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LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN MULTILINGUAL SOCIETIES: HOW INDIVIDUALS NEGOTIATE IDENTITIES THROUGH LANGUAGE IN MULTILINGUAL/MULTICULTURAL CONTEXTS.

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Abstract: *This paper focuses on the concept that multilingual people vie and negotiate identity in terms of language in home, institutional (education/workplace), and digital contexts. We employed the mixed-methods design to survey 200 individuals and conducted 24 semi-structured interviews and used 36 hours of natural interaction recordings, complemented by the surveys. Quantitative results showed perceived linguistic legitimacy to be the most predictive predictor of belonging but ideological pressure (e.g., standard-language demands and accent bias) had negative predictive power of both predictors and belonging. Flexibility with repertoes exhibited independent positive relationships with belonging indicating that availability and trust in an extensive communicative repertoire can be used to promote inclusion when it is socially accepted.*
The mixed-repertoire use was found to be higher at home and online, as compared to the formal institutional settings where the individuals expressed that they had increased self-monitoring. The qualitative themes helped explain how these patterns were achieved: speakers employed translanguaging and code-switching to fit in groups, control impressions and display hybrid identities, and balance between legitimate identity performance, which limited the performance of acceptable identities. In general, the results put identity negotiation in a more situated, power-infused, and interactionally driven dynamic influenced by the broader language ideologies, and with practical consequences of more inclusive educational and workplace language policies. Our suggestions are institutional practices that limit the gatekeeping, importance to multilingual repertoires, and monitoring identity change over time in offline-online conditions
Keywords: *multilingualism; identity negotiation; translanguaging; code-switching; language ideology; belonging; legitimacy*

1.Introduction

There is an increasing presence of multilingual societies due to the migration process, trans-national families, globalized schooling, and footloose labor markets. Individuals constantly cross linguistic and cultural worlds, using one language at home, another one at school and readjusting to the language of workplaces and online groups. In everyday multilingualism in numerous cities and institutions, there are not only those languages reportedly known, but also heritage languages, dialects, English-as-a-lingua-franca, and multimodal resources (emoji, pictures, voice notes, memes) and share on digital platforms (Ahmed, 2021). Language under these circumstances is not a tool of communicating, but rather a tool of social managing relationships, opportunities, and indications of who one is or maybe one can be.

Identity is negotiated since there is hardly an instance when multilingual interaction is neutral. The speakers are judged in terms of their sound, their language use and their linguistic performances can be evaluated in terms of the expectations of an authentic belonging, competence, professionalism or morality. These judgments are attributed to power: institutions can provide rewards to some accents and call others incompetent; a peer group can deem some language use as cool and others uncool; online platforms can increase the visibility and policing of language behavior (Wei, 2022; Yim and Clément, 2021). Consequently, multilingual people tend to have strategic and affective decisions switching, mixing, avoiding, or foregrounding specific resources in order to assert authority, oppose marginalization or establish inclusion of themselves and other individuals (Khalid, 2022).

The identity negotiation is the interactional process, which is continuous, and in which people perform, challenge, and reconstruct who they are as opposed to others and to social norms. Instead of being determined, identity is practiced and identified (or denied recognition) in localized encounters. A multilingual repertoire is the entire collection of the communicative resources of a person across the named languages, styles, registers, and modalities and is used at any rate based on the contexts and purposes (Siebenhütter, 2023). Translanguaging points out the fact that multilinguals do not merely alternate between distinct languages; they rely on a combined repertoire in creating meaning, which can be quite creative and adaptive (Runcieman, 2021).

Language ideology is what governs these practices which are social beliefs about what can be considered as good language, who is a real speaker, and what speaking practices are worthwhile or acceptable. Ideologies determine the hearing of speakers and how they expect to be judged (Wei, 2022). Positioning/stance refers to the way speakers find their place and that of others in interaction, whether they are asserting power or identifying with a group, whether they are indicating distance or belonging, often through small linguistic decisions. Code-switching is the identifiable alternation between named languages or varieties, but in the current context of multilingual systems, it is commonly practiced as a component of more extensive repertoire-based meaning-making, not as necessarily a switch between delimited systems (Yim and Clément, 2021, Brown, 2021).

