The right to be multilingual: How two trilingual students construct their linguistic legitimacy in a German classroom

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Dedication

For my trilingual family: Marko, Samu, and Sofia.

Abstract

In order to maintain multiple languages within the US school system, multilingual students need to feel legitimate as speakers of their languages. While prior research has investigated the "right to speak" of individual second language (L2) learners (Norton, 2000) as well as the overt and covert policies around "legitimate languages" at schools (Heller, 2006), no research exists that examines the negotiation of linguistic legitimacy of multilingual students. The purpose of this case study is to fill this gap. It describes the legitimacy discourses in one German foreign language (FL) classroom in a US high school and how two trilingual students, "Jana" and "Karina", construct their legitimacy as speakers of Latvian (L1), English (L2), and German (L3) in this environment. Overall, this study thus aims to promote multilingualism in education.

Qualitative methods were employed to gain insights into the legitimacy discourses and negotiations in one German classroom. More precisely, the data were gathered through participant observation of classes and breaks (about 145 hours), semi-structured interviews with two focal students, 30 peers, and the German teacher, and video recordings of 38 lessons. These data were transcribed and analyzed according to principles of thematic analysis.

Findings illustrate the focal students' struggle to see themselves as legitimate L1 users because of the societal racialization of monolingualism, which associates their whiteness with speaking only English. In addition, while their peers performed German in the classroom for entertainment in order to balance different investments, this option was not available for Jana and Karina, who derived most of their legitimacy as German

speakers from orienting towards the German teacher's discourses, that is by focusing on task fulfillment and correctness. Rare occasion of resistance against these discourses are described and analyzed. Further, Jana's and Karina's legitimacy as English speakers appeared to be instable despite having been exited from the ESL (English as second language) program.

Insights from this study expand Van Leeuwen's (2008) model of legitimation by conceptualizing legitimation as interactive and dynamic process. They further inform practitioners and teacher educators by describing how classroom discourses of correctness and an overemphasis on production and entertainment can inhibit multilingual legitimacy.

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Chapter one: Introduction

But why?: How it all began

"But why?" was one of my favorite student questions as a high school teacher. Even though it was often intended to question my approach, my curriculum, my methods, I was usually grateful for the discussion it opened about the underlying reasons for doing what I was doing. Of course, the mere fact that I could embrace such moments and turn an implied or emerging critique into an explication of my pedagogical foundations is an indication of how safe I felt as a teacher of English and German. Teaching German as a second language and English as a foreign language in Austria was hardly ever the object of serious suspicion or doubt. Overall, parents, colleagues, administrators, school policy makers, and, most importantly, students, seemed to agree that these subjects were important and purposeful, that they needed to be taught and students needed to succeed in them. At "my" diverse urban middle and high school in Vienna, I taught a lot of first and second-generation immigrant students from Turkey, Poland, Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Albania, and Kosovo. It was one of them, Mato from Serbia, who knocked me off my high horse of complacency with his "But why do we need to learn English?". As I embarked on my usual monologue about the importance and benefits of being bilingual, he simply said "But I already am." That caught me off guard. What was I going to tell him? Why did he need to learn English? Because his first language was not good enough? Because English was more important? Because he needed to learn a more common and powerful language than Serbian? I did not get a chance to answer because an argument had started among other students, many of them

with similar backgrounds as Mato, in reaction to his self-identification as bilingual. "But he speaks Serbian. It's not like being German-English or German-French bilingual. It's Serbian, come on!" was one of the statements I heard that I remember to this day. In some ways this study is a result of this question. What was I, and with me a whole education system, doing when we were teaching immigrant students a foreign language? Were we simply trying to make bilinguals trilingual? Or were we really "fixing" their bilingualism and turning it into a "more useful" one? Were we sending them the message that their first languages did not really count, and as a consequence they were not "really bilingual"? Following my discomfort with these questions that my students had triggered, I began to think about the reasons why students do or do not perceive themselves or their peers as bilingual, why and why not students see each other's and their own linguistic resources as valuable and accepted. I became interested in the processes that determine whether languages are legitimate or not. I started to ask how linguistic legitimacy came about in my classroom, but also on a broader societal level. I was fortunate to be able to ask, deepen, and reframe these questions within a PhD program and pursue them in the course of this research study.

Understanding the linguistic legitimacy of multilingual students

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore teacher and student discourses of linguistic legitimacy in one German foreign language classroom at a suburban US American high school. It focuses on how two trilingual students construct their "right to speak" (Norton, 2000) in this environment. For her definition of linguistic legitimacy, Norton draws on Bourdieu (1977b), who explains that in order to claim the right to speak,

language needs to be “uttered by a legitimate speaker, … in a legitimate situation, … and addressed to legitimate receivers” (p. 650, italics removed). This study seeks to understand the legitimation discourses that two speakers of Latvian (L1), English (L2), and German (L3) use and are exposed to in one classroom. I designed and conducted this study because I was troubled by multilingual students, like Mato, whose first languages were, inexplicably to me, lying fallow. By extension, I wondered how multilingualism could be impeded or promoted and which theory could enlighten the experiences of my students. Reviewing relevant literature (e.g., Norton, 2000; Heller, 2006) confirmed that being or becoming legitimate as users of particular languages in particular contexts was a key element of successful multilingual language use. Individuals like Mato, or my focal participants, who speak minority languages at home, have acquired the dominant language of their environment as a second language, and learn a language of a more distant community as a foreign language, are constantly negotiating different levels of legitimacy. I believe that by gaining insights into how they do this complex work, we can support them in becoming conscious, competent, and confident multilinguals. In addition, I argue that their experiences must be made visible for the benefit of other language learners and thus society as a whole. This is exactly what this study aims to do.

Filling a knowledge gap

According to his parents and peers, Mato’s Serbian was highly developed. Still, in the four years that I taught him, I never heard him speak a word of Serbian, even though several of his classmates, also immigrants from Serbia, were fluent in Serbian too. Language proficiency theory falls short of explaining this. So, whether or not

multilingual students use the language in their repertoire is not only a matter of their linguistic abilities, what else may shape multilingual students' language use? Under the headings of "identity" (Norton Peirce, 1995) or "positioning" (Davies & Harré, 1990), existing literature suggests that there is a connection between how students see themselves, how others see them, or how they would like to be seen and which languages or varieties of languages they use in particular contexts. Or, as Giampapa (2001) explains, language is a "vehicle through which speakers are 'made and remade'" (p. 280). Studies like Giampapa's enlighten how speakers make strategic use of languages, varieties, and styles of language to assume, claim, and reject different identities on a moment-by-moment basis. In the same vein, other studies have examined how multilingual students use their multiple languages and varieties to define their position in a group (Bourne, 2001), reject imposed identities, like "ELL" (English language learner), which see their linguistic background as deficit (Chen, 2010), identify with mainstream as well as minority groups (Spotti, 2007), develop their identities in relation to social pressures (Ibrahim, 1999; Norton Peirce, 1995), embrace their hybrid identities (Bailey, 2000; Dutro, Kazemi, & Balf, 2005), and cross linguistic and ethnic borders (Bucholtz, 1999b; Chun, 2001; Cutler, 1999; Rampton, 1996). All in all, there is ample evidence that students' language use and identity construction are closely connected. However, as many of these studies illustrate, this is not a straight-forward process of simply using the "right" language that matches one's identity in a particular context. Instead, it is a constant negotiation, which is permeated by power imbalances and social pressures. In order to bring such dynamics to the fore, it is useful to focus on an aspect of language use that is related to identity construction but looks specifically at how speakers do or do not

claim their languages or language use to be accepted or valued. Put differently, when proficient students don't speak the languages they identify with, when both proficiency and identity frameworks fall short of explaining language use, legitimacy theory can uncover new aspects of how language use is negotiated in social contexts. As in the case of this study, there are students who, despite being proficient in their first language and identifying strongly with their first language and culture, have banned them from their school environment. Their perspectives and experiences can best be captured by a legitimacy framework. In addition, because multilingual speakers' languages are not, or do not have to be, separate units that can be considered in isolation (García & Woodley, forthcoming), this study describes the construction of legitimacy of all three languages of two trilingual high school students.

Only a few studies exist on legitimate language use of multilingual speakers, which have, of course, greatly informed my work. First, Norton (2000) examined how five female ESL learners in Canada experienced illegitimacy when practicing their English outside of class. She described the women's experience of being highly invested in learning English, but feeling delegitimized in conversations with first languages (L1) English speakers. Norton also showed how some of the women claimed and developed identities as legitimate speakers of English over time.

In contrast to Norton's study, Heller's work on legitimate languages focuses on an institutional rather than on an individual level. She analyzed

> what ways of using language, what kinds of language practices, are valued and considered good, normal, appropriate, or correct in the framework of ideological orientation connected to social, economic, and political interests. (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, p. 2)

More precisely, in her sociolinguistic ethnography at the "Le Champlain" school in English-dominant Toronto in Ontario, Heller (1995, 1996, 2006) observed how new hierarchies were created through a "standard French" norm that delegitimized speakers of Canadian French vernacular as well as immigrants from African countries.

