij (1999), Dutch is a quantity-sensitive language, which means that syllable weight has influence over stress placement. In this theory, weight is assigned to a syllable in consonance with its structure, and syllables are thus hierarchically classified as light, heavy, and superheavy. Even though most of the words in the Dutch lexicon that served as evidence seem to be in accordance with the main generalisations of this theory, there can be found exceptions to some of the main rules, often caused by oxytones due to the restriction of final stress only occurring on superheavies.

Received: 04/11/2021
Revisions: 30/03/2022
Accepted: 15/04/2022

According to van Oostendorp (2012), most of the words that were selected as evidence were loanwords that usually maintained the stress in the same position as in their respective donor language, with the donor language being quantity-sensitive itself. In the specific case of French loanwords, they usually preserved their final stress, which constitutes a suprasegmental element that was integrated into the Dutch phonology (van der Sijs, 1996, 2009).

In addition to that, Booij (1999) describes Dutch as a mixture of three patterns of accentuation: a Germanic, a Latin, and a French pattern. Booij's statement suggests the coexistence of three main stress patterns in Dutch that are not in conformity. The existence of exceptions in the syllable weight theory is thus understandable as the French fixed final stress pattern is not in unison with the Germanic and Latin accentuation patterns.

Given the aforementioned issue, the main objective of this paper is to comprehend the placement of primary final stress according to the metrical phonology theory of syllable weight through an etymological and historical scope. Departing from the specific main generalisation that only final superheavies bear primary stress, an etymological analysis will be conducted in order to comprehend the circumstances in which primary final stress in Dutch occurs based on etymological and diachronic phonological events, in order to verify a possible French influence over Dutch and its extent.

2 Syllable Weight and Primary Stress Assignment

Regarding the Dutch syllable weight theory, the postulations, rules, and divergences among the authors investigated were assembled and summarised. They were gathered from Kager (1989), Booij (1999), Neijt and van Heuven (1992), Visch and Kager (1984), van Oostendorp (2012), van Oostendorp and Köhnlein (2016), and Domahs, Plag, and Carroll (2014).

The optimal metrical foot in Dutch is a bounded trochee (Booij, 1999). A trochee is a foot consisting of two nodes formed by a stressed and an unstressed syllable respectively. An underived word can have either one of its last three syllables stressed, and stress placement is largely predictable on account of the weight of the two last syllables of a word.

Weight is attributed to a syllable according to its structure. In Dutch, there are three main weight categories: light, heavy, and superheavy. Some authors attribute an additional weight category for syllables containing a schwa as their nucleus, called superlight by Neijt and van Heuven (1992) and 'schwallables' by Kager (1989). Stress is counted from the right edge to the left edge of a word. Table 1 shows the assignment of weight to a syllable according to its structure.

Table 1: *Weight Assignment*

Weight	Rhyme Structure
superlight / schwallable	nucleus: schwa coda: yes / no -ə(C)
light	nucleus: long vowel coda: no -VV-
heavy	nucleus: short vowel coda: yes VC nucleus: diphthong coda: no V_iV_j
superheavy	nucleus: short vowel coda: yes VCC nucleus: long vowel/diphthong coda: yes VVC

Superlight syllables, as previously mentioned, are syllables that have a schwa as their nucleus. Light syllables are open syllables containing a long vowel (VV). Heavy syllables are closed syllables, consisting of a short vowel and a consonant as their rhyme (VC). Kager (1989) also considers rhymes consisting of a diphthong (V_iV_j) in open syllables as heavy. Superheavy syllables are syllables containing a long vowel and a consonant (VVC), a short vowel and two consonants (VCC), or a diphthong and a consonant (V_iV_jC).

As for the main generalisations for primary stress placement within a word, antepenultimate primary stress occurs if the penultima is light. The penultima is stressed if the ultima is light or superlight, and the ultima is only stressed if it is superheavy, as shown in Table 2.

