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“Languages are my future work tools”: Exploring conceptualisations of linguistic capital and language learning among plurilingual young adults

ABSTRACT. This paper analyses how multilingual young adults conceptualise their multilingual repertoires and language learning experiences. It draws on Kramsch’s (2009) idea that language is experienced on a physical, emotional and artistic level. Combining the language portrait method (Busch 2018) with interviews, the study explores ideologies about the value of languages, analysed within Bourdieu’s (1986, 1991) theory of capital. Particular emphasis was placed on the role of metaphors, which enrich the understanding of experiences and facilitate the construction of complex mental models (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999). The results of the study indicate that participants regard multilingual competence as a valuable asset that enhances employability, social mobility and access to global labour markets. They learn languages with high economic and symbolic value, such as English and German, reflecting Bourdieu’s idea of language markets.

KEYWORDS: plurilingual repertoire, metaphor, linguistic capital, language portrait.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study examines how plurilingual young adults – students of applied linguistics who embody the European ideal of proficiency in at least two foreign languages – conceptualise their plurilingual repertoires and language learning experiences. It focuses on the subjective dimensions of language learning, reflecting Kramsch’s (2009: 60) perspective that a foreign language is not merely a tool for communication or information exchange but is experienced on physical, linguistic, emotional, and artistic levels. This research attempts to bring to light the often-unconscious ideologies underlying language learning and use, such as conceptualisations about a language’s perceived “value” or “economy” (Wąsikiewicz-Firlej et al. 2022). These ideologies attribute specific characteristics or presumed advantages and disadvantages to certain languages, which may influence decisions to learn them (Council of Europe 2007: 12–13). In line with this focus, the study addresses the following research question (hereafter RQ):

RQ: How do plurilingual young adults raised and educated in monolingual settings conceptualise the value of their plurilingual repertoires and language learning experience?

To elicit meaningful responses about participants' plurilingual repertoires, gain insights into their life experiences and underlying ideologies, and encourage reflection on language learning, the study combines the Language Portrait method (Busch 2018) with semi-structured interviews, a traditional tool in sociolinguistics. The verbal and visual metaphors expressed during the interviews are analysed qualitatively to reveal participants' individual conceptualisations of the value of language and language learning, interpreted through Bourdieu's theoretical framework on the forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986, 1991). The focus on figurative language, particularly metaphors, is intentional, owing to their capacity to render our thoughts in a more precise and vivid way, thereby shaping our perception and interpretation of the world (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999). By reconfiguring established cognitive schemata, metaphors provide alternative avenues for understanding our experiences and environment. Consequently, they influence how information is processed and internalised, facilitating the development of more sophisticated and nuanced mental representations (Oxford et al. 2014: 12).

2. LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE LEARNING THROUGH THE LENS OF BOURDIEU'S SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

This study adopts Pierre Bourdieu's framework of the forms of capital to investigate societal perceptions of plurilingual repertoires in society as well as the motivations behind language learning. Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes three primary forms of capital: economic, social, and cultural. Economic capital refers to financial resources, property and material assets, while social capital encompasses a range of interpersonal and social relations, networks, along with obligations and recognition that arise from them. Cultural capital pertains to non-financial resources, such as education, expertise, knowledge, skills, ownership of cultural artefacts, and professional credentials, as well as particular lifestyles that can facilitate upward mobility within a stratified society. The mastery and use of languages that are acknowledged and valued in a given social context are especially related to linguistic capital, which is a subset of cultural capital – "a symbolic asset which can receive different values depending on the market it is offered" (Bourdieu 1977: 651). Languages, in Bourdieu's view, are not merely neutral means of communication but also markers of status and power. According to the scholar, "speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it" (Bourdieu 1977: 652).

In language learning, gaining proficiency in dominant or prestigious languages typically enhances one's linguistic capital, increasing chances for upward social and economic mobility and advancement. For instance, in the globalised world, proficiency in English is frequently viewed as a form of linguistic capital due to its association with economic opportunities, education, and international communication (Park & Wee 2013; Wąsikiewicz-Firlej et al. 2022). However, the unequal allocation of linguistic capital establishes a system of inequality, leveraging individuals proficient in dominant languages, especially native or proficient speakers, and giving them distinct advantages over others. This phenomenon exemplifies Bourdieu's concept of the linguistic market, in which one's social standing is shaped by the symbolic worth attributed to specific languages or dialects. Bourdieu emphasises the importance of language proficiency by stating that “there is no language that is not also a ‘market’” (Bourdieu 1991: 37).