Last, Ben Rampton's work in German classrooms in the U.K. (1995, 1996, 2006) has illustrated how L1 English speaking students use foreign languages to construct new identities and define relationships to their peers and teachers, thereby also claiming legitimacy as speakers of these languages. Rampton's work remains focused on student identities and performances, whereas my study is deeply rooted in the topic of linguistic legitimacy, something Rampton does not explicitly address.

While these studies, which will be reviewed in more detail in chapter 2, have been crucial for our understanding of linguistic legitimacy, they leave a gap: Research that closely investigates the construction of linguistic legitimacy of multilingual individuals in their educational environment is needed, so that we can understand and evaluate how multilingual language use is impeded or fostered through linguistic legitimacy and thus promotes multilingualism and linguistic equity more effectively. This research does that by building on Norton's, Heller's, and Rampton's seminal studies. It expands Norton's and Rampton's work in that it focuses on speakers of three languages and their language use within their educational context. In addition, it differs from Heller's work in that it focuses on a micro-level of one classroom to describe in detail how individuals negotiate their legitimacy as multilinguals. Finally, it goes beyond Rampton's work in that it looks at a German FL classroom through a legitimacy lens and thus follows a more power-sensitive approach.

Overall, research is needed that offers in-depth descriptions of how multilingual students who speak languages that are associated with different levels of social prestige negotiate their linguistic legitimacy as speakers of all their languages.

Research questions and procedures

I embarked on the adventure of this study with many questions based on filling the knowledge gap described above. The most important ones were molded into the following research questions that guided the study:

1. What discourses of linguistic legitimacy characterize the educational environment, especially the German classroom, of two multilingual students?

- Which discourses of linguistic legitimacy does the German teacher engage in?
- Which discourses of linguistic legitimacy do the multilingual students' peers engage in?

2. How do two multilingual students understand and enact their legitimacy as speakers of all their languages in the German classroom?

To answer these research questions, I designed this case-study of twin 16-year-old trilingual students at a US American suburban high school. The twins, who I call Jana and Karina, speak Latvian at home, learned English as their second language (L2), and were in their fourth year of learning German as a foreign language (FL). In many ways they reminded me of Mato, and other students I taught, who were negotiating their use of multiple languages, each with different, context-dependent levels of prestige or cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977a) on a daily basis. To gain an in-depth understanding of their experience, I employed a set of qualitative methods, including participant observation (about 20 hours/week for the duration of one semester), open-ended, semi-structured

interviews with 32 students and the German teacher, and video and audio recordings of 38 German lessons. I analyzed these data according to principles of thematic analysis.

As I work to answer my research questions, I am using some terms that need to be clarified. Similar to identity and identification, and like Heller (2007), I use the terms *legitimacy* and *legitimation* to denote a state of being legitimate (the former) and a process of claiming this state (the latter). Further, I use *legitimize* and *delegitimize* as verbs for claiming and denying legitimacy. In addition, although identity and legitimacy interact and overlap, it is necessary for my purposes to disentangle them. To be more precise, I subsume questions around "what is accepted" under legitimacy and questions around "who are you" under identity, well aware that what is accepted influences who someone is and vice versa. The focus of this study is on "what is accepted" in terms of language use.

Significance of this study

My study is situated within the vibrant field of sociolinguistics, while also drawing on knowledge from the areas of classroom discourse, language policy, and language pedagogy. Not only do I tap into these fields, I also hope to speak back to them.

First, this research is a contribution to the promotion of multilingualism. If we are truly committed to creating multilingual spaces in education and beyond, we have to make sure that multilingual are speakers not only proficient enough to use their languages and identify with them, but also legitimate to use them. In order to support processes of legitimation, we need more information about how these take place in particular contexts.

Second, this research is also a contribution to the promotion of minority, or minoritized, languages. Speakers of such languages are often highly proficient but refrain from making use of their languages because they don't feel legitimate as multilingual language users. We can give agency to minority language speakers, if we explore how legitimacy can be constructed, and work to adapt educational contexts accordingly.

Third, this research is a contribution to a highly underdeveloped body of research, namely one on learners of a second language (L2) and a foreign language (FL). Traditionally, FL and L2 education have been treated as separate areas, with the former catering to first language (L1)-speaking members of the dominant social group and the latter targeting mostly immigrants, who are expected to acquire the dominant language. These two areas have been described as distinct in terms of languages, pedagogy, and socio-economic background of the student population (Rampton, 2006). Students like my L1 Latvian speaking participants, who learned English as a second language and German as a foreign language, inhabit both worlds: the one of "ELs" (English learners) and the one of FL learners. A binary view of these world does not capture their experience as hybrid language learners and marginalizes any English learners in the US who also learn a FL, thus implying that such border crossings are impossible, if not undesirable. To counter such a view, my study provides data from students who use a foreign *and* a second language.

Fourth, this research is a contribution to legitimacy theory. Even though existing theories describe the process of how legitimacy is claimed in important ways (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1977b; Van Leeuwen, 2008), they do not address how it is received or negotiated. In other words, they do take the receivers of these legitimation attempts into

consideration. My findings show that legitimation processes are fluid and unstable and created in interaction. I therefore suggest conceptualizing legitimacy as an interactive process by including how legitimacy claims are accepted, rejected, contested, and negotiated among social agents. With this expansion of current theory, this study makes a valuable contribution to the field that can be applied across disciplines and contexts. Thus, an interactive and dynamic understanding of legitimacy is helpful in understanding the experience of marginalized populations in any social context as it highlights the role the social environment plays in the process of being (de)legitimized.

In all, this study is significant on several levels: At the classroom level, it points to discourses that can impede or promote multilingual language use and therefore has implications for practitioners. On an institutional level, it calls for structured spaces and opportunities that allow speakers of multiple languages to use their languages legitimately and meaningfully (i.e. for purposes other than completing an instructional task). On a societal level, it shows power imbalances between mainstream and multilingual speakers. On a theoretical level, it expands existing theories of legitimacy.

Overview of chapters

This dissertation is organized in five chapters. Chapter two, the “Why”, provides the theoretical framework for this project as well as a review of relevant prior research which my study builds on and expands. This contextualization of my work will help explain why this study was important to do. Chapter three, the “How”, explains my epistemological and methodological approach and study design and gives a detailed description of the data collection and data analysis processes that I employed. In chapter

four, the “What”, I present my findings in three sections: legitimacy discourses of a) the teacher, b) the peers, and c) my two focal students. Findings are also discussed and linked to relevant studies and theories. Last but not least, chapter five, the “So What” outlines the implications of my research for practitioners, policy makers, and theorists.

Chapter two: Theoretical framework and literature review

Theoretical framework

Theoretical foundations

My student Mato's way of being bilingual was not a shared issue in our classroom until it was explicitly addressed. In other words, in the moment he claimed his bilingual legitimacy, a reality, more concretely, a policy, was *constructed*, which devalued and delegitimized his language resources and practices within the context of our classroom. Such processes can only be understood if we acknowledge that reality is constantly created, co-constructed by the people who live it, rather than universally true, given or stable. Any further investigations of this issue on my part, thus, necessarily had to follow the paradigms of social constructivism. In addition, Mato's legitimacy claim as well as his peers' illegitimacy positioning was constructed in the *social* environment of a classroom, which is permeated by language ideologies of the school, the Austrian educational system, and society as a whole. It was further shaped by the *culture* of the classroom, the school, and the bigger context of the cultural space that multilingual immigrant students inhabit in Austria and beyond. In this sense, the situation can only be understood within a sociocultural framework, which is, of course, inseparable from the social constructivist paradigm. In order to explore these sociocultural theories more deeply, I turned to Norton's work, who states:

> I wish to make the case that sociocultural theory reflects a growing interest in interdisciplinarity in second language research, and that this research includes but goes beyond the sociocultural research associated exclusively with Vygotsky. (Norton, 2006, p. 22)

Norton defines sociocultural theorists as thinkers who conceive of identity as "social" as well as "cultural" in that they view it as ever-changing and fluid, intrinsically linked to language, situated within and influenced by institutional and group-defined practices, as well as greater social processes, and as having implications for classroom practice. Based on these criteria, Norton identifies Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Weedon, and Lave and Wenger as sociocultural thinkers. What applies to conceptualizations of identity, is also true for theories about legitimation and legitimacy. I am therefore extending Norton's argument by including Theo van Leeuwen and Norman Fairclough, as well as James P. Gee and Bonny Norton herself into the circle of sociocultural scholars. Their work is social and cultural in the ways described by Norton mentioned above. For the present study, it is relevant as it speaks to the legitimation of linguistic practices, or linguistic legitimacy, as outlined in the following section.

Linguistic legitimacy

I begin my work of rooting this study in theories of linguistic legitimation and legitimacy by defining the concept and situating it within the area of language ideologies.