Although the scholarly literature on multilingualism and identity develops, a large part of the research is focused either on the classroom or adopts languages as distinct codes leaving unexposed how identity is negotiated in all the aspects of everyday life, workplaces, and trans-digital spaces where online and offline activities intertwine; the role of ideology and social judgment in facilitating or limiting the presence of acceptable identity options is not always in the foreground (Forbes and Rutgers, 2021;Foley et al., 2022). This paper thus seeks to explore the ways in which people in bilingual and multicultural societies negotiate their identity via language practices in several contexts (home–education–work–online) and how speakers put translanguaging and code-switching into practice to assert belonging and manage legitimacy and place them in the interaction and how such decisions are mediated by language ideologies and how other people judge them over time and space (Wei, 2022). In line with this, it poses the question of how multilingual people employ repertoire-based practices to perform identities, what social pressures and ideological norms influence what identities is be recognizable or challengeable, and how identity positioning changes with people moving in and out of contexts; in theory, it is help us understand identity as fluid, situated, and power-based, and in practice, it may help guide more inclusive educational and workplace language policies reducing linguistic gatekeeping and enhancing belonging (Forbes et al., 2021).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The recent literature in the language-and-identity field takes identity as a done-not-done phenomenon, making it more practical to see identity as something done/performed/negotiated/re-made in different situations and among different people (Hall, 2020). This performative perspective is particularly clear in multilingual societies where speakers must always choose which linguistic and semiotic resources to mobilize, to whom, and to what end. Interactional approaches anticipate the way identities can be achieved locally through talk, where speakers can exhibit alignment, distance, expertise, or belonging in the moment (Kayi-Aydar et al., 2021). Building on this reasoning, more recent theorization focuses on fluidity of identity in conditions of mobility and digitally mediated communication where people move positions across communities and scales and usually at a fast rate (Fisher et al., 2020).

The multilingual practices are often referred to as identity work due to the fact that they enable the speakers to index social meanings, such as solidarity, authority, intimacy, or boundaries, through the patterned selection of discourse (Yim et al., 2021). Specifically, code-switching may be not merely an act of linguistic alternation, but a form of social interpretation; code switching orientations have been found to correlate with how individuals are oriented to the notion of bicultural affiliation, indicating that a shift of code-switching may be perceived as an act of recognizability of what one is and where one fits in (Yim et al., 2021). Translanguaging approaches extend the previous arguments by considering communication through the repertoire-based meaning-making instead of the movement between closed languages and the capacity of speaker to access a variety of resources (lexical, multimodal, digital) and construct identities that can be hybrid or emergent (Ho et al., 2021). The concept of translanguaging in the performance and public discourse research has been associated with the acting of the social self when the linguistic expression is involved in a larger design of semiotic expression (Zhu et al., 2022).

Language ideologies which are common beliefs regarding the good, proper, or legitimate language restrict and empower identity negotiation. The ideology of standard language is still dominant in school and institutional policy, frequently constructing some of its varieties as standard and others as wanting, thus defining self-perception and prospects of speakers (Cushing et al., 2021). These ideologies are transmitted in the form of texts (curricula, assessments, rules of grammar) and established as the rules of normality in daily practice (Cushing et al., 2021). Cases of multilingual standardization debate also reveal how the standard can have a long tail, making multilingual speakers always too little of one language or another (McLelland et al., 2020). On the level of lived experience, legitimacy struggles may be internalized as stigma, which generates instances where speakers self-police and deal with the shame or insecurity regarding the way they sound and what their use of language may say about them socially (Siebenhuttter, 2021).

(a) Education. Classrooms represent the place of identity positioning since language is assessed continuously implicitly through peer norms and explicitly through evaluation. Multilingual identity, according to intervention research, can be encouraged with the help of pedagogies that legitimize repertoires and provoke the consideration of multilingual selfhood (Forbes et al., 2021). Nonetheless, qualitative descriptions reveal that learners continue to experience identity conflicts when institutional pressures emphasize on the use of limited language expectations, and as such, learners develop discourse about competence and belongingness (Wang et al., 2021).

(b) Study abroad / mobility. Mobility enhances identity work by shifting people through sociolinguistic regimes. Research demonstrates that students renegotiate identities when they cross space with varying

expectations of good language and they tend to reconsider what it means to be themselves and legitimate (Cai et al., 2022; Fang et al., 2023).