Furthermore, the acquisition of linguistic capital is often mediated by access to cultural capital, such as formal education and social networks. Learners from privileged backgrounds are more likely to possess the resources needed to acquire prestigious languages, while marginalised groups may face barriers in the linguistic market. Consequently, language learning is not merely a cognitive process but a deeply social one that reinforces existing inequalities. Applying Bourdieu's theoretical framework to language learning provides valuable insights into how language functions as both a resource and a locus for the negotiation of power relations. In particular, the adopted framework acts as a lens to understand how young adults' self-representations, language choices, educational preferences, and the values they attribute to given languages are influenced by underlying power relations. This perspective highlights, for example, how socially dominant languages are often prioritised, while minoritised languages may be marginalised, reflecting broader social hierarchies and ideologies (Rosiak 2023).

3. LANGUAGE PORTRAITS AS STIMULI FOR CONCEPTUALISING LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

Among the methods employed to conceptualise language repertoires and processes of language learning is the use of language portraits. Introduced by Gogolin and Neumann (1991), who investigated the language awareness of primary school children, the language portrait (LP) approach was subsequently developed in Vienna by the group *Spracherleben* (Busch 2016). In LP-based studies, participants are invited to assign a colour to each language they know or have some connection to. Then they apply these colours to a human silhouette,

positioning languages in specific areas of the body. Such visualisation reveals the socio-affective embedding of particular languages and the respondent's attitudes towards them. Thus, the language portrait symbolically embodies one's linguistic repertoire (Busch 2018; Soares et al. 2020: 2).

Subsequent LP studies have primarily focused on children in multilingual school and home environments (e.g., Odeniyi & Lazar 2020; Yoshida & Nichols 2022; Stavrakaki & Manoli 2023; Romanowski & Wąsikiewicz-Firlej 2024). These studies have often aimed to enhance language awareness and ultimately improve language education policies, particularly in multilingual contexts. For example, Busch's classroom-based research (2010, 2012, 2018) fostered reflections on multilingualism within educational settings in South Africa. Another central theme in language portrait research concerns the interplay between language and identity in bi- and multilingual individuals across a range of geographical contexts. This line of inquiry has been explored in studies conducted in South Africa (e.g., Dressler 2014, Prasad 2014, Lau 2016) and Europe (Krumm 2013). However, as Wąsikiewicz-Firlej (2023) observes, research focused on plurilingual young adults raised and educated in monolingual settings remains limited. In addition, only a small number of studies have examined figurative language generated in narratives within LP research. The few existing contributions in this area can be exemplified by several studies. For example, Coffey (2015) analysed language portraits produced by teacher candidates, while Peters and Coetzee-Van Roy (2019) employed a corpus-based approach to investigate metaphors generated by 105 multilingual South African students. The lived experiences of South African students were also explored by Botsis and Bradbury (2018).

This paper builds upon data collected in an LP study on the plurilingual repertoires of young adults in Poland (Wąsikiewicz-Firlej 2023). Similar to Botsis and Bradbury (2018: 414), the current research treats visual portraits not only as stimuli for narration but also as tools that activate a creative modality, encouraging the use of figurative language and providing participants with new lexical resources to articulate their experiences. The portraits render participants' embodied cultural-cognitive perceptions of their linguistic repertoires through their selection of colours and the positioning of languages on the body silhouette (Busch 2018). The way young plurilinguals choose to position their languages in their portraits can reveal the influence of dominant language ideologies. Since this analysis specifically focuses on the metaphors conceptualising language as a form of capital, interpreted through the lens of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, the "ideology of utility" (Rosiak 2023: 43) emerges as particularly significant. This ideology involves internalising the belief that certain languages (e.g., English, as a globally dominant language) are inherently superior, offering individuals higher social status and broader opportunities.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN

To address the research question (see Section 1), a concurrent mixed-methods and multimodal design was adopted (Creswell 2014; Wiśniewska 2014), combining the language portrait technique (Busch 2018) with semi-structured interviews. Participants were requested to prepare visualisations of their linguistic repertoires by colouring in a human body silhouette (Busch 2018), a process designed to help them conceptualise their linguistic repertoires while reflecting on their emotions, ideologies, and attitudes toward language(s). This technique is particularly appreciated for its potential to facilitate the expression of language-associated emotions (Peters & Coetzee-Van Rooy 2020). By establishing connections with individuals' embodied experiences, language portraits provide an effective means of eliciting participants' figurative perceptions of their language use and language learning (Wąsikiewicz-Firlej 2023; Romanowski & Wąsikiewicz-Firlej 2024). Such an approach allows for a deeper understanding of our “linguistic self” (Busch 2018). Additionally, language portraits align with the concept of “linguistic repertoire” as advanced by Blommaert (2010), which encompasses complex and dynamic linguistic resources possessed by individuals and utilised in various communication contexts. These repertoires not only reflect participants' linguistic resources but also capture the fragmented and diverse trajectories of their lives and environments. Drawing on Lakoff and Johnson's (1999) argumentation that metaphors are fundamentally grounded in bodily experience, the language portraits were interpreted as a metaphorical space, facilitating analysis across diverse “modes of understanding” (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 106). Following this task, semi-structured interviews were conducted (Galletta & Cross 2013) to obtain textual data for further analysis, i.e., a narrative explaining the visualized repertoires and language learning experiences. The visual portraits and their accompanying verbal descriptions are regarded as interconnected components of the overall narrative, aligning with Riessman's (2008: 143) observation that “just as oral and written narratives cannot speak for themselves, neither can images”.

4.1. Participants

The study involved 19 students or recent graduates of applied linguistics, specialising in German and English, aged 21 to 23 (mean age = 22.1). The cohort, coded as R1-R19, consisted of five male and fourteen female participants, all native speakers of Polish raised in monolingual families and educated in monolingual settings in Poland. The participants demonstrated comparable proficiency

in English and German (B2 to C1 level) and knowledge of at least one additional foreign language, typically a European language, e.g., Spanish, French, Russian, or Norwegian. On average, the participants marked 4 to 7 languages on their portraits (mean = 5.2). Notably, the respondents' high language competencies were not developed through migration experiences or interactions with multilingual communities but were primarily acquired through formal and informal learning at various stages of their lives.

4.2. Data collection procedure

Data were collected in May 2020 through online interviews conducted by trained student research assistants, necessitated by COVID-19 restrictions. The volunteers were informed about the study's aims and provided consent for audio recording. The participants were instructed to create language portraits by colouring an A4 body silhouette template (Busch 2010, 2012, 2018) to represent the languages they spoke, were exposed to, or wished to learn. The portraits were digitised, and the accompanying narratives were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interviews lasted between 9.43 and 40.54 minutes (mean duration: 15.51), with confidentiality and anonymity assured (see Wąsikiewicz-Firlej 2023 for further details). The digitised textual corpus contained 60,913 words.

4.3. Data analysis

The textual data were analysed in multiple stages. First, the entire corpus of interview transcripts was meticulously examined to identify themes related to conceptualisations of language and language learning. Following Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2021) thematic analysis framework, the process began with verbatim transcription, followed by an inductive thematic analysis and an open coding phase. This involved careful reading and re-reading to identify recurring ideas, concepts, and experiences verbalised by the participants. The themes were constantly re-evaluated and refined throughout the analysis. While the initial coding was inductive, the interpretation of the themes was informed by Bourdieu's (1977, 1986, 1991) sociological theory, particularly his concept of linguistic capital, to ensure validity and address the research question posed. Thus, the analysis aimed to uncover how business-oriented concepts influence perceptions of language and language learning experiences. Additionally, employing Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conceptual framework, this study investi-

gated metaphors associating language and language learning with the domain of business. The focus was on identifying metaphors and categorising them by their source domains. This systematic approach ensured that the findings were firmly grounded in the data, providing rich insights into participants' experiences. Direct quotes from the corpus further substantiate the identified themes and document participants' authentic utterances.