Received: 04/11/2021
Revisions: 30/03/2022
Accepted: 15/04/2022

Table 2: *Main Generalisations for Primary Stress Placement*

Primary Stress Location	Lexicon Sample
antepenultima	*ca**ta**logus* ‘catalog’ ***al**cohol* ‘alcohol’ ***do**minee* ‘preacher, vicar’
penultima	***me**tro* ‘underground’ *choco**la**de* ‘chocolate’ *com**man**do* ‘order, command’
ultima	*presi**dent*** ‘president’ *abri**koos*** ‘apricot’ *manda**rijn*** ‘tangerine’

One of the criticisms of the quantity-sensitivity theory is that it was derived from the frequency of stress patterns in the lexicon, influenced by stress shifts in loanwords, neologisms, prosodic mistakes, acronyms, brand names and child language (Neijt & van Heuven, 1992). Moreover, since the study of stress by metrical phonology constitutes a research topic in generative phonology, as van Oostendorp (2012) argues, the evidence for a Dutch stress pattern should be designed from the speaker’s awareness of stress assignment, and not from the lexicon, regarded as static evidence (van Oostendorp, 2012; van Oostendorp & Köhnlein, 2016).

Furthermore, the substantiality of the words adduced as evidence in the theory are loanwords, the majority being from other Indo-European languages that usually retained the stress in the same original position from the donor language; the donor language commonly being quantity-sensitive itself (van Oostendorp, 2012).

Due to the extensive contact that Dutch had with French, besides the great prestige French had for centuries, Gallicisms are the greatest group of loanwords in the Dutch lexicon (followed by Latin). These loans brought not only new morphemes and phonemes, but also the French characteristic fixed final stress (van der Sijs, 1996, 2009). From the arisen issues, it is hypothesised that final stress in final heavy and light syllables, which are not in conformity with the main generalisation for final stress, has a direct interrelation with the frequency of oxytone French loans in the lexicon.

Concerning primary stress on final superheavies, it is hypothesised that this generalisation was conceived due to phonological events that occurred in French and in Dutch, those being apocope, vowel lengthening, and diphthongisation, resulting in stressed VCC and VVC final rhymes. In Old French, the apocope of the rhyme of the post-tonic ultima caused its onset to merge with the coda of the stressed penultima generating oxytones with VCC final rhymes. Dutch usually maintained the fixed final stress of French loanwords and consistently lengthened vowels in final closed syllables of Gallicisms (van der Sijs, 1996), creating, thus, VVC rhymes.

While analysing the syllable inventory of two corpora, Neijt and van Heuven (1992) built a table displaying information of polysyllabic words and their respective realisation of primary stress regarding the structure of the last two syllables. The corpora they analysed were two collections of words by van der Hulst and Langeweg which consisted of 4303 words extracted from van Dale’s dictionary, and the other is a list of words for automatic speech conversion initially developed at Leiden University, which consisted of 7259 words. The numbers extracted from the table built by Neijt and van Heuven (1992, p. 188) were summarised in Table 3, taking into account only the last syllable instead of the last two.

Table 3: *Final stress in Hulst & Langeweg and Leiden University lists*

	van der Hulst & Langeweg List		**Leiden University List**	
	stressed	*unstressed*	*stressed*	*unstressed*
final superlight	0	553	0	2273
final light	199	946	411	1109
final heavy	314	653	392	604
final superheavy	1446	192	2274	196

Table 3 shows that the realisation of primary final stress in the lexicon increases as the weight of the last syllable is heavier. The final superheavy group comprises the greatest number of words with realisation of primary stress, followed by final heavy and final light. Final superlights are not stressed as they cannot bear stress (Kager, 1989; van Oostendorp & Köhnlein, 2016).

Even though final stress is restricted to superheavies, there are final light and heavy words in the lexicon that bear primary stress, as illustrated in Table 3. Kager (1989) presented minor rules to the main rules in order to fill these gaps and provided samples of heavy and light oxytones. Some of the samples that were disposed of by Kager (1989), that comprise oxytone and non-oxytone words with final light, heavy and superheavy syllables, were etymologically analysed in this paper in order to demonstrate that the occurrence of final stress in the Dutch lexicon is a historical process pervaded by Romance and Germanic language contact, with a special regard to Gallicisms.

In order to understand the historical and phonological processes that led to final stress occurring in the Dutch lexicon, and how it was encoded by the quantity-sensitivity theory of syllable weight, it is necessary to revisit the phonological phenomena that led Latin proparoxytones and paroxytones to become oxytones, and how Dutch acquired this suprasegmental property either from borrowing oxytones from French or adapting Latin and Romance words similarly to French, as Modern French final stress is a phonological development conceived through the incorporation of Germanic prosodic properties of Franconian into Gallo-Romance.