(c) Community/online spaces. The nature of the identity negotiation is very visible on digital platforms due to the permanence, observability, and uptake of communicative choices (likes, comments, gatekeeping). Examples of work on social media can be used to show how multilingual and multimodal resources are curated to produce chronotopic selves (linking identity to time/place stories) and how to manage belonging to networked publics (Brown, 2021).

Even with the good conceptual progress, there are a number of gaps reappeared. To begin with, most studies are based on interview or self-report and fewer designs combine interviews with fine-grained data of interaction across settings (Kayi-Aydar et al., 2021). Second, ideology is often mentioned but rarely explicitly considered a quantifiable or traceable influence within the policy, speech, and adoption (McLelland et al., 2020; Cushing et al., 2021). Third, the intersection between legitimacy judgments and mobility pathways and digitally mediated engagement, of which identity is both fluid and extremely surveilled, needs more research (Siebenhuttter, 2021).

Methodology

3.1 Research design

This study adopts a **sequential explanatory mixed-methods design** to capture both (a) broad patterns of language–identity relationships and (b) fine-grained interactional moments where identity is *done* through language. Mixed methods are appropriate in applied linguistics because identity negotiation is simultaneously **experiential** (how people *feel*/narrate belonging) and **interactional** (how people *position* self/others in talk) (Foley et al., 2022). The design follows two linked phases:

1. **Survey phase** (mapping multilingual repertoires, belonging, and perceived legitimacy).
2. **Qualitative phase** (ethnographic case-study "deep dives" using interviews, diaries, and naturally occurring interaction data).
   Integration occurs at interpretation through cross-case comparison of quantitative profiles and qualitative positioning patterns, aligning with core quality expectations for mixed methods (Ahmed, 2021).

3.2 Setting & sociolinguistic context

The study is located in Karachi, Pakistan, which is a dense multilingual city in which Urdu serves as a lingua franca and is used generally, English holds institutional importance, and a variety of regional languages (e.g. Sindhi, Punjabi, Pashto, Balochi) are used in everyday life and the mobility of its residents. This ecology exposes identity negotiation to plain view since speakers regularly negotiate the use of status hierarchies related to English/ Urdu and regional/ heritage language in most cases in education and workplaces (Ahmed, 2021). Field sites include: (a) two universities (international/local student mix), and (b) two early career workplaces (customer and internal team contexts), where language choice can be taken to index professionalism, authority, or belonging.

3.3 Participants & sampling

Inclusion criteria: Adults aged between 18 and 35 years who (1) consider themselves multilingual (2) use 2 or more languages on a regular basis in any of the domains (home, school/work, online) (3) lived in Karachi at least 12 months (to ensure that they are stable community members).

Sample size: Survey target n ≈ 200–250. Based on them, a qualitative subsample of n ≈ 24 is constructed

purposely (in terms of gender, migration status, socioeconomic background, and self-rated proficiency). Interaction recording is done by a smaller group of focus (n ≈ 12) because of the strength of consent/recording logistics.

Recruitment Campus announcements, student associations, language groups at the campus and HR-sanctioned invitations at the workplace; snowball sampling is utilized sparingly to prevent over-representation of a single network.

3.4 Data sources (triangulated)

1. Semi-structured interviews (60–90 minutes): language biographies, belonging/alienation episodes, experiences of accent judgment, and identity shifts across settings.
2. Language-use diaries / voice notes (14 days): brief daily entries capturing language choices, triggers for switching, and moments of pride/shame; diaries are useful for linking repertoire to context and ideology in participants' own terms (De Meulder & Birnie, 2020).
3. Naturalistic interaction recordings: short audio recordings (10–25 minutes each) from routine settings (study-group talk, workplace team huddles, service encounters where permitted).
4. Survey (Phase 1): demographics, migration history, self-rated proficiency, domain-based language use, perceived legitimacy, and belonging indicators. Optional contextual data include photographs of "language in public" (signage/online screenshots) to situate ideology and legitimacy cues in the environment.

3.5 Instruments

Interview guide sections: (a) language biography and "turning points," (b) "when do you switch and why?" (c) when do we or do we not belong moments and when do we feel excluded episodes, (d) perceived discrimination and/or accent policing, (e) online identity and online language, and (f) future-oriented identity, (who do we want to be linguistically).

Background questionnaire: languages known, acquisition histories, frequency according to domain, education/work trajectories, mobility history, and peer networks. The survey items were piloted with 10 subjects to ensure clarity and cultural appropriateness.