5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings illustrate that learners often conceptualise their plurilingual competencies and language acquisition through business metaphors, framing language as a form of economic, social, cultural, and linguistic capital, as theorised by Pierre Bourdieu. Notably, the metaphor of investment, borrowed from business terminology, was introduced to linguistics by Bourdieu (1977) and applied in sociocultural contexts. Furthermore, learners exhibit varying levels of commitment and participation, often shaped by experiences of social inequality and discrimination in their learning environments (Canagarajah 1993). Even in less socially contentious settings, differences persist in how learners allocate time, effort, focus, and financial resources to language learning (Griffiths 2013; Oxford et al. 2014). To explore these differences more deeply, the following metaphor analysis examines how individual language learning experiences intersect with broader sociocultural dynamics. It is not intended to be exhaustive; rather, it highlights selected examples from the corpus to illustrate the connection between language learning experiences and Bourdieu's concepts of cultural and linguistic capital.

5.1. Language as a tool for business

Language learning is frequently conceptualised as acquiring tools essential for professional success. For example, the participants in this research described languages as “work tools” (e.g., R6), with English and German being instrumental in professional communication and career growth. As R14 put it, “These two languages are my right hand, my tool at my work”. In a similar vein, R6 also declared, “these two languages are my future work tools, so I would like to become a translator, and I would like to use these two languages in my everyday life and my job”. These metaphors map languages onto practical, functional resources and frame language acquisition as a means to achieve efficiency and productivity in workplace contexts.

Metaphoric representations of English or German as hands are fairly common in the corpus, positioning hands as symbols of work and linguistic utility. Additionally, the left hand epitomises weaker language skills in contrast to the right hand, which represents greater proficiency:

I feel weaker in terms of my language skills in German, so this is why I chose this weaker or supposedly weaker hand for this. [...] And there's also this thing that uh this right hand is up and I think that for me this is a sign of uh preference so I prefer English to German, so this is why this left hand for German is hanging down and this is kind of like a symbol for me that this is not a language that I prefer to speak or to work with (R4).

The participants tend to conceptualise Polish, their L1, as the foundations, roots, or pillars of their identity, often epitomised with legs. English and German are seen as building blocks for their careers, highlighting how their first language serves as a base for identity, while additional languages contribute to growth and success. For example, R4 declares, "I work and I plan on working with German as [...] whatever I will do in the future, I think it will be tied with German", conceptualising this language as a professional tool necessary for career advancement. Another respondent (R16) contends that German offers her "a sense of stability". Stability is used here metaphorically to indicate that German provides a feeling of reliability or security, much like a steady foundation.

These metaphors enrich the text by adding symbolic meaning and linking languages with aspects of identity, emotion, and practicality. They also reflect Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital, wherein language proficiency serves as a resource for achieving higher social status and professional mobility.

5.2. Investment and return

In this study, conceptualisations related to financial investment were prevalent, framing language learning as a strategic decision with long-term benefits. For instance, as expressed by (R16), "my plans are also associated with English because obviously right now English is necessary for any kind of work". Similarly, as R4 observes, "all job offers I've received so far were rather [...] focused on a German-speaking person, so this is why it's green because this is hope for my career that I won't be like uh jobless". The respondents also mention the time and effort they dedicated to learning languages (e.g., R1, R3, R12), framing language acquisition as a means of adding tangible value to their professional portfolios. As R1 put it, perfecting German is the main goal that he hopes to capitalise on in the future: "That is the most important because I need to get

it into perfection as I’m studying it. I’m into it so much, these days, this year”. This conveys the strategic effort engaged in language learning as an investment aimed at attaining proficiency and professional benefits.

The respondents equate the time and effort spent learning a language to an investment in future professional returns, such as career advancement or increased income. However, it is important to note that language learning in a monolingual context does indeed involve tangible monetary costs. As reported by numerous respondents, excelling in languages often required attending extracurricular classes, including private tutoring or commercially offered language courses, typically funded by their parents. Given the costs associated with these efforts, they can be seen as belonging to a relatively privileged social group, supported by parents with higher levels of economic, cultural, and social capital, who are not only able to make informed decisions about their children’s education but also act as agents of their language development (cf. Gruszczyńska-Thompson 2019).

Positioning language learning as an investment aligns with Bourdieu’s (1991) assertion that cultural and linguistic capital can be converted into economic capital, emphasising the economic utility of language skills in professional markets. Conversely, high levels of economic capital can also foster the development of linguistic capital. This reflects Bourdieu’s notion of accumulating linguistic capital to effectively navigate professional and cultural markets, with learners strategically selecting languages that align with their career trajectories.