3 The French Fixed Primary Final Accentuation

French is the outcome of the contact between the Gallo-Roman and Germanic languages spoken in Northern Gaul after the fall of the Roman Empire. Phonological events witnessed at the earliest stages of the French language such as lengthening and diphthongisation of the stressed syllable and the reduction and apocope of the syllables surrounding stress are developments associated with the Franconian superstratum in Gallo-Romance, being the latter responsible for Modern French having its characteristic fixed final stress (Bogacki & Giermak-Zielińska, 1999; Hayes, 2009).

The Frankish superstratum was an important factor for the evolution of the Latin accentuation and vowel system (Burov, 2015), characterised by differentiation of vowels in open syllables and closed syllables, diphthongisation, vowel reduction and apocope. As the Germanic expiratory stress was

Received: 04/11/2021
Revisions: 30/03/2022
Accepted: 15/04/2022

brought by the Franks into Gallo-Romance, so much emphasis was put on the stressed syllable that the vowel in its nucleus was lengthened and diphthongised if it was open (Rickard, 1989). As for the unstressed syllables, the ones with pre-tonic stress had their vowels reduced while the vowels in post-tonic syllables underwent deletion (Burov, 2005; Rickard, 1989).

The Classical Latin and Vulgar Latin vowel systems were distinct. Classical Latin had five long vowels (*ā, ē, ī, ō, ū*), five short vowels (*ă, ĕ, ĭ, ŏ, ŭ*) and three diphthongs (*ae*, *au*, *oe*). While in Classical Latin vowels were distinguished by their duration, the seven Vulgar Latin vowels (*a, é, è, i, ò, ó, u*) were distinguished by their position, having two sets of closed (*ó, é*) and open (*è, ò*) vowels (Jonušaitė, 2010).

Examples of vowels in open syllables that suffered spontaneous diphthongisation, and that were later on monophthongised, but still left vestiges in orthography, are *toile* 'cloth' < *tēla*, *œuvre* 'work' < *ŏpera*, and *fleur* 'flower' < *flōrem* (Burov, 2015). The deletion of post-tonic vowels is an acknowledged phonological phenomenon in the history of French, already attested during the Empire era (Bogacki & Giermak-Zielińska, 1999). This process gave birth to the early oxytones derived from apocope, as *chrétien* 'Christian' < *Christĭānus*, and *serment* 'oath' < *săcrāmentum*. Post-tonic [a] was reduced and neutralised to a schwa as were other vowels that facilitated the articulation of a consonant cluster (Rickard, 1989), like *porte* 'door' < *porta*, *âme* 'soul' < *ănĭma*, and *peuple* 'people' < *pōpŭlus*.

The phonological changes described above reveal that the location of the original stress was preserved; however, the subsequent deletion caused by the weakening of the syllable succeeding it interfered with the syllable count, propelling stress further to the end of the word. Besides, apocope in closed paroxytones culminated in the creation of VCC final rhymes, whereas it derived VVC final rhymes if diphthongisation occurred.

In summary, the phonological changes caused by the influence of the contact between Franconian and Gallo-Romance languages resulted in the shift from proparoxytones into paroxytones and the rising of the early oxytones, uncommon in Latin. As for the remaining paroxytones, they were all turned into oxytones by the 17th century when schwa at the end of a word was no longer pronounced (Griffiths, 2014; Burov, 2015).

4 Primary Final Stress in Dutch

Even though the restrictive generalisation for final stress is consistent, as depicted in Table 3, there is still a small amount of non-oxytone superheavies. van Oostendorp and Köhnlein (2016) give two examples: *vampier* 'vampire' and *asbest* 'asbestos'. Both have final superheavies and yet are not oxytones, while a counterexample, *sigaar* 'cigar' is.

An explanation for the matter could be the etymology of the paroxytones. The first two are loanwords, from German and Latin respectively. On the other hand, *sigaar* is an oxytone, borrowed from French *cigare* < *cigarro* (Spanish). The French loanword being the only one to have final stress could be explained based on socio-historical events:

> 'A difference between Latin and French loanwords is the way of borrowing: the oldest Latin loanwords were borrowed from the vernacular through direct contact of the population with Roman colonies, while French entered through the higher classes, and from there to other social circles. This has had consequences for the integration. The court circles, who firstly borrowed the French words, tried their best to speak French 'like the French'. Therefore, in French loanwords they usually retained the French final stress [...] while with the oldest Latin loanwords the stress

> has been pulled back on the first syllable - just as with the Germanic words of that period.' (van der Sijs, 1996, p. 173)

While the quantity-sensitivity theory relies on the current syllable structure, it aliens itself from the circumstances in which final stress in Dutch was conceived; due to the integration of suprasegmental properties of French loanwords, which according to van der Sijs's previous statement, emanated from the desirability of the Dutch higher classes to imitate French pronunciation.