Central to this study is the understanding that certain linguistic practices are socially valued and accepted, while others are not. These values are not language-intrinsic but constructed in interaction and within a social network of powers and structures that permeate these interactions. In order to address these processes of being-valued and not-being-valued, I turned to the area of language ideologies, which is concerned with "constellations of people's assumptions and expectations about language and language users ... [which are] shared across individuals and implicated in power relations … [and] constructed within and through everyday linguistic practice"

(Pomerantz, 2002, p. 280). Pomerantz' definition of language ideologies is one of many that have been put forth. Three of the most commonly cited (e.g. in Kroskrity, 2000 and Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998) definitions have been proposed by Silverstein, Heath, and Irvine: Silverstein (1979) defines language ideologies as "sets of belief about language articulated by users as rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (1979, p. 193). Heath understands language ideologies as "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of languages in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group" (Heath, 1977, p. 53), and Irvine calls language ideologies "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests (1989, p. 255). In the numerous proposed definitions of language ideology (e.g., Kroskrity, 2000; McGroarty, 2013; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2002; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998; Spotti, 2011), a few characteristics seem to recur:

a. Language ideologies are systems of beliefs, notions or opinions about linguistic practices. Conceptualizations of ideology (and therefore of language ideology) differ according to where such a belief system lies on a continuum between "subjectively explicit" (conscious beliefs) and "constructively implicit" (unconscious practices) (Woolard, 1998, p. 6).
b. Language ideologies are shared by a group of people, whose language practices relate, or are perceived to relate, to their ideologies, and who evaluate linguistic practices of ingroup and outgroup members based on their ideologies. Such evaluations can occur explicitly and implicitly, consciously and unconsciously. One important and ongoing point of discussion has been to which degree

(language) ideologies of a group are “relatively coherent” or “internally contradictory” (Woolard, 1998, p. 6).

c. Language ideologies have socio-political, and often also material, consequences. For example, they can marginalize and discriminate against groups and individuals whose linguistic practices do not comply with the ideology and deprive them of access to power and resources. Although this political note was not part of the original understanding of “idea-ology”, the science of purely mental images as envisioned by Destutt de Tracy in the early 20th century (Woolard, 1998; Grant, 2003), it has become an intrinsic part of post-structuralist approach to ideologies.
d. Language ideologies have inherited a notion of “distortion, illusion, error, mystification, or rationalization” from the concept of “ideology” (Woolard, 1998, p. 7). An example is Spotti’s (2011) definition of language ideologies, which includes the “establishment of a standard … and the rejection of hybridity” (p. 31). Such distortion is derived from the absoluteness of a belief or opinion, which ignores or rejects a constructivist view on reality and instead views the shared beliefs of an ideology as objective truths. While some scholars have moved away from the term “ideology” because of these negative connotations, others have claimed a more neutral use of the term that conceptualizes ideology merely as socially shared belief system. For my research, I adopt the original, more suspicious stance in order to maintain a critical view on language ideologies.

Based on these definitions, I found language ideologies to be a helpful lens for my endeavor. As my vignette in the introduction illustrates, I was dealing with and wanted to

keep investigating a belief system of a group (a class of high school students), whose ideologies were marginalizing speakers of minority languages and seemed to lack any research-based evidence. However, the area of language ideologies was too broad to capture the specific focus of this study. Within it, I found the concept of *language/linguistic legitimacy*. In Heller and Martin-Jones' (1996a) words, "[t]his concept highlights the social construction of language values and practices and their central role in processes of symbolic domination" (p. 128). As a concept, language legitimacy, or linguistic legitimacy, needs a context to unfold its meaning. What is important to note is that any meaningful statement that is formed around the concept becomes an expression of a language ideology. In other words, statements about linguistic legitimacy are language ideologies in that they address the beliefs and their manifestations that a certain language, variety or linguistic practice is preferable, more valued, and more easily accepted in a certain context and situation than others. Heller and Martin-Jones, who examined how languages and language practices are legitimized and marginalized in bi- and multilingual environments, explain that research on linguistic legitimacy investigates …

> what ways of using language, what kinds of language practices, are valued and considered good, normal, appropriate, or correct in the framework of ideological orientation connected to social, economic, and political interests. (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, p. 2)

Because linguistic legitimacy is situated in the area of language ideologies as outlined above, it is intrinsically political and related to issues of social power. These roots are also what ground the concept deeply in a social constructivist paradigm, where legitimation is never objective, fixed or given, and never innocent or apolitical, but always dependent on context, power, and human interaction.

Because linguistic domination always implies control over other resources such as "knowledge, friendship, or material goods" (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, p. 2), Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) highlight the importance of research that helps us understand how linguistic norms and practices produce and reproduce social inequalities. Linguistic legitimacy is a concept that can capture the creation of social order in schools through language as well as the interaction between discourses and larger societal issues. In order to do justice to the highly political and power-laden character of linguistic legitimacy, one might choose to call a language "(de)legitimized" rather than "(de)legitimate", thereby underlining that the social value of it derives from a process dominated by an agent or a group of agents who have the status, power, and resources to assign or withhold value to languages.

As Heller and Martin-Jones (1996b) further note, educational settings are important spaces of language legitimation and delegitimation. In Heller's words, "schools are … a window onto a world in which symbolic domination is exercised within the community" (1995, p. 374). Thus, schools and their classroom are places where social practices such as language use are negotiated within an institution that represents and creates language ideologies and policies. For example, in the US, there are policies made and enacted by states, school-districts, and teachers, among others, around the use of languages other than English. Within the realm of schools, these processes are not only closely tied to the power individuals have or credentials they leverage, they are often effectively normalized and thus covert. Confirming my choice to use legitimacy as theory to make sense of my data from multilingual students, Heller and Martin-Jones (1996b) note that, "it is particularly revealing to explore these processes in multilingual settings,

where the language practices of educational institutions are bound up in the legitimisation of relations of power among ethnolinguistic groups" (p. 128). In line with this argument, my study takes a close look at a US high school, and in particular at one German classroom, in order to describe and analyze a space where educational goals, personal investments, and identities of students meet the language policies and pedagogies of the institution and the teachers and power and linguistic legitimacy are always contested and constantly negotiated.

Existing theories of legitimacy

Even though legitimacy has not been dealt with extensively, some theories of legitimacy have been developed by several scholars within the post-structural paradigm. In this section, I will outline the major theoretical contributions that have been made to the topic by Pierre Bourdieu, Theo Van Leeuwen, and Norman Fairclough.

Bourdieu's concept of the legitimate speaker

Bourdieu is the scholar who has addressed legitimacy of languages most explicitly and most extensively. His theory is based on the belief that the field of linguistics needs to move away from Saussure's understandings of langue and parole as well as a Chomskyan view of competence (Bourdieu, 1977b, 1991), neither of which, he argues, in their idealized views of language, capture the sociocultural implications of linguistic exchanges. In his article "The economics of linguistics exchanges" (1977b), Bourdieu looks at linguistics through a sociological lens. He explains:

> Briefly, we can say that a sociological critique subjects the concepts of linguistics to a threefold displacement. In place of *grammaticalness* it puts the notion of

> *acceptability*, or, to put it another way, in place of "the" language (*langue*), the notion of *legitimate language*. In place of *relations of communication* (or symbolic interaction) it puts *relations of symbolic power*, and so replaces the question of the *meaning* of speech with the questions of the *value* and *power* of speech. Lastly, in place of specifically linguistic competence, it puts *symbolic capital*, which is inseparable from the speaker's positions in the social structure. (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 646)

The change of perspective Bourdieu suggests here, is one that has since become central to sociolinguists, and one that I wish to continue. As Bourdieu has also noted, this view on language is concerned with language use, not language in an abstract sense. The question is thus not What is correct language? or What is language competence in the sense of mastering its grammatical forms? but rather What is appropriate and accepted in which situation? This is determined not by an abstract conception of an ideal language (langue), but by the interaction between speaker and listener and their bigger social context. In other words, the question is, How do language producers and language receivers interact and construct legitimacy within their contexts? According to Bourdieu (1977), another way in which the traditional understanding of language competence needs to be expanded is through the inclusion of the listeners. However, when he stresses that "competence is also the capacity to command a listener … [and] implies the power to impose reception" (p. 648), he reveals that he does not conceptualize this listener as an active participant in the discourse, but rather as a passive component of legitimation processes. In all, the view of language that Bourdieu suggests recognizes the power issues that permeate language use. In his words, "[l]anguage is not only an instrument of communication or even knowledge, but also an instrument of power. A person speaks not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished" (p. 648).