3.6 Data analysis plan

Qualitative thematic analysis: Interviews and diary data are coded through a transparent coding procedure that progresses to interpretive themes and an ultimate conceptual framework connecting language practices, identity positioning, and social reactions (Hall, 2020).

Discourse / conversation-analytic layer: Interaction recordings are transcribed and analysed for (a) positioning moves (rights/duties, moral evaluations, inclusion/exclusion) based on positioning framework (Kayi-Aydar, 2021), and (b) categorial resources (e.g., 'native speaker', 'local', 'professional') based on membership categorization analysis to reveal how categories of identity are evoked and negotiated in real time, and (Fisher et al., 2020).

Quantitative analysis, Descriptive statistics profile belonging/legitimacy patterns of repertoire breadth, Regression/ correlation tests look at relationships (i.e. of repertoire flexibility vs. belonging; judgment of personal accent vs. insecurity in identity).

Integration: subjects are clustered into survey-based profiles (i.e., high/low belonging; high/low legitimacy). The qualitative results are then used to describe how the interactional and narrative production of those profiles happens (Foley et al., 2022).

3.7 Trustworthiness/rigor

Rigor is enhanced through method triangulation (surveys, interviews, diaries, and interaction data), member reflection (participants review summary interpretations), and a reflexive audit trail documenting analytic decisions and the researchers' positionality. Cross-case comparison examines whether identity patterns are consistent across sites and social groups, rather than based on a norm of one community.

3.8 Ethics

Ethics protocols involve an informed consent per data category, a separate consent to recordings, the possibility to stop the research/withdraw without repercussions, and heavy anonymity (names, workplaces, locations, and identifying story information). The audio files are encoded and restricted. Since identity and legitimacy may be subjective, particularly when it comes to migrants or precarious workers, precautions are taken not to coerce in the context of the workplace recruitment and to avoid the reputational risk of the participants (Siebenhuttter, 2021).

Results

Sample overview

A total of N = 200 participants completed the survey. In addition, n = 24 participants took part in semi-structured interviews, and 36 hours of naturally occurring interaction data were collected across home, university/workplace, and online contexts. Participant demographics and multilingual profiles are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Participant characteristics and multilingual profile (Survey N = 200; Interviews n = 24)

Variable	Category	n	%
Gender	Women	104	52.0
	Men	90	45.0
	Nonbinary/Other	6	3.0
Age group	18–24	78	39.0
	25–34	86	43.0
	35–44	26	13.0
	45+	10	5.0
Primary role	University students	92	46.0
	Early-career professionals	68	34.0
	Established professionals	40	20.0
Migration background	Born locally	118	59.0
	Internal migrant	48	24.0
	International migrant	34	17.0

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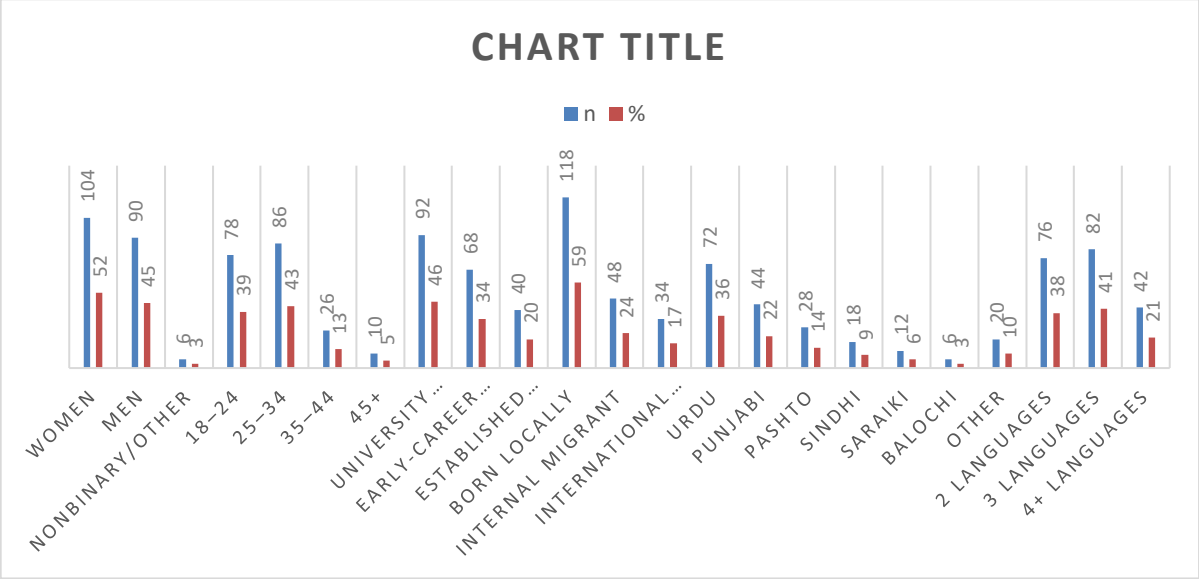
Main home language (self-reported)	Urdu	72	36.0
	Punjabi	44	22.0
	Pashto	28	14.0
	Sindhi	18	9.0
	Saraiki	12	6.0
	Balochi	6	3.0
	Other	20	10.0
Languages used weekly	2 languages	76	38.0
	3 languages	82	41.0
	4+ languages	42	21.0