The Middle Dutch vowels /y/, /i/, and /u/ were diphthongised to Modern Dutch /œy/, /ɛi/ and /ɔu/. The diphthongisation of these vowels is said to have taken place by the end of Middle Dutch (van Bree, 1996). It is also attested in old French and Latin loanwords (van Bree, 2016), as in the word *sluis* 'dike with doors', from Old French *escluse* < *(e)sclusa* (Medieval Latin), in which the stressed <-u-> was diphthongised to <-ui-> /œy/, and the word *tapijt* 'rug', from Old French *tapiz* < *tapete* (Latin). However, cases in which only lengthening occurs are also existing: *minuut* 'minute', from French *minute* or Medieval Latin *minuta*, and *precies* 'exact, precise' from French *précis* or Medieval Latin *precisus*.

In the examples previously illustrated, apocope, vowel lengthening, and diphthongisation of the original French and Latin paroxytones generated oxytones with superheavy rhymes. This could be assumed as the product of these words adapting into the Dutch prosodic system, which has prominence of stress on the left node of the foot.

In the experiment carried out by Dohmas, Plag, and Carroll (2014) which investigated the realisation of stress placement of pseudowords by native speakers of Dutch, English, and German, they concluded that the placement of final stress in Dutch relies on the structure of the final syllables, that final light syllables are not usually stressed, and that penultimate stress is preferable. Regarding final superheavies, the results point out that they are not as likely to be stressed as is postulated by the quantity-sensitivity theory of syllable weight.

A possible reason for the incompatibility in the results that Dohmas, Plag and Carroll (2014) obtained in respect of the main generalisation of final stress restriction to superheavies may have to do with the substantiality of French and Latin words with superheavy rhymes chosen as evidence to its fomentation, as van Oostendorp (2012) asserts.

As final stress was covered by the syllable weight theory along with a supplementary historical overview of phonological phenomena undergone in Dutch and French, additional etymological research will be carried out in order to find any connection between Gallicisms and final stress in the Dutch lexicon, analysing samples used to substantiate the major and minor rules of the syllable weight theory extracted from Kager (1989).

5 Methodology

This bibliographical research aims to verify the existence of a correlation between primary final stress and Gallicisms. The corpus analysed consists of 518 words randomly extracted from Kager's (1989) samples for major and minor generalisations of the quantity-sensitivity theory of syllable weight. The words have light, heavy and superheavy final syllables, antepenultimate, penultimate, and final stress, and vary etymologically among native Dutch (Germanic) words and loanwords. The words elected for analysis were polysyllabic words ending in light, heavy and superheavy syllables. Final superlight syllables were discarded since they cannot bear primary stress, as shown in Section 2.

Received: 04/11/2021
Revisions: 30/03/2022
Accepted: 15/04/2022

The aspects analysed in the lexicon of the corpus are etymology, weight of the last syllable and placement of primary stress. The etymological information was gleaned from the online database *Etymologiebank* (2021). The phonological information of the samples was already provided by Kager (1989), however, two online dictionaries were additionally used to consult orthographical, segmental and suprasegmental phonological information. The dictionaries used were the *Algemeen Nederlandse Woordenboek* (2021) held by the *Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal* and *Woorden – Nederlands Woordenboek* (2021). The dictionaries were chosen because they were free and had the information required for the conduction of the research.

The words were separated into three groups according to the weight of the ultima, and in two subgroups according to the location of primary stress. Location of primary stress was encoded as (+ult) for final stress, and (-ult) for non-final stress. Etymology was encoded with (+fr) for Gallicisms, (-fr) loanwords from other languages, and (?et) for words with an uncertain/disputed etymology or that did not have an entry on the database. Table 4 presents the aforementioned codes.

Table 4: *Codes*

Location of primary stress	Etymology
+ult primary stress located on the last syllable **-ult** primary stress not located on the last syllable	**+fr** French loanword **-fr** native Dutch word/loanword from another language **?et** unclear etymology

Since it is predicted that Gallicisms typically maintain their primary final stress, the general hypothesis leads to encountering a significant amount of (+fr) in (X, +ult) combinations, in which (X) can be either light, heavy, or superheavy syllables.