Having assumed this power sensitive view on language, Bourdieu characterizes the legitimacy of language more closely. In his description of legitimate language, it becomes clear that legitimacy is not predetermined by or immanent in a speaker or a language. Rather, it is a combination of several socially constructed aspects:

> [I]t is uttered by a legitimate speaker, i.e. by the appropriate person …; it is uttered in a legitimate situation, i.e. on the appropriate market … and addressed to legitimate receivers; it is formulated in the legitimate phonological and syntactic forms (what linguists call grammaticalness), except when transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer. (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 650, italics removed)

What Bourdieu suggests here is that the appropriateness of speaker, situation, listener, and form determine the legitimacy of a language or utterance in any given context. However, these aspects don't act or exist in a social vacuum. Rather, Bourdieu explains, social institutions maintain existing power structures in regards to language legitimacy, most importantly through education and publication policies (Bourdieu, 1991). Such mechanisms are regulated by the state, especially through the establishment of the educational system and a unified labor market, which are closely related to and dependent on each other. Through normalization and inculcation, the state establishes, legitimizes, and defends a linguistic norm:

> [T]his linguistic law has its body of jurists – the grammarians – and its agents of regulation and imposition – the teachers – who are empowered universally to subject the linguistic performance of speaking subjects to examination and to the legal sanction of academic qualification. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45)

Thus, Bourdieu ties the micro-level of an utterance back to societal power imbalances that are perpetuated by state institutions like schools and reinforced through "linguistic laws". Linguistic legitimacy, then, becomes a commodity that is strictly regulated and controlled by those in power.

What is important to note here is that processes of legitimation, as described by Bourdieu, mostly occur unnoticed in the form of normalizations of everyday practice. As a consequence, the legitimacy of a language or lack thereof becomes unquestioned, appearing as a given and unchangeable fact. Bourdieu's concept of legitimacy is closely tied to his metaphor of a market, which illustrates how different linguistic products like languages and language varieties are associated with different values. The linguistic market follows the rules of a capitalist economy: The more formal the linguistic market, the greater the authority and legitimate competence (i.e. linguistic capital) a speaker needs to have in order to "sell" their linguistic product and make some profit (i.e., gather capital). Lack of the right linguistic capital, i.e., a speaker's inability to speak the legitimate language and thus be heard and obeyed, usually entails exclusion from society or being silenced (Bourdieu, 1977b, 1991). According to Bourdieu (1991), a legitimate language is characterized by distinction and correctness. This means that it differs from the most common and ordinary varieties and usages and follows particular norms that are not accessible for everyone. He explains: "It follows that the legitimate language is a semi-artificial language which has to be sustained by a permanent effort of correction, a task which falls both to institutions specially designed for this purpose and to individual speakers" (p. 60).

Bourdieu's theory is highly relevant for the present study: I adopt his power- and context-sensitive approach to linguistics as a starting point, like many have done before me. In addition, I perceive schools and classrooms as linguistic markets, where values of languages and linguistic varieties are negotiated and exchanged for social capital and prestige. Further, I shed light on different aspects of linguistic exchanges such as the

producers, receivers, the situation, the bigger societal context, or the language itself and ask how languages are legitimized and delegitimized in overt but also covert ways as normalized language ideologies. Lastly, I pay attention to the process of constant correction as tool for maintaining power.

Van Leeuwen's theory of legitimation

In contrast to Bourdieu, Theo Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of legitimation, which is situated within Critical Discourse Analysis, is not limited to linguistic processes but extends to social practices in general. Van Leeuwen identifies four categories of legitimation as it occurs in discourse: legitimation though a) authorization (the reference to an authority), b) moral evaluation (the reference to a value system), c) rationalization (the reference to rationality), and d) mythopoesis (the reference to a narrative):

a) Legitimation through authority can come from people of a certain status or position (personal authority), expertise (expert authority), role models (role model authority), rules and regulations (impersonal authority), custom (authority of tradition) and expectations to assimilate (authority of conformity). In educational contexts, more often than not, teachers assume a position of authority that has legitimative power, although, of course, peers can have the same function.
b) Legitimation through moral evaluation is often expressed in adjectives like "normal", "good", and "bad" and originally derived from discourses that are, in most cases, not accessible any more. According to Van Leeuwen, this is where linguists need to hand discourse analysis over to historians, who can unearth the roots of certain beliefs and discourses. Moral evaluation is constructed through

evaluation (sometimes as naturalization, when a "natural law" takes the place of moral value systems), abstraction or analogies. For example, one might say "We live in the US, so we speak English" (naturalization), "He is integrating well" (an abstraction of "He is learning the dominant language.") or "Learning a new language is like buying new clothes" (analogy).

c) Legitimation through rationalization can take on the form of instrumental rationalization (the reference to purposes as goals, means or effect of an action) or theoretical rationalization (explicit naturalization of an action). For example, a German-only language policy in a German foreign language classroom might be rationalized by the goal of maximizing student output in German.

d) Finally, legitimation through mythopoesis refers to stories that are told to label actions as legitimate or non-legitimate. Such stories can appear as moral tales which illustrate moral behavior or cautionary tales which warn against breaking a rule. Multilingual students might, for example, tell stories about being reprimanded for speaking their home language at school in order to warn other multilingual speakers against doing the same.

While Leeuwen's categories are useful in illuminating how actions are discursively legitimized or delegitimized and thus in uncovering discourses of dominance and marginalization in the broader context of society, they remain focused on the standpoint of the legitimator (i.e., the state, institution or individual that is presenting its actions as legitimate). In this study, I am including the receiver's perspective and ask how attempted legitimacy is received, accepted or rejected. I am thus interested in the processes of negotiating and co-constructing legitimacy. However, Van Leeuwen's

categories will illuminate important details about the references and ideologies of legitimacy that surface in classroom discourse.

Fairclough's concept of naturalization

Even though he does not explicitly develop a theory on legitimacy or legitimation, Norman Fairclough's work on discourse analysis offers a way to understand legitimacy as discursively created within a situation and within a bigger social system. Like Bourdieu (and sociolinguists in general), he rejects Saussure's concepts of langue and parole, problematizing the implication of an abstract langue, i.e., that access to a standard language is necessary and natural (Fairclough 1992, 2001). His starting point is that

> there is not an external relationship 'between' language and society, but an internal and dialectical relationship. Language is a part of society; linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena *are* (in part) linguistic phenomena. (Fairclough, 2001, p. 19)

This idea becomes more tangible in his model of discourse as social practice that puts a text in the center of a social context which, in turn, shapes text production as well as text interpretation. Fairclough explains that discourse analysis that understands language as social practice is making a commitment "to analysing the relationship between texts, processes, and their social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 21). In addition, different types of discourses need to be considered, which follow a particular order of discourses, which in turn is impacted by ideologies and power dynamics. Fairclough's concept of ideology is central to this theory of discourse as social practice. Not unlike Bourdieu, he understands ideological power as the ability to establish a dominant discourse as something that appears to be naturally given and is thus often

met with consent. He describes how discourse types become naturalized and are seen as "common sense":

> [I]f a discourse type so dominates an institution that dominated types are more or less entirely suppressed or contained, then it will cease to be seen as arbitrary … and will come to be seen as *natural*, and legitimate because it is simply *the way* of conducting oneself. (Fairclough, 2001, p. 76)

Naturalization processes apply to linguistic meanings (e.g., of words), interactional behavior, subject positions and types of discourse. In the process of naturalization, the ideological character of discourse practices becomes less and less noticed, so that it finally disappears and discourse appears to be neutral and sometimes even rationally legitimized. What Fairclough calls naturalization can be understood as one process of legitimation that unites elements of all legitimation processes as outlined by Van Leeuwen: It assumes and claims authority, offers moral evaluation, refers to rationality and frequently manifests itself in narrative forms. Naturalization as process of legitimation, of course, is an ideological process, whose ideological power can become obvious when the norms of discourse types and orders are not followed and their arbitrariness surfaces. Otherwise, naturalization is the process of becoming perceived as ideology-free. Fairclough explains that despite its politically innocent appearance, the process of naturalization is power driven: "What comes to be common sense is … in large measure determined by who exercises power and domination in a society or a social institution" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 76).

Naturalized ideologies, for example in the shape of language policies that legitimize and delegitimize particular linguistic practices, are a powerful means of social reproduction. In a school, for example, discourse types define subject positions for students and teachers, i.e. "what each is allowed and required to say, and not allowed and

required to say, within that discourse type" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 31). By filling the expected roles and following the discourse conventions, students and teacher reproduce discourse type and order. They can do so by being conservative and maintaining the social status quo or by being creative in their use of discourse and initiating social change. Either way, their actions are shaped by the social structures and can therefore be understood as what Fairclough calls a "reproduction" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 33), i.e., a reaction to or consequence of a naturalized ideology or discourse.

Fairclough's work is critical for me in analyzing how languages and linguistic practices are legitimized and delegitimized in a foreign language classroom. I use his theory to uncover how teachers and students reproduce language policies and ideologies creatively and conservatively, and how these policies and ideologies become naturalized into common sense.

In the following section, I will transition from theoretical understandings to empirical research explicating these theories. Studies from the field of sociolinguistics have proven to offer important insights into how (il)legitimacy is constructed and naturalized, but also negotiated and resisted.

Literature review

This dissertation examines the legitimacy of multilingual high schools students. In order to address this topic in meaningful ways and situate my study firmly within the theme of legitimacy, I have made it the cornerstone of my literature review. However, the first part of my literature review revolves around multilingual language speakers' identities. I have included it here in order to create a basis for talking about legitimacy.

Because issues of multilingual identities can bring power dynamics and language ideologies to the fore, all of the following studies already address, more or less explicitly, linguistic legitimacy in some way. The purpose of this section is thus to show how research on multilingual student identities can be read and understood through a legitimacy lens and why that is useful.