5.3. Language as an asset

The participants frequently equated languages with assets, emphasising their role as mediums of exchange in professional and cultural markets, ensuring employability. The metaphors framing languages as “assets”, “keys” and “passports” to employability illustrate how multilingual competences provide access to social, cultural, and economic opportunities, akin to the transactional power of money. Bourdieu’s framework contextualises these metaphors within linguistic markets, where the value of a language is determined by its utility in navigating global economies and cultural exchanges (cf. the “ideology of utility” as discussed by Rosiak 2023). This emphasises the economic value of language proficiency, treating it as capital necessary for accessing opportunities in professional markets. As R1 worded it, “When it comes to English, it has helped me, for example, to write my own CV. That is a necessity for any job worldwide”. Here, language is viewed as a requirement for employability, directly tying linguistic skills to career progression and economic advantage.

5.4. Market and competition

The perception of advanced language skills as a competitive advantage or as “a leverage”, emerged strongly in the participants’ utterances. Statements such as “I think when someone [...] knows Chinese, I think this person has big perspectives everywhere” (R19) frame the Chinese language as a valuable asset that provides a competitive edge in the job market, positioning language proficiency as a distinguishing factor in global markets. Likewise, common statements such as “English is necessary for any kind of work.” (R16), highlight the symbolic and economic dominance of English as a global lingua franca. This conceptualisation resonates with Bourdieu’s (1991) idea of symbolic power, wherein languages like English dominate linguistic markets due to their perceived legitimacy and hegemonic status. This dominance reinforces systemic inequalities, leading to the marginalisation of speakers of less globally valued languages (see, for example, the context of Nepal in Poudel et al. 2002, Choi & Poudel 2024). It also highlights Bourdieu’s concept of linguistic capital, positioning language as a negotiable resource within professional and economic contexts. For instance, the participants noted how proficiency in certain languages enhances their employability and professional worth. This framing reinforces the transactional nature of language skills, where their value is measured by their utility in achieving economic and social objectives.

5.5. Networking and global mobility

The respondents also highlighted the role of language in fostering professional relationships and social connectivity, often framing languages as “connectors” or “bridges” that facilitate relationships and transactions or as a key granting access to exclusive private and professional spaces. As R1 expressed it,

That is a necessity for business not only abroad, but also in Poland. It has helped me to travel abroad as I have contacted people from abroad, and this way, managed to get informed, get some information about all the countries before travelling to them. It was [...] the German language as I was in Leipzig. And when it comes to French, [...] I didn’t have the chance to be in France, but it has helped me to contact a Canadian speaker. And as we know, [...] people from Canada speak both English and French, so it was no problem to speak with the person and get some knowledge because he was actually a translator.

The respondents also emphasised that languages enhance their mobility, e.g., “I know so many languages and I can travel to different countries or even

move to a different country" (R10). Visually, this mobility was also symbolised by legs, where some of the respondents placed their strongest languages in the portrait. These findings corroborate Bourdieu's (1980) emphasis on the interplay between linguistic and social capital, where language proficiency enhances one's ability to participate in influential networks.

In the corpus, conceptualisations of English as a language that connects people within the global network highlight the role of languages in facilitating global mobility, inclusivity, and mutual understanding, an aspect often signalled in previous research (cf. Wąsikiewicz-Firlej et al. 2022). Language is metaphorically viewed as a bridge that enables communication and fosters connections across cultural and geographical boundaries. As R1 observes, "It's the language that helps bring people together because everyone nowadays knows English, right?" Similarly, R8 emphasises the widespread accessibility of English, stating that "[a] lot of people know English, so it's easier to communicate and share experiences and share the knowledge or anything you know". Additionally, English emerges as an adaptable, versatile tool that allows the speaker to engage in a wide range of activities, from work to socialising: "English is very flexible... I can do anything with it" (R16).