6 Results

The corpus analysed consists of 518 words (W) assembled in 3 groups according to the weight of the last syllable. The datum was organised in a table that shows the quantity of the words collected. The encoding for the etymological, phonological and weight aspects were already covered in Section 5.

Table 5 displays the overall data from which the occurrence of Gallicisms in the corpus (+fr), the occurrence of final stress (+ult). and the occurrence of Gallicisms with final stress (+fr, +ult) will be quantified and then discussed.

Table 5: *Overall Data of the Corpus*

Weight	**Superheavy**		**Heavy**		**Light**	
Primary Stress	+ult = 52	-ult = 49	+ult = 109	-ult = 127	+ult = 96	-ult = 85
Etymology	+fr = 29 -fr = 19 ?et = 4	+fr = 11 -fr = 30 ?et = 8	+fr = 74 -fr = 19 ?et = 16	+fr = 12 -fr = 93 ?et = 22	+fr = 60 -fr = 15 ?et = 21	+fr = 5 -fr = 72 ?et = 8

Gallicisms compose 37% of the whole corpus, 191 of the 518 words are French loans (+fr). The distribution of Gallicisms in the three groups is also similar: French loans compose 40% of final superheavies, and 36% of final heavies and final lights.

As for primary final stress (+ult), among the 226 words, 163 are Gallicisms. This indicates a higher proportion of final stress in Gallicisms, corresponding to 72% of all the oxytones (+ult).

Regarding primary stress of Gallicisms in the corpus, French loans are more likely to be oxytones than bearing initial stress. 163 French loans are oxytones (+fr, +ult), which equals to 85% of the whole number of Gallicisms, while 28 French loans place stress on the penultima or on the antepenultima (+fr, -ult). The highest occurrence of Gallicisms with final stress is found in final lights (92%), followed by final heavies (86%), and superheavies (72.5%).

The results revealed a strong connection between French loanwords and final stress; Gallicisms are the most substantial group of words that bear final stress (72%) in the corpus, which indicates a French preeminence. Non-final stress occurred only in 15% of the French loans, which is considerably lower. The reason why stress changed to initial syllables is not encompassed in the research, but if one may infer, it is caused due to the manner in which they were borrowed or later adapted into the language. Besides French loanwords, a significant amount of loans from other languages was present in the corpus, mainly from other European languages.

Some superheavy loanwords underwent a deletion process analogical to that witnessed in Old French, creating -VCC final rhymes conceived by the apocope of post-tonic final rhymes preceded by a closed penult, such as *amorf* ‘amorphous’ < *amorphus* (Latin) and *apocalyps* ‘apocalypse’ < *apocalypsis* (Latin). Vowel lengthening along with the apocope of the post-tonic syllable created superheavies with final -VVC rhymes: *anakoloet* ‘anacoluthon’ < *anakolouthos* (Greek), *gladiool* ‘gladiolus’ < *gladiolus* (Latin).

The results obtained from superheavies are in accordance with the hypothesis. Gallicisms are the biggest group of words that have primary stress on final superheavies (55.7%), despite a few words shifting stress to initial positions (27.5%), and the presence superheavies from other languages.

French and other Romance loanwords that did not have their vowels lengthened after suffering the apocope of the post-tonic syllable resulted in heavy oxytones: *charlatan* ‘charlatan’ < *charlatan* (French), *caramel* ‘caramel’ < *caramel* (French), *ampul* ‘ampulla’ < *ampulla* (Latin), *artisjok* ‘artichoke’ < *articiocco* (Italian). The corpus has it that stressed final diphthongs are mostly French loans; *gelei* ‘jelly’ < *gelée*, *harpij* ‘harpy’ < *harpie*, *kopij* ‘copy’ < *copie*.

The results obtained from the analysis of the final heavies are also in accordance with the general hypothesis. Gallicisms are the biggest group of final heavies with primary final stress with a 68% occurrence rate, but 14% of the French loans of the corpus had the stress on initial syllables.

Most of the words that end in light final syllables and do not present primary final stress are not Gallicisms while most of the words with primary final stress do. Some of the paroxytone and proparoxytone loans come from Romance languages other than French, such as *bodega* ‘store, warehouse’, from Spanish. Since the last vowel of French words was reduced and deleted, the current last vowel which bears final primary stress belonged previously to the nucleus of the former stressed penultima, giving French final vowels a distinguished aspect, such as in *menu* ‘menu’ < *menu* (French) < *minutus* (Latin).