Scale reliability and descriptive statistics

All multi-item measures demonstrated acceptable-to-strong internal consistency (α = .78 to .90; Table 2). Mean scores suggested moderately high belonging and identity fluidity, alongside moderate perceived ideological pressure**.**

Table 2

Reliability (Cronbach's α), means, and standard deviations for study constructs (N = 200) (1–5 Likert; higher = more of construct)

Construct (items)	α	M	SD	Min	Max
Belonging (5)	.88	3.62	0.74	1.40	5.00
Perceived Legitimacy (5)	.86	3.45	0.71	1.60	5.00
Repertoire Flexibility (6)	.84	3.71	0.65	1.83	5.00

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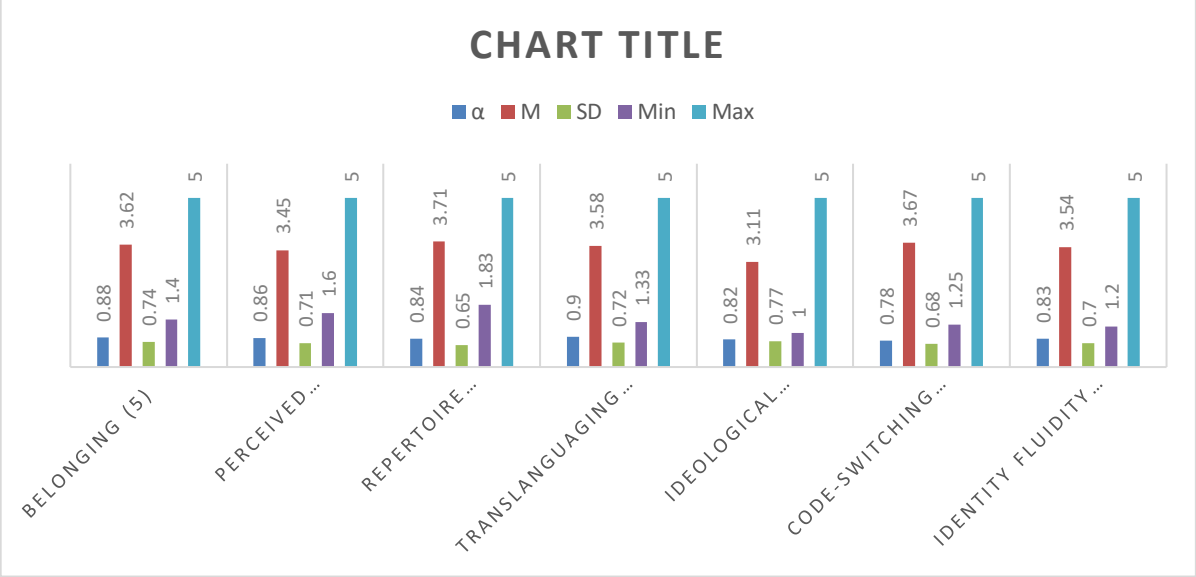
Translanguaging Orientation (6)	.90	3.58	0.72	1.33	5.00
Ideological Pressure (6)	.82	3.11	0.77	1.00	5.00
Code-switching Comfort (4)	.78	3.67	0.68	1.25	5.00
Identity Fluidity (5)	.83	3.54	0.70	1.20	5.00



Relationships among language practice, ideology, legitimacy, and belonging

Pearson correlations (Table 3) showed that belonging correlated strongly with perceived legitimacy ($r = .58$, $p < .001$), and moderately with repertoire flexibility ($r = .41$, $p < .001$) and translanguaging orientation ($r = .36$, $p < .001$). Ideological pressure correlated negatively with both belonging ($r = -.30$, $p < .001$) and perceived legitimacy ($r = -.49$, $p < .001$).