These conceptualisations position English as a *lingua franca*, reflecting its function as a common medium for interaction in globalised contexts. They also highlight how multilingualism operates as a form of capital, enabling individuals to navigate international spaces and access opportunities. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) theory of linguistic markets, these examples illustrate how the perceived value of languages is shaped by global economic and cultural dynamics, reinforcing their role as symbolic and economic capital.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The narrative accounts accompanying language portraits provided a unique multimodal representation of embodied plurilingual repertoires and a story of language learning, capturing "past experiences and future intentions" (Mossakowski & Busch 2010: 166). The respondents shared their experiences and emotions related to each language and language learning. Compared to traditional narrative interviews (e.g., Wąsikiewicz-Firlej 2020; Wąsikiewicz-Firlej et al. 2022), the use of language portraits encourages a richer use of figurative language. Therefore, the stories shared by the participants are not focused on the provision of detailed accounts of the language learning process or attained proficiency but might be treated as a form of languaging, offering insights into the subjective interpretation of

the perceived value of particular languages and lived experience of language learning (cf. Wąsikiewicz-Firlej 2014).

This study explored the perceived value of language and language learning among plurilingual young adults majoring in applied linguistics, who were raised and educated in monolingual Poland. The findings depict motivated learners pursuing language acquisition that requires extra effort and financial resources to access formal instruction of target languages, largely funded by parents through extracurricular classes and courses. The participants viewed their plurilingual repertoires as valuable assets that enhance employability and provide a competitive edge in the job market. From this perspective, they may be seen as a privileged, “elite” group (Barakos & Selleck 2019) with access to resources supporting their linguistic development. In this respect, their social standing contrasts sharply with that of students with migration backgrounds, who often face challenges stemming from “migration, a minority position, discrimination and marginalization” (Salo & Dufva 2018: 424). Learners in the study prioritised learning languages with higher symbolic and economic value (e.g., English and German), reflecting Bourdieu’s idea of linguistic markets. In their view, plurilingual competencies increase access to social and professional networks, serving as a bridge to upward social mobility and access to global job markets. These insights emphasise the role of language learning in constructing cultural and linguistic capital, reinforcing its instrumental and symbolic power in professional and societal contexts. Future research should explore how linguistic markets evolve and how individuals navigate these shifts to maximise their linguistic capital.

This study also carries a pedagogical dimension. Participation in the research project, along with engaging in a creative mode, encouraged the participants to employ metaphors and reflect on their language practices, learning experiences, and attitudes toward specific languages. The multimodal approach provided an alternative means for those students to articulate their ideas and experiences, fostering a deeper understanding of their plurilingualism, which challenges monolingual and monoglossic ideologies (Melo-Pfeifer 2017: 54). In this regard, creating and interpreting language portraits proves to be a valuable tool for both language learners and educators, fostering language awareness – an essential skill for those pursuing language-related professions. For learners, it enhances understanding and appreciation of their diverse linguistic abilities. For educators, it provides insights into students’ linguistic identities, promoting more inclusive and adaptive teaching practices. This approach is particularly beneficial for individuals pursuing careers in language fields, as it promotes critical thinking about language beliefs and highlights the complex, evolving nature of linguistic repertoires.

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„Języki są moimi przyszłymi narzędziami pracy”: analiza sposobów konceptualizacji kapitału językowego i uczenia się języków wśród wielojęzycznych młodych dorosłych

ABSTRAKT. Niniejszy artykuł analizuje, w jaki sposób wielojęzyczni młodzi dorośli konceptualizują swoje wielojęzyczne repertuary oraz doświadczenia w zakresie uczenia się języków. Badanie opiera się na koncepcji Kramsch (2009), zgodnie z którą język jest doświadczany na poziomie fizycznym, emocjonalnym i artystycznym. Łącząc metodę portretu językowego (Busch 2018) z wywiadami, badanie koncentruje się na identyfikacji ideologii dotyczących wartości języków, analizowanych w ramach teorii kapitału Bourdieu (1986). Szczególny nacisk położono na rolę metafor, które wzbogacają rozumienie doświadczeń i ułatwiają konstruowanie złożonych modeli mentalnych (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Wyniki badania wskazują, że uczestnicy postrzegają kompetencje wielojęzyczne jako cenny atut, zwiększający szanse na zatrudnienie, mobilność społeczną oraz dostęp do globalnych rynków pracy. Uczą się języków o wysokiej wartości

ekonomicznej i symbolicznej, takich jak angielski i niemiecki, co odzwierciedla bourdieusowską koncepcję rynków językowych.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: repertuar plurilingwalny, metafora, kapitał językowy, portret językowy.

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