In the second part, I introduce a variety of research studies that speak to the legitimacy of students' languages, varieties and linguistic practices in educational settings. This includes also instances of illegitimacy and delegitimation of such languages, varieties, and practices. Together, these two parts not only outline my own journey from thinking about identity to thinking about legitimacy, they also make an argument for moving our thinking and investigating in this direction.

Student identities and linguistic legitimacy

The first part of my literature review revolves around student identities in educational settings. Research in the area of student linguistic identities (i.e., identities that are expressed or shaped through language practices) has made an important contribution to the field in that it has described the complexity of being and becoming multilingual and illustrated how power dynamics can impact multilingual language practices. As will become clear through the following reviews, many studies with an identity focus already employ a critical, power-sensitive lens. In order to give power issues an even more central role in such work, a legitimacy framework is useful. Thus, by shifting questions from "How can I be/become (something/someone) by speaking (x language)?" to "How can I be legitimate as speaker of (x language)?", the focus moves

from an individual's way of being or acting towards how a particular way of being and acting is valued, accepted, and negotiated.

I introduce a variety of studies in three groups that emerged from my literature search. The first two groups speak to two central themes multilingual students work on throughout their educational trajectories: building academic identities and navigating social relationships and hierarchies. I therefore first review studies that document how academic identities are suppressed and/or imposed on students and how they negotiate such processes. Second, I introduce work that speaks to how multilingual students navigate social relationships and hierarchies. The final section is dedicated to work on language crossing, which illustrates how students adopt linguistic practices across racial and ethnic borders. I included this section because the studies in it demonstrate how linguistic legitimacy can be claimed and enacted even by racial and ethnic outsiders. In this way, although often without explicitly addressing it, they demonstrate the fluidity of legitimacy and linguistic practices.

Negotiating academic identities

Several research studies have shown that multilingual students experience pressures and restrictions that limit their options for building their academic identities. Oftentimes, such restrictions are due to linguistic ideologies or language policies that delegitimize non-mainstream language practices. At the same time, studies have demonstrated students' agency and resistance in the process of constructing academic identities.

For example, in her two-year-long ethnographic study in a Canadian 10th grade social studies classroom, Patricia Duff (2002) analyzed how a teacher navigated cultural diversity and identity in whole-class discussions. The teacher's attempts to address non-local students' cultural backgrounds stood in contrast to the contributions of some non-local students that tended to be "short, muted, tentative, and often inaccessible to others" (Duff, 2002, p. 305). More often than not, they refused to speak in class at all and remained silent or rejected the cultural content that was being discussed. These (non-) contributions were evaluated negatively by their native Canadian classmates. While the non-local students showed agency by refusing to accept the identities as members of cultural minorities the teacher was trying to impose on them, these acts of resistance also isolated them and kept some of them from engaging meaningfully in classroom discussions. In interviews, several students with L1 English as well as non-locals themselves referred to their low English proficiency as a reason for remaining silent and isolated at school, saying for example: "If I speak, some white people won't understand". Non-locals were thus not considered to be legitimate English speakers, which reinforced their choice to remain silent. Duff's study powerfully illustrates the complexities English learners face while constructing themselves outside of imposed and other-directed expectations as well as the tensions between their "right not to speak" and the social consequences and reasons behind enacting this right.

Similarly, Deborah Palmer's (2008) study in a second grade two-way English-Spanish immersion classroom in California addresses the power imbalance in classrooms with mainstream and minority language speakers. For example, she explains that

> [a] Spanish-speaking child must learn English; it is expected, and any failing is considered a problem. For an English-speaking child, the learning of a foreign

> language is an option, an enrichment, and any level of success is highly valued and applauded. Children are aware of this difference, and it affects their positioning in the classroom. (Palmer, 2008, p. 649)

In other words, Palmer's study illustrates different levels of linguistic legitimacy in an immersion classroom and how they relate to academic identities and social in- or exclusion. It further describes how one teacher tried to establish a discourse that balanced the power between the two linguistic groups and supported language minority students in building positive academic identities. Evidence from the classroom showed that the Spanish-speaking students adopted the teacher's discourse, thus participating in the construction of an equally shared space where positive learner identities can be developed. Even though the students would often fall back into their more familiar patterns of "Latino children enacting identities as non-learners and white students engaging in academic discourse directly with the teacher" (p. 659), Palmer recorded instances of Latino students claiming their right to learn and thus shifting the discourse of a class that was previously dominated by white students. Even though this study goes beyond it, linguistic legitimacy is one major issue that it addresses by asking questions such as "Who is legitimate to speak in class?" and "Which languages are associated with social/academic capital in class/school?"

Xiaoning Chen (2010) asked similar questions when she examined the identity building of one Chinese-speaking elementary student, "Evan", in the US. She illustrates how Evan claimed linguistic legitimacy by passionately negotiating the academic identities that were imposed on him. For example, based on his linguistic repertoire, school policies positioned him as ELL (English language learner), an identity he considered low status and which he therefore rejected. His identity as troublemaker was

foregrounded in the ESL (English as a second language) group, where Evan was discouraged from using his L1 and, feeling devalued, resisted norms and questioned the teacher's authority frequently. However, he was also identified as "smart" and "creative" by students and teachers because of his membership in the advanced math group, where he was able to use his L1 Chinese. Chen's study portrays a student who is in constant negotiations with his environment with the goal to gain linguistic legitimacy, assume powerful and valued identities, and reject imposed low status identities. She describes how, against all institutional and social pressure, a child carved out spaces and claimed agency and control over his linguistic legitimacy and academic identity construction.

Another study that examined the intersections of linguistic legitimacy and academic identity was conducted by Massimiliano Spotti in 2007. His ethnographic work with nine immigrant elementary students in Flanders (Belgium) illustrates the flexible nature of academic identities. One the one hand, students identified as (Belgian) Dutch by supporting Dutch monolingual classroom norms and expressing preferences for speaking Dutch at school. On the other hand, his participants also held on to their L1s and cultural identities, despite having only symbolic-nostalgic connections to their home countries. Spotti found that the students organized their identities and languages territorially, for example Spanish was identified as language of the home and Dutch considered the language of the school and the country. His work shows how minority students' support of restrictive language policies and their simultaneous claiming of mainstream and minority identities can be expressions of their quest for legitimacy, which is enacted and expressed through their language practices.

Student identities are not only imposed by institutions, authorities and superiors, they can also be imposed through peer pressure, as Pomerantz' (2008) study illustrates. She analyzed the language ideologies and academic identities of US college students in an advanced Spanish course, focusing on how her participants enacted and negotiated good language learner (GLL) identities. The students expressed ideologies of Spanish as a stable object that needs to be progressively acquired and of maximizing the use of Spanish in the classroom, preferably to a degree of Spanish monolingualism. Examples from classroom discourse showed that using English or not knowing a Spanish word in the classroom could be a serious threat to one's GLL identity and result in being identified as incompetent and illegitimate Spanish speaker. Pomerantz' study shows how students create a discourse of linguistic legitimacy that draws on linguistic ideologies and creates social hierarchies in an educational environment.

Although Julie Byrd Clark (2009)'s study describes similar processes of multilingual adolescents legitimizing and delegitimizing certain linguistic practices in interaction with their environment, her two-year ethnographic study uses an investment framework. She builds on Norton's concept of investment, but argues that …

> investing in language learning is not exclusively about investing to acquire material and cultural capital nor should it be posited as a question of what is the learners' investment in the target language, rather the focus and the conceptualization of investment must be more multidimensional, taking into account the varied degree(s) to which an individual invests in and engages with social categories, discourses, and representations of languages, cultures, and language learning in relation to certain ways of being … at different moments through different interactions. (p. 9)

She thus proposes a more complex and more encompassing concept of investment and also advises to include individuals' awareness of their investment.

In her study, Byrd Clark investigated how nine Italian-Canadian adolescents in French teacher education programs and French language courses used their trilingual (Italian, English, French) repertoires to foreground their Italian, Canadian or multicultural identities and negotiate their investments in language development as well as cultural and linguistic ideologies and practices. Byrd Clark shows that investments in identity, language, and culture are flexible and context-dependent and vary not only across individuals but also across situations. For example, the adolescents rejected and embraced investments in standardization ideologies flexibly. In other words, even though some of the participants felt that their linguistic practices (e.g., their Italian accents) were not legitimate in their academic environment, they were also able to construct academic identities that would serve their communicative and professional purposes and enable them to position themselves as legitimate.

Studies like these serve as evidence for the pressures and restrictions multilingual students face (and create) when constructing their academic identities, but also the agency they can show in such situations. Reading these studies with a legitimacy lens can bring out the power dynamics that are at play even more clearly and underline the critical role linguistic (de)legitimation plays in educational environments.

Navigating social relationships and hierarchies

The following studies portray students who claim linguistic legitimacy by using their languages and linguistic practices to serve their own purposes of relationship building and negotiating their place within social hierarchies.