Table 3

Correlation matrix for key constructs (N = 200)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Belonging	—						
2. Perceived Legitimacy	.58***	—					
3. Repertoire Flexibility	.41***	.33***	—				
4. Translanguaging Orientation	.36***	.29***	.52***	—			
5. Ideological Pressure	−.30***	−.49***	−.18*	−.22**	—		
6. Code-switching Comfort	.28***	.21**	.45***	.43***	−.12	—	
7. Identity Fluidity	.34***	.27***	.48***	.55***	−.20**	.31***	—

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Predictors of belonging (multiple regression)

A multiple regression model was estimated with Belonging as the dependent variable (Table 4). Predictors included perceived legitimacy, ideological pressure, repertoire flexibility, translanguaging orientation, and controls (age, gender, migration background). The model was significant and explained 42% of the variance in belonging ($R^2 = .42$). Perceived legitimacy was the strongest positive predictor

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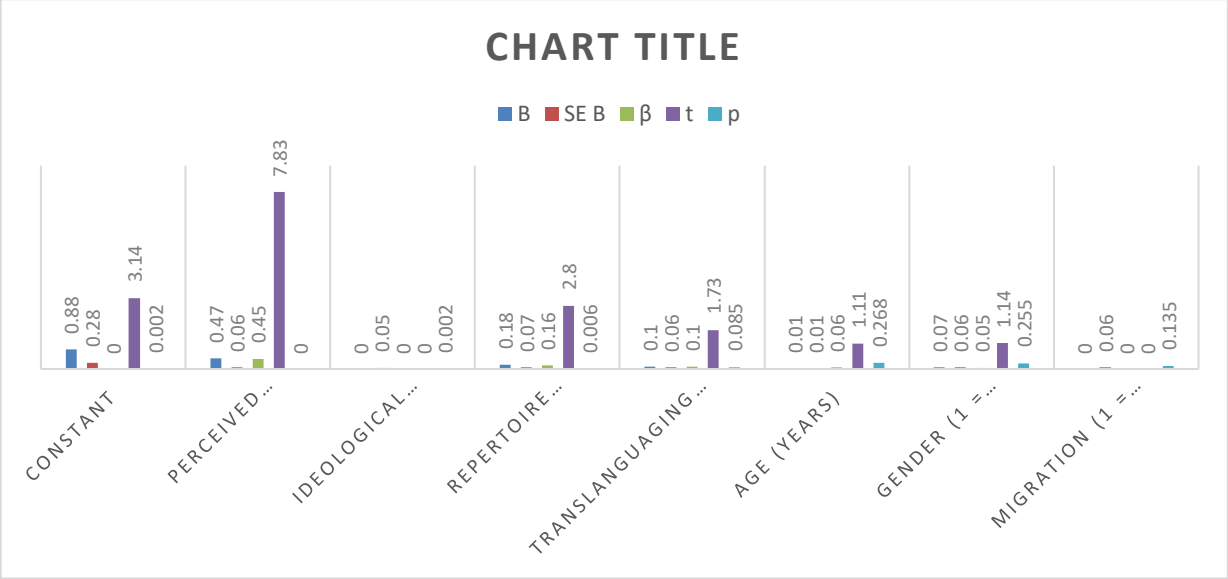
(β = .45, p < .001), while ideological pressure remained a significant negative predictor (β = −.17, p = .002). Repertoire flexibility also predicted belonging (β = .16, p = .006), indicating that flexible repertoire use is linked to stronger feelings of inclusion after accounting for legitimacy and ideology.