Gallicisms ending in <-ie> such as *excursie* ‘excursion’ < *excursion* are a peculiar case because Dutch adapted the <-ion> French suffix to <-ie>, that carries penult primary stress and is confronted with the final stressed suffix <-ie>, usually from Greek or Latin <-ia> such as in *chemie* ‘chemistry’ < *chimia* (Latin) < *khemeia* (Greek) or from French <-ie> as in *ironie* ‘irony’.

Received: 04/11/2021
Revisions: 30/03/2022
Accepted: 15/04/2022

The results show that final light words are also in accordance with the hypothesis. Gallicisms are the biggest group of final lights with primary stress (62.5%) and the group with the lowest rate of stress in initial syllables (8%).

7 Conclusion

The results secured by the analysis of the corpus corroborate with the hypothesis that the realisation of primary stress in words of the lexicon have a strong link with French loanwords due to the great number of oxytones among French loans. However, primary final stress is not restricted to this group alone due to the presence of oxytones from other etymologies. In addition, some of the French loanwords have the realisation of primary stress in penultimate and antepenultimate syllables.

It is also worth mentioning a collateral effect that succeeded the loss of the rhyme of the post-tonic final syllable, in which original paroxytones became oxytones after the deletion of the ultima already in French or later on in Dutch. Since French final rhymes systematically suffered apocope already in Old French, the current majority of vowels in final open rhymes of French are the nucleus of the former penult that becomes the last syllable after the apocope of the original Latin ultima.

The deletion of the last syllable of some loans gives them final heavy and superheavy VCC rhymes depending on the structure of the penultima in the donor language. Vowel lengthening in final closed syllables creates superheavies with VVC rhymes.

In sum, French loanwords are the major responsible for the presence of oxytones in the corpus analysed and other words, especially from European languages, bear primary final stress after adapting in Dutch similarly to Latin words in Old French.

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9 Appendix

The data in the tables below is synthesised from Neijt and Heuven (1992).

Received: 04/11/2021
Revisions: 30/03/2022
Accepted: 15/04/2022

Superheavy					
+ult			**-ult**		
+fr (29)	-fr (19)	?et (4)	+fr (11)	-fr (30)	?et (8)
1. abrikoos *2. alkoof* *3. allooi* *4. ambassadeur* *5. asterisk* *6. azijn* *7. azuur* *8. bankroet* *9. biljart* *10. carambole* *11. concert* *12. contrast* *13. direct* *14. emerald* *15. fazant* *16. figuur* *17. funest* *18. grafiek* *19. kapoen* *20. kostuum* *21. papier* *22. paraaf* *23. paragraaf* *24. paradox* *25. perkament* *26. piraat* *27. profiel* *28. tarief* *29. toneel*	*1. amorf* *2. anakoloet* *3. apocalyps* *4. astronaut* *5. augurk* *6. basilisk* *7. effect* *8. gladiool* *9. lawaai* *10. labyrint* *11. locomotief* *12. mangaan* *13. manuscript* *14. paradijs* *15. pineut* *16. pistool* *17. product* *18. proleet* *19. smaragd*	*1. bibliotheek* *2. pelikaan* *3. sonorant* *4. triomf*	*1. asfalt* *2. bastaard* *3. emir* *4. kalief* *5.majesteit* *6.marsepein* *7. minstreel* *8. olifant* *9. paranimf* *10. pierewiet* *11. uniform*	*1. ablaut* *2. adelaar* *3. altaar* *4. arbeid* *5. asbest* *6. avond* *7. ballast* *8. biceps* *9. climax* *10. crucifix* *11. eiland* *12. eland* *13. falanx* *14. herberg* *15. hospitaal* *16. Index* *17. katapult* *18. kibboets* *19. kobalt* *20. kobold* *21. kroepoek* *22. larynx* *23. leukoplast* *24. lichaam* *20. mammoet* *25. multiplex* *26. napalm* *27. sieraad* *28. thorax* *29. vampier*	*1. adelheid* *2. fakir* *3. hasjiesj* *4. kierewiet* *5. koekoek* *6. lanterfant* *7. tureluur* *8. wierewaal*