For example, Frances Giampapa (2001), examined how eight Italian-Canadian youth foregrounded different aspects of their identities to navigate their everyday life through managing their language use and language choice. The data she gathered from her participants across different contexts, including university classroom settings, illustrate how they used linguistic practices, like switching between English and Italian, using dialectical features, and switching to French, to mark different and often hybrid identities that they assumed. They used their languages very strategically in order to serve their purposes, like being accepted as legitimate speakers of English, covering up their heritage, challenging stereotypes or maintaining their Italian identities. In all, Giampapa's study illustrates how minority language speakers find agency in navigating their hyphenated identities by making use of their linguistic repertoire. It further shows how intertwined linguistic legitimacy and legitimate identity are.

Further, in his case study, Benjamin Bailey (2000) describes how an African-descent Dominican American adolescent, whom he calls "Wilson", foregrounded different aspects of his identity through his linguistic practice during one class period at school. For example, his variety of Spanish identified him as Hispanic and more specifically Dominican, his use of American English marked his identity as US American, and his use of AAVE positioned him in solidarity to African Americans. His smooth switches between these languages and varieties signaled closeness or distance, inclusion or exclusion. While his multilingualism allowed Wilson to move between different identities, his African-descent phenotype often caused people in his environment to identify him as Black, which he usually resisted by claiming a "Spanish" identity. Although in several instances it became clear that his dark-skinned phenotype

"highly constrain[ed] his individual agency to enact identity through language" (p. 570), Wilson playfully used his appearance to claim different identities in a joking manner, which points to the fluidity of his identities as well as his agency in the process of identification. This agency was largely due to his ability to use the language or variety that was most appropriate and effective in a given situation.

Another example of navigating social hierarchies through claims of linguistic legitimacy is Awad Ibrahim's (1999) critical ethnographic study with Francophone African refugee students at a Franco-Ontarian high school. He analyzed how his participants constructed their gender and racial identities, i.e. how they "became Black" through learning Black stylized English (BSE) or Black ESL (BESL). The student narratives he collected illustrate social pressures that forced students into acquiring and using English, but also their agency in appropriating English through adopting the language and style of popular African American cultures like hip hop and rap. Ibrahim notes that the students' engagement with Black popular culture was "simultaneously an act of investment, an expression of desire, and a deliberate counterhegemonic undertaking" (p. 365). His study is thus another example of students who claim legitimacy and show agency (also) through their language use.

Similar processes have been described by Jill Bourne (2001) in her study with speakers of Bengali, Cantonese, and English as L1s in urban an elementary classroom in the U.K. She noted that the children were using a multitude of languages and language varieties when talking to each other or to themselves. The played with words and voices, for example imitating TV announcements or teachers' discourse and teaching each other words in their languages. Bourne points out that the language choices these children had

were not merely between L1 and English, but rather between a variety of discourses and registers across languages. She also illustrates how students positioned themselves as critics and editors of each other's spoken and written languages and how they refused to adopt an inspector's discourse who identified them and their languages as "exotic". Thus, as Bourne shows, the children built relationships and showed agency through using multiple languages, registers and voices in a very natural and completely taken-for-granted way.

Finally, in her seminal longitudinal study of five women ESL learners in Canada, Bonny Norton (1995, 2000) elicited stories about L2 learning experiences from five female ESL learners in Canada. She used interviews, diary entries, and a questionnaire as data sources. Her participants, Eva and Katarina from Poland, Mai from Vietnam, Martina from former Czechoslovakia, and Felicia from Peru (all pseudonyms), told stories about feeling inferior to Canadians as immigrants and English learners. For example, they talked about rarely being given the chance to practice English with L1 speakers, and if so, frequently being patronized, and even humiliated by their L1 interlocutors. However, the L2 learners also shared experiences of breaking social norms, e.g. when they spoke even though they were expected to be silent, created counter discourses and refused to assume a subordinate role in a conversation. Over time, most of the women developed identities as legitimate speakers of English. For example, Eva felt empowered by her ability to use English and gain acceptance in her work place and, once she was given access to information and resources, was able to establish herself as valued co-worker.

These studies provide evidence for the critical role language plays in educational contexts (and beyond), where students establish and define relationships to each other and to individuals of higher social status (e.g., teachers, native speakers, members of the dominant group, etc.), and construct their identities within their particular educational environment. Considering this, understanding how legitimacy of using particular languages and language practices is negotiated becomes an even more pressing issue.

Crossing linguistic and racial borders

One way of showing agency through linguistic legitimacy claims has been described in research on cross-racial language use. Numerous studies have documented how students construct their racial identities through their linguistic practices in schools and classrooms, and in the process borrow linguistic elements across traditional racial and ethnic borders.

As mentioned above, the phenomenon of borrowing language from other linguistic groups was first addressed and named by Ben Rampton. In his two-year study with Afro Caribbean, Anglo, Indian, and Pakistani youth in a U.K. school, Rampton (1995, 1996) examined "the use of Panjabi by Black and White youngsters, the use of Creole by Whites and Asians, and the use of stylised Indian English by all three" – a phenomenon he calls "language crossing" (Rampton, 1996, p. 160). His analysis (1996) of student-teacher interactions showed that switches to Stylized Asian English (SAE) were used by both students and teachers as humorous play. Asian students would, for example, approach white adults using an exaggerated Panjabi accent. Rampton shows how such instances destabilized expected conversation patterns and signaled white

interlocutors awareness of the Babu stereotype, thus hinting at “a ‘worst case’ scenario in which one of the participants might be seen as a white racist believing in Babu stereotypes, or the other as an incompetent Asian (or both)” (Rampton, 1996, p. 167). Rampton further found that the occurrences of SAE at moments of transition and inequality in the school day were parallel to the way migrants are often positioned in the U.K. context, i.e. in unstable and unequal spaces. Thus, the microcosm of interaction mirrored the social macrocosm of social life. He stresses that the use of SAE cannot be taken to signal students’ participation in acts of resistance. Such an interpretation would polarize students and teachers and not do the data justice, which seemed to point at rather friendly, non-conflictual relationships between students and teachers. Rather, he concludes, crossing was one way for students to embody part of a complex, dynamic identity that points to “the emergence of new ethnicities and mixed solidarities” (p. 170).

Several studies that followed Rampton’s seminal work have examined crossing practices of students who are constructing and negotiating their racial identities. For example, Elaine Chun (2001) examined one Korean American college student’s use of imagined African American Vernacular English (AAVE) as resource for his identity construction. In a conversation with other Koreans and Korean Americans, “Jin’s” borrowings from AAVE surfaced on lexical and thematic as well as phonological, prosodic and intonational levels of his language. They served to perform his identity as a heterosexual male by evoking associations of stereotypical African American masculinity and rejecting a rather feminine and passive one that is often ascribed to Asian American men. In addition, Jin’s linguistic practices and explicit rejections of “whitey” language

use showed that he was distancing himself from a white identity as well as problematizing white dominant culture.

Mary Bucholtz (1999b) also analyzed cross-racial uses of AAVE (Cross-racial African American Vernacular or CRAAVE). Her participant, “Brand One”, a European American high school student from California, was deeply invested in his construction of white masculinity. Bucholtz found that he used CRAAVE in prosody, lexicon, and syntax in narratives, for example fight stories, to position himself as masculine and reject gender ambiguous or white coward identities, thus drawing on gender, race and language ideologies to construct his self.

Similarly, Cecilia Cutler’s case study (1999) describes the use of AAVE of one white upper middle class private school student. Throughout his early teenage years, “Mike” appropriated a lifestyle that identified him as part of African American hip hop culture, including his friends, his membership in a gang, his clothing and language. Despite a growing distance from this culture in his early years of adulthood, he kept speaking AAVE. Cutler illustrates how Mike used and diverged from AAVE in order to negotiate competing group memberships and identities in his life. She stresses that even though Mike’s appropriation of AAVE was oversimplified and did not necessarily imply sensitivity for or understanding of racial discrimination, it was a crucial tool for him to negotiate participation in Black youth culture, but also to make sense of his identity as white private school student. This problematic use of AAVE makes it clear that cross-racial language practices, while often helpful for breaking restrictive norms, need to be examined through a critical and power-sensitive lens.

The studies in this section describe how students use language across racial borders to construct their identity. The phenomenon of crossing can be taken as evidence for a lot of agency, which allows students to reject imposed or offered identities and design their own ways of being in response to social pressures they feel, often by making use of stereotypical understandings of racial identities. The vehicle to do this is language, which raises questions about who is legitimate to speak what, how and when. As acts of crossing show, the answers to such questions are becoming more and more varied and flexible, as is linguistic legitimacy itself.

All the studies presented thus far looked at linguistic practices through an identity framework. In addition, they all address questions of linguistic legitimacy, but do not put their main focus on this topic. Thus, applying a framework of linguistic legitimacy to these or similar studies would not be an implausible stretch, and, most importantly, could sharpen the focus for a critical, political understanding of language practices as it would redirect our view from individual students toward the social context in which they act.

From "thinking identity" to "thinking legitimacy"

As I move from "thinking identity" to "thinking legitimacy", I draw on the work of scholars who have done it before me: Norton and Gee.