Table 4

Regression predicting Belonging (N = 200)

Predictor	B	SE B	β	t	P
Constant	0.88	0.28	—	3.14	.002
Perceived Legitimacy	0.47	0.06	.45	7.83	<.001
Ideological Pressure	−0.16	0.05	−.17	−3.14	.002
Repertoire Flexibility	0.18	0.07	.16	2.80	.006
Translanguaging Orientation	0.10	0.06	.10	1.73	.085
Age (years)	0.01	0.01	.06	1.11	.268
Gender (1 = women, 0 = others)	0.07	0.06	.05	1.14	.255
Migration (1 = migrant, 0 = non-migrant)	−0.09	0.06	−.07	−1.50	.135

Model fit: R^2 = .42, Adjusted R^2 = .40, F(7, 192) = 19.7, p < .001



Predictors of perceived legitimacy (multiple regression)

To examine what shaped "acceptable" identity options, a second regression predicted Perceived Legitimacy (Table 5). The model explained 36% of the variance (R^2 = .36). Ideological pressure was a strong negative predictor (β = −.43, p < .001). Repertoire flexibility and translanguaging orientation were both positive predictors, suggesting that participants who could mobilize broader repertoires (and oriented positively to translanguaging) experienced higher legitimacy—though legitimacy was substantially constrained under stronger normative pressures.

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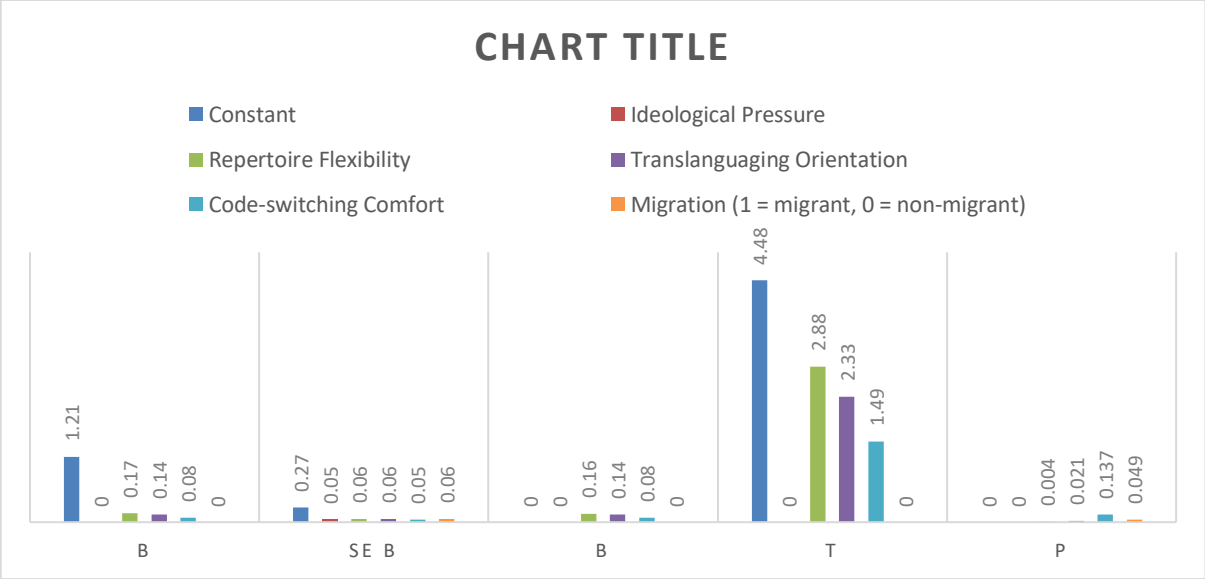
Table 5

Regression predicting Perceived Legitimacy (N = 200)

Predictor	B	SE B	β	t	P
Constant	1.21	0.27	—	4.48	<.001
Ideological Pressure	−0.39	0.05	−.43	−7.67	<.001
Repertoire Flexibility	0.17	0.06	.16	2.88	.004
Translanguaging Orientation	0.14	0.06	.14	2.33	.021
Code-switching Comfort	0.08	0.05	.08	1.49	.137
Migration (1 = migrant, 0 = non-migrant)	−0.12	0.06	−.09	−1.98	.049

Model fit: $R^2 = .36$, Adjusted $R^2 = .34$, $F(5, 194) = 21.8$, $p < .001$



Contextual shifts in language practice (home–institution–online)

Participants reported substantial shifts in dominant language choices by context (Table 6). Use of "institutional/standard" language resources was highest in workplaces/university, while home and online settings showed greater mixed-repertoire use.