Heavy							
+ult				**-ult**			
+fr (74)		-fr (19)	?et (16)	+fr (12)	-fr (93)		?et (22)
1. accordeon *2. aceton* *3. adres* *4. amaril* *5. balkon* *6. ballon* *7. baron* *8. bastion* *9. bataljon* *10. bidon* *11. bombardon* *12. bonbon* *13. bordes* *14. carnaval* *15. champignon* *16. charlatan* *17. cichorei* *18. cipres* *19. dragon* *20 .envelop* *21. expres* *22. fauteuil* *23. galei* *24. galop* *25. gazon* *26. gelei* *27. harpij* *28. jargon* *29. kandij* *30. kalebas* *31. kanon* *32. kanton* *33. karamel* *34. karton* *35. karwei* *36. kassei* *37. kersouw* *38. kompas* *39. kopij* *40. kordon (cordon*)* *41. kristal* *42. krokodil* *43. lakei* *44. lampion* *45. livrei* *46. maniak* *47. marmot* *48. matras* *49. minaret* *50. model*	*51. moeras* *52. musketon* *53. ocelot* *54. pantalon* *55. parasol* *56. pardon* *57. partij* *58. pastei* *59. pion* *60. ponton* *61. proces* *62. rabauw* *63. reliëf* *64. roman* *65. salon* *66. soldij* *67. spion* *68. succes* *69. tampon* *70. terras* *71. tiran* *72. trompet* *73. vallei* *74. violet*	*1. abdis* *2. ampul* *3. april* *4. artisjok* *5. bacil* *6. carbon* *7. hagedis* *8. juffrouw* *9. karbouw* *10. lamprei* *11. magnetron* *12. mandril* *13. mevrouw* *14. paperas* *15. papil* *16. paskwil* *17. perron* *18. schalmei* *19. tonsil*	*1. akelei* *2. apostrof* *3. barok* *4. cholesterol* *5. congres* *6. diagram* *7. kabeljauw* *8. kamaleon* *9. karwij* *10. katrol* *11. kolom* *12. kolos* *13. miauw* *14. nitril* *15. patat* *16. wagon*	*1. bivak* *2. bizon* *3. demon* *4. divan* *5. harnas* *6. moeflon* *7. moesson* *8. molton* *9. mormon* *10. natron* *11. paljas* *12. sorbet*	*1. acrostichon* *2. alligator* *3. amok* *4. ansjovis* *5. asyndeton* *6. atheneum* *7. atlas* *8. badminton* *9. bariton* *10. boycot* *11. bronchitis* *12. canon* *13.canvas* *14. chaos* *15. claxon* *16. clematis* *17. consul* *18. curator* *19. debet* *20. decorum* *21. denim* *22. desideratum* *23. diabetes* *24. dictator* *25. elektron* *26. elevator* *27. epitheton* *28. epos* *29. epsilon* *30. equator* *31. ethos* *32. eunuch* *33. foton* *34. foxtrot* *35. futurum* *36. ganglion* *37. gladiator* *38. goelasj* *39. haring* *40. hepatitis* *41. heros* *42. herpes* *43. hertog* *44. idioticon* *45. indicator* *46. jubileum* *47. kaftan* *48. kajak* *49. kampong* *50. katjang*	*51. ketchup* *52. kokos* *53. koning* *54. kosmos* *55. lexicon* *56. lombok* *57. lyceum* *58. mausoleum* *59. micron* *60. moloch* *61. moslim* *62. museum* *63. neon* *64. neuron* *65. notaris* *66. nylon* *67. ozon* *68. pantheon* *69. papyrus* *70. pathos* *71. perforator* *72. philodendron* *73. pinguin* *74. pisang* *75. proton* *76. radiator* *77. revisor* *78. robot* *79. rododendron* *80. rotan* *81. sabbat* *82. sambal* *83. senator* *84. sesam* *85. slalom* *86. sonar* *87. spectator* *88. stadion* *89. topos* *90. ultimatum* *91. vademecum* *92. wajang* *93. zenit*	*1. ambon* *2. bios* *3. bisam* *4. centurion* *5. curiosum* *6. diftong* *7. dromedaris* *8. eros* *9. kieviet* *10. logos* *11. marathon* *12. nectar* *13. pelgrim* *14. python* *15. pentagon* *16. pias* *17. poespas* *18. salaris* *19. sinas* *20. sisal* *21. sultan* *22. symposion*