Norton Peirce (1995) proposes an understanding of social identity which "presupposes that when language learners speak, … they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world" (p. 18). In other words, because language learners create themselves through using language, it is essential for them to have or claim the "right to speak" (Norton, 2000). Norton's

theorizing about identity is rooted in her experience of a disconnect between her data and traditional SLA (Second Language Acquisition) theories. When she observed her adult ESL learners' limited access to practice their English outside the classroom, she refused to explain this solely through reasons within the individual learner like motivation, character traits, and self-confidence. Instead, Norton looked for an approach that would take the power dynamics of L2 learners' social environments seriously. Driven by a frustration about the lack of "a comprehensive theory of social identity which integrates the language learner and the language learning context" (Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 9) and the blindness to power issues of traditional SLA theory, Norton developed her identity theory based on "investment". In contrast to motivation (especially the concept of intrinsic motivation as proposed by Gardner & Lambert, 1972), investment takes into account L2 learners' social and historical embeddedness in all its ambivalence and foregrounds the political aspects of multiple language use. For her work, Norton (Peirce) (1995, 1997, 2000) draws on Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1977b), more precisely, his view that "speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it" (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 652). As a consequence, Norton is able to call acculturation theory and the idea of social distance to explain linguistic performance into question (esp. Norton, 2000). As she replaces such theories with her investment-approach, she transitions from thinking about identity to thinking about legitimacy.

In the past decades, Norton's idea of investment has been widely used in SLA and applied linguistics research. More recently, Byrd Clark (2009) has explored the investment and multilingual identities of urban youth of Italian origin in Canada. She

expands Norton's concept of investment by adding that investment describes how an individual "invests in and engages with social categories, ideologies, discourses, and representations of languages, cultures, and language learning, in relation to certain ways of being" (Byrd Clark, 2009, p. 9). Byrd Clark's conceptualization of investment is more complex and inclusive, and raises many questions; how investment is enacted, why it shifts, and how it is impacted by power and consciousness. This extended concept of investment is relevant for my study as I will analyze how invested multilingual students and their peers are in their languages, language uses, language choices, and language ideologies.

Similarly to Norton, James P. Gee (2011, 2012) brings together identity and legitimacy theory, even though less explicitly and by using different terminology. His way of addressing identity issues lies within his wider concept of Discourse, in his words, "Discourses, with a capital D" or "'[b]ig D' Discourses" (Gee, 2011, pp. 34ff.). These "ways of being in the world" interact with the environment that surrounds them and encompass "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing" (p. 3) that are inherently fluid and interactionally constructed. Like Norton's work, Gee's (2011) approach therefore goes beyond a purely linguistic identity and, in some instances, bears striking resemblance to Bourdieu's ideas (s.a.): "It's not just what you say or even how you say it. It's also who you are and what you are doing while you say it. It's not enough to say the right "lines", you have to be (enact, role-play) the "right" sort of person (p. 2, italics removed). It is important to note that Gee's Discourses are not merely abstract ideas, but manifest themselves as "social practices and mental entities, as well as material realities" (Gee, 2011, p. 39). As such,

they are always related to issues of power and privilege. Gee (2011) frames these issues as "recognition" (p. 35) and the distribution of "social goods", by which he means "anything some people in a society want and value" (p. 5). Thus, Discourses are shaped by but also express or tacitly imply what has socially been defined as "normal" and "right" (Gee, 2012, p. 4). Consequently, members of Discourses who are not recognized are likely to be denigrated, marginalized, or discriminated against. One important way to inhabit a specific Discourse is through language. Language is used to enact and impose identities, distribute, deny and collect social goods. To further illuminate how Discourses are socially evaluated, Gee (2011) adopts Dorothy Holland's concept of figured worlds, highlighting that these, simplified mental images that are based on common narratives, define what is "normal" or "typical" in our context (Gee, 2011, p. 69). According to Gee, figured worlds mediate between the microcosm of interaction and the macrocosm of social institutions by producing simulations in our mind that organize and interpret our experiences, prepare our actions and also represent judgments of what is valued and accepted. Thus, figured worlds can structure our lives by helping us express an opinion about our experience ("[e]spoused worlds"), assess it ("[e]valuative worlds"), and direct our actions (as "[w]orlds-in-interaction", Gee, 2011, p. 90, no italics), but they can also be contradictory and unfinished, hinder development, and cause exclusion and discrimination. For example, they define

> 'appropriate' attitudes, viewpoints, beliefs, and values; 'appropriate' ways of acting, interacting, participating, and participant structures; 'appropriate' social and institutional organizational structures; 'appropriate' ways of talking, listening, writing, reading, and communicating; [and] 'appropriate' ways to feel or display emotion … (p. 90).

What Gee describes as the construction of “appropriate”, “normal” or “typical” ways of being is what I express in my framework of legitimacy. His approach is based on the deep intertwinedness of Discourses and their social environment through negotiations about appropriateness, normalcy or legitimacy. In this sense, he transitions from thinking about identity to thinking about legitimacy, or rather, both concepts are intrinsically connected in his thinking – a perspective I adopt for my work.

Language legitimacy and legitimation in educational settings

For the third part of my literature review, I have organized a wide spectrum of research studies from the past few decades into five groups as follows: First, I provide some examples of how languages and linguistic practices are delegitimized in educational contexts. Second, I introduce several studies that show how students and teachers resist monolingual norms. A third group of studies illustrates how foreign languages can be a medium and object of linguistic legitimation. This is followed by the fourth group of studies, which are evidence of students’ and teachers’ legitimation and ownership of multiple language practices. In the last category, in order to come full circle, I present some studies that have analyzed how new hierarchies and illegitimacies are created through policies that were originally intended to promote language rights and language learning.

Limiting the legitimacy of languages

Research has documented how language practices can be suppressed or limited through policies and norms. This is particularly true for bi- and multilingual language use and the use of low prestige/minority languages. Languages can be delegitimized in

multiple ways on a spectrum from overtly to covertly. As the following collection of studies shows, the agent of delegitimizing processes can be institutions like schools, individuals like teachers or groups like student peers. In addition, such delegitimation can occur as overt and systematic strategy or as unintended or even flexible process.

One scholar who has experienced the delegitimation of immigrant youths' codeswitching in teacher and academic discourse is Volker Hinnenkamp (2005). He examined the sociolinguistic characteristics of linguistic practices of Turkish immigrant youth in Germany, which teachers in his professional development courses commonly referred to as "double semilingualism", suggesting that these children and adolescents speak neither Turkish nor German in a proficient, socially accepted way. He lays out how Cummins' Threshold Hypothesis and Interdependence Hypothesis have been subverted to support the idea of "double semilingualism" by suggesting that only high proficiency levels of one language would be cognitively beneficial for multilingual speakers and transfer to the other language. On this theoretical basis, Hinnenkamp (2005) argues, the delegitimation of multilingual practices has been thriving in academia and schools. Laying out the high levels of complexity and creativity of multilingual students' language practices, Hinnenkamp (2005) argues for a perspective that recognizes this "linguistic code in its own right" (p. 15). Based on his data analysis, he stresses that this code satisfies society's demands on immigrant youth's languages and identities of speaking German while maintaining a Turkish way of life, as well as their own needs for "difference and autonomy" (p. 15). In his words, "deficit and competence, as well as difference and autonomy, become reintegrated into an autonomous code which is made up by the 'donating languages' ... which are also distorted, caricatured and reinterpreted"

(p. 15). What is needed then, according to Hinnenkamp, is not a higher level of competence or complexity, but rather social acceptance of immigrant students' code, especially in schools, which he prompts to "enlarge [their] scope of legitimate varieties to bilingual codes". Hinnenkamp's analysis is a powerful illustration of how a minoritized group's linguistic code is socially delegitimized despite its linguistic complexity and richness.

Like Hinnenkamp, Jo Arthur (1996) traces the delegitimation of languages in educational contexts back to broader social context. In her work, she uncovers colonial and colonizing ideologies in restrictive language policies. Her ethnographic study of teacher-student interaction in two primary schools in Botswana reports that teachers had access to both English and Setswana whereas students were required to speak only the prestigious "on-stage language" (p. 17, emphasis removed) English. Students were introduced to the hierarchy of their languages at school, with English being the most valued one, Setswana, the lingua franca of Botswana, being second and Ikalanga, the children's first language being least prestigious. Teachers used Setswana to show solidarity with their students and elicit student contributions; however, student answers to such prompts in Setswana were only accepted in English. Even in the rare occasion of Setswana being legitimized by the teacher, students would answer in English. Teachers usually took center stage in the classroom and spoke to the whole class. Students who were nominated to speak stood up and were expected to speak loudly and in grammatically correct English when offering answers. Arthur describes these rituals as joint performances which are dominated by the only language that is legitimate for students, English. In contrast to earlier theorists who interpreted similar classroom

performances as rooted in a African culture and tradition of respecting authorities, Arthur ties the classroom discourse she observed to power structures that were introduced during colonial times: “The crucial common constraint on learning that operates in many classrooms throughout the continent including those in Botswana I observed, is the requirement to use a foreign language as the medium of instruction” (p. 30). She analyzes further that because of language policies from colonial times …

> teacher and pupils are mutually interdependent in that all need to keep up the appearance of effective activity in the classroom and of fulfillment of their respective roles. Any problems that arise must, therefore, be glossed over or kept backstage, and that is what is often accomplished by switching to Setswana. (Arthur, 1996, p. 31)

Arthur concludes her article stating that the discourse she observed does not allow students to be recognized as competent agents in their education. The delegitimation of their languages bars them from engaging in a meaningful experience of schooling.