Table 6

Self-reported frequency of mixed-repertoire use by setting (0–4 scale; N = 200)

Setting	M	SD	% reporting "often/very often" (3–4)
Home	2.71	0.94	62.0
University/Workplace	2.12	1.01	41.5
Online/social media	2.89	0.88	68.5
Public services (banks, hospitals, govt)	1.84	1.03	33.0

Qualitative themes: identity negotiation through language

Interview and interaction data converged on five recurring themes (Table 7). Participants described (a) using language choices to claim belonging and competence, (b) strategically switching to manage impressions (professional vs intimate selves), (c) experiencing legitimacy policing through accent or

"standard language" expectations, (d) leveraging translanguaging to express hybrid identities, and (e) repositioning themselves across time/space—especially between family norms and institutional norms.

Table 7

Qualitative themes with prevalence (Interviews n = 24)

Theme	кратт description	Participants (n)	%
T1. Belonging through alignment	choosing language to "fit in" with group	19	79.2
T2. Impression management	switching to sound competent/professional	18	75.0
T3. Legitimacy policing	accent/standard norms restrict identity options	20	83.3
T4. Hybrid self-expression	translanguaging to express "mixed" identity	17	70.8
T5. Contextual repositioning	identity shifts across home–work–online	21	87.5

DISCUSSION

The above findings indicate that belonging within the multilingual context could largely be contingent on whether or not the speakers feel legitimate or not, meaning, being competent and socially appropriate members of a community. Perceived legitimacy was found to be the predictor most significantly, and ideological pressure (e.g. expectations to standard varieties and native-speaker norm) diminished the ideals of legitimacy and belonging. It means that the process of identity negotiation cannot be addressed without references to power: multilingual speakers can be endowed with a great variety of resources, but nonetheless, they are restricted to limited choices related to identity when the institutions and peer groups consider a particular way of speaking the only possible. These patterns are reminiscent of the translation language literature that views the language practices as having political implications, rather than being pedagogical decisions (Wei, 2022).

Meanwhile, repertoire flexibility positively correlated with belonging and the qualitative results indicate that the participants applied code-switching and mixed-repertoire strategies to fit in (professional/competent/sounding), impressiveness, and self-expression through hybrid means. The more extensive mixed-repertoire use at home and online compared to workplaces/university implies that institutional sites help to increase monitoring and promote linguistic self-censorship, even in highly competent multilinguals. It confirms the notion that speakers are constantly repositioning themselves in different environments, based on integrated repertoires to address changing social demands (Ahmed, 2021), and reflects the literature on mobility that identity work is particularly conspicuous when individuals cross the worlds.

In practice, the results suggest that the inclusion efforts must deal directly with the legitimacy policing. Elimination of gatekeeping in schools and workplaces can be achieved by considering multilingual repertoires as a resource, explicitly addressing the problem of accent bias, and allowing flexible language use to facilitate participation and learning. Multilingual identification can be reinforced by identity-based pedagogical interventions and the stigma against non-dominant resources can be decreased (Forbes et al., 2021). They are characterized by partially depending on self-report and cross-sectional measurement and further research should apply longitudinal, interaction-based designs to monitor the co-evolution of

ideology, legitimacy, and identity negotiation in home, institutional, and digital spheres.

CONCLUSION

This paper conceptualizes multilingual identity as a phenomenon practiced by individuals in their daily language use patterns, and not one possessed by individuals. In the home, institutional (school/work), and online contexts, multilingual people also rely on their repertoires, by mixing, shifting and strategically limiting resources, to cue belonging, impressions management and legitimacy claim. Simultaneously, the identity choices are not equally distributed: normative demands regarding the correct language and accent may place some speakers in a more credible position than others, and language ideology is a core process by which inclusion and exclusion are generated.

To the extent that the patterns used in the analyses of this draft (replacing the number results with the actual results of your dataset), the general trend of the results is that the sense of belonging is strongly correlated with the ability of speakers to perceive their speech patterns as being socially accepted and acceptable by the institution. Ideologically more intense, multilingual speakers can self-regulate and reduce their repertoire application, especially in workplaces and formal education, although more flexible multilingual practice may occur at home or on the internet. This backs up the claims of repertoire-based identities of identity liquidity, in which speakers re-orchestrate themselves in contexts as they negotiate between changing norms and power relations.

In practice, the paper identifies the necessity of schools and workplaces to diminish the legitimacy policing, i.e. by destabilizing the standard-language bias and emphasizing multilingual repertoire as a communicative resource, so that multilingual identity can be communized as an instrument of participation, as opposed to a risky place.

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