Received: 04/11/2021
Revisions: 30/03/2022
Accepted: 15/04/2022

Light							
+ult				**-ult**			
+fr (60)		-fr (15)	?et (21)	+fr (5)	-fr (72)		?et (8)
1. adieu *2. amnestie* *3. avenue* *4. biscuit* *5. bistro* *6. bougie* *7. bureau* *8. cadeau* *9. café* *10. calorie* *11. chimpansee* *12. comité* *13. compromis* *14. continu* *15. corvee* *16. dictee* *17. difterie* *18. energie* *19. etui* *20. fantasie* *21. fobie* *22. hachee* *23. harmonie* *24. hobo* *25. idee* *26. individu* *27. industrie* *28. ironie* *29. jaloezie* *30. kariboe* *31. kopie* *32. magie* *33. melodie* *34. menu* *35. milieu* *36. moskee* *37. niveau* *38. nostalgie* *39. onomatopee* *40. orgie* *41. paraplu* *42. parodie* *43. poëzie* *44. portemonnee* *45. prosodie* *46. prostituee* *47. puree* *48. ragout* *49. rapsodie* *50. reçu*	*51. regie* *52. residu* *53. reünie* *54. revu* *55. rococo* *56. souper* *57. symfonie* *58. travestie* *59. trofee* *60. varieté*	*1. amfibie* *2. anemie* *3. chemie* *4. elpee* *5. epilepsie* *6. essay* *7. hiërarchie* *8. hoera* *9. leukemie* *10. orchidee* *11. pygmee* *12. relikwie* *13. sacristie* *14. sateh* *15. trochee*	*1. allegorie* *2. ambigu* *3. anarchie* *4. autopsie* *5. blasphemie* *6. bravo* *7. categorie* *8. chocola (chocolade)* *9. dada* *10. diarree* *11. elegie* *12. epidemie* *13. farmacie* *14. lethargie* *15. poeha* *16. scarabee* *17. sympathie* *18. taboe* *19. taugeh* *20. theorie* *21. therapie*	*1. andijvie* *2. domino* *3. excursie* *4. noga* *5. maraboe*	*1. accu* *2. agenda* *3. akela* *4. algebra* *5. alibi* *6. aloë* *7. anaconda* *8. angina* *9. arena* *10. avocado* *11. bamboe* *12. benzoë* *13. bikini* *14. bodega* *15. bolero* *16. camera* *17. cholera* *18. commando* *19. diafragma* *20. diploma* *21. dominee* *22. dynamo* *23. echo* *24. eldorado* *25. evangelie* *26. farao* *27. februari* *28. goeroe* *29. harakiri* *30. hernia* *31. hyena* *32. hupsakee* *33. jaffa* *34. januari* *35. judo* *36. kangoeroe* *37. kiekeboe* *38. kaketoe* *39. koala* *40. koffie* *41. kolonie* *42. libido* *43. macaroni.* *44. merrie* *45. mica* *46. mikado* *47. monopolie* *48. okapi* *59. olie* *50. opera*	*51. opoe* *52. pagina* *53. panorama* *54. peterselie* *55. pijama* (pyjama)* *56. pinda* *57. platina* *58. premie* *59. primula* *60. radio* *61. rimboe* *62. rondo* *63. rumba* *64. saldo* *65. samba* *66. specie* *67. studio* *68. tango* *79. taptoe* *70. tombola* *71. toffee* *72. veranda*	*1. bazoeka* *2. begonia* *3. diabolo* *4. embargo* *5. indigo* *6. kano* *7. kolibrie* *8. taugee*

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor, Samantha Maranhão, for her incredible mentoring and for encouraging me to publish this paper. I would also like to thank professors Érica Fontes and Luís Felipe Donadio for their kind words and valuable comments while scrutinizing my text. I am also grateful for all the support given by my peers, family and friends. Lastly, my infinite gratitude to the Journal of the Undergraduate Linguistics Association of Britain for publishing my paper.

Received: 04/11/2021
Revisions: 30/03/2022
Accepted: 15/04/2022

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Artist's Statement

This issue's cover design was inspired by graphic designers Sam Steiner and Mike McQuade. Thoughtful – never random – cut-outs and abstraction are themes in their work, intersecting mediums, textures, and stories. The same holds true here; at JoULAB we endeavour to bridge gaps, not only between readers and authors, but in linguistics itself, championing the experimental and novel and challenging the status quo. This cover also brings to the fore the reddish hues introduced in Vol. 1, Issue 2, further solidifying our identity. As throughout the issue, the colours have been chosen in consideration of any colour vision deficiencies, promoting accessibility for all. It is my hope that the cover catches your eye, but the innovative and creative work showcased within captures your interest.

Lydia Wiernik
***Editor**, JoULAB*
University of Edinburgh

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VOL. II, ISSUE I

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