As Hinnenkamp’s and Arthur’s studies have illustrated, schools and classrooms do not exist in isolation, but are permeated by larger societal dynamics and ideologies. The following studies redirect our attention to the power relations within the classroom and more specifically, to the language policies teachers create or adopt, which are, of course, influenced by such larger processes. Three studies in particular have examined how teachers limit the legitimacy of multilingual language practices.

Camilleri’s (1996) study shows how teachers delegitimized multilingual language practices in Maltese secondary classrooms, where no official educational language policy exists and both national languages, English and Maltese, would be available. Camilleri points out that the absence of an official language norm enables principals and teachers to have a great impact on language practices in schools and classrooms. She observed that

while codeswitching was common even among members of the administration and faculty, teachers often used the languages strategically to address less successful students in Maltese and high achievers in English. Literacy activities were mostly conducted in English, which was also the language of textbooks and most teaching materials. Further, teachers used English to convey formality and distance and Maltese to facilitate student participation, mediate between students and English texts, and establish solidarity and closeness. While codeswitching was an important tool to establish relations between students and teachers and students and texts, it also served to perpetuate the status of English as highly prestigious language of the educated and the role of Maltese as language of relationships and familiarity. In all, Camilleri's study illustrates how restrictive language ideologies can be created or perpetuated in educational spaces by assigning languages narrow and ideologically charged functions.

Even when neither administrators nor teachers create their own overt language policies, their discourse can act to restrict multilingualism, as Mondada and Gajo's (2001) research shows. Their study in French-speaking Switzerland examined the multilingual practices in classrooms with Portuguese newcomer students and found that teachers evaluated the language use of their students based on the situational context rather than on overt policies. For example, they sometimes tolerated student utterances in their L1 Portuguese, in some cases even encouraged them, but at other times marked them as transgressions of classroom rules. Despite moments of tolerance towards other languages, French was the only language that was legitimate for managing the classroom. Mondada and Gajo also observed trilingual codeswitching in the German classroom, where students used mostly French and very rarely Portuguese to clarify tasks and make

metalinguistic comments. Through their discourse and modeling, teachers implicitly defined French as the legitimate language for facilitating the acquisition of German, which disadvantaged immigrant students who could not always rely on strong French skills to access German. Overall, although the teachers did not follow a rigid monolingual policy explicitly, their discourse delegitimized multilingual immigrant students' language resources and practices.

As mentioned above, restrictive language policies are not necessarily imposed top-down, but can also be created or adopted by peers. Thus, the last two studies in this section focus on peer-enforced language policies.

In Sweden, Evaldsson and Cekaite (2010) examined this phenomenon. They analyzed how elementary school children with a minority L1 reproduced language norms in the context of their Swedish-dominant school and classroom. For example, they found that the children in their study teased each other for mispronouncing Swedish words or corrected each other's use of Swedish. The researchers argue that such practices, although sometimes multilingual, served to perpetuate monolingual language ideologies and delegitimize minority languages as well as non-standard or inaccurate forms of Swedish. Evaldsson and Cekaite's study illustrates how restrictive language norms are not only promoted by institutions but also taken up by multilingual students. Although appropriating such norms can be an expression of agency, it can also undermine efforts to maintain minority languages and promote multilingualism in schools.

Peer pressure can not only restrict the use of particular languages, varieties or linguistic practices, also student talk as a whole can be severely limited through language policies that are enforced by peer pressure. Pon, Goldstein and Schecter's (2003) study

investigated the discourse of speech and silence in a 12th grade classroom of an inner-city high school in Ontario with a majority of Hong-Kong born Chinese-Canadian students. During their observations, the researchers noticed a pattern of silence among these students, especially during work in ethnically mixed groups, which stood in contrast to the performances of leadership and participation of their non-Chinese and Canadian-born Chinese peers. The latter interpreted silences as lack of engagement or proficiency and remarked that the silent students were interfering with their academic success (i.e., keeping them from getting the grades their parents and teachers expected) and should not be in an advanced class. Some of the Hong-Kong born Chinese students chose to remain silent for fear of being ridiculed by their non-Chinese or Canadian-born peers or considered to be show-offs by members of their group. The classroom expectation of speaking up and their loyalties toward their ethnic group thus trapped them in a double bind. In addition, their Cantonese speech was considered too loud and evoked negative feelings in some of their peers. Pon, Goldstein and Schecter connect such evaluations of language to larger issues like stereotyping and othering of Asian immigrants, the delegitimation of minority languages, and Eurocentric perceptions of silence and speech.

All the studies in this section are evidence of the hegemonic norms that still dominate schools and classrooms across the globe. Languages are chosen, avoided and evaluated based on prestige, social power and lack thereof, peer pressure and ideologies that reflect beliefs in linguistic purity and social authorities. Consequences for multilingual students can be severe and even lead to language attrition and academic withdrawal. My research adds to this body of literature in that it provides an analysis of

language policies and ideologies in teacher and peer discourses and outlines the potential consequences for trilingual high school students' language use.

Resisting monolingualism/dominant standards

A number of studies have also documented how restrictive language norms and monolingualism are challenged and resisted by students and teachers. While elements of resistance are found in many other contexts too and the studies I introduce here can also be read as stories of suppressed and delegitimized linguistic practices, they nevertheless foreground the subversive and anti-hegemonic discourses and practices that have been initiated by students and teachers in order to legitimize their multiple-language practices. In contrast to other studies I introduce, these present acts of resistance against official language norms and policies.

In the following, three examples from Burundi, Sri Lanka, and Hong Kong show how monolingual policies and norms are resisted or subverted by both students and teachers through their jointly created classroom discourse. In her study in urban and rural primary school classrooms in Burundi, Lin Ndayipfukamiye (1996) found that teachers as well as students frequently codeswitched from the official medium of instruction French to the local language Burundi. While some teachers, administrators, and policy experts considered Burundi inept as language of science and international relations, others embraced it as unifying language of the nation or argued for a bilingual society. One important function of Burundi in classrooms was to support French acquisition by making content and language structures accessible. It also marked elaborations, clarifications, and talk about out-of-school experiences. Even though academic content was usually presented and discussed in the more prestigious French, Ndayipfukamiye

noticed that the French curriculum was not able to capture the life reality of students from rural backgrounds, so that Burundi was often necessary to keep lessons moving. Ndayipfukamiye's study is a good example of resistance to a monolingual standard: The institutionally legitimized French classroom discourse was rejected and adapted by students' and teachers' legitimizing of codeswitching to Burundi.

Similarly, Suresh Canagarajah (2001) studied the linguistic practices of the Tamil community in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, where a Tamil-only policy had been imposed to counter colonial forces and ideologies, but ESL teachers believed in upholding an English-only policy in their classrooms. Canagarajah found a considerable amount of codeswitching in these contexts: Tamil served to clarify and introduce activities, build rapport, give instructions, and provide encouragement to students, whereas English was mostly used during routinized classroom activities. Both students as well as teachers also used Tamil to facilitate learning by making content accessible. In all, English marked the official language while Tamil was used to step out of the official framework and build solidarity among and between students and teachers and support student learning. Canagarajah concludes that teachers and students in these classrooms were creative and legitimate agents of their linguistic practices as they were able to "rise above … limiting ideological influences to construct their own alternative subjectivities in strategic ways" (p. 210).

Similar processes were observed by Angel Lin (1996) in her analysis of codeswitching between Cantonese and English in Hong Kong secondary and tertiary classrooms. She presents her findings against the backdrop of the delegitimation of codeswitching through local authorities and media and the dominance of English as the "language of power and the language of educational and socioeconomic advancement"

(p. 54). Lin notes that in Hong Kong, proficiency in English does not only have symbolic value, but also very material consequences (socioeconomic status, income) and further explains how the legitimation of English has developed through a) highly selective governmental language policies (e.g., English-medium policies at prestigious universities, policies that uphold English as official and legal language, etc.), b) the loss of an alternative symbolic marketplace offered by mainland China through China's self-isolation between the 1950s and1970s and c) persistent myths about the leading role of English in the development of Hong Kong's economy and education. These factors are in stark contrast to the practices in many secondary and tertiary classrooms, where, against official language policies, Cantonese and codeswitching are used on a regular basis. Lin interprets this phenomenon as follows:

> The key to understanding the origins of this dilemma lies in understanding the coupled phenomena of the formation of a universally recognised, legitimised, and unified symbolic market on the one hand … and the perpetuation of limited access to the dominant symbolic resources for the majority of people on the other. (p. 61)

In other words, since the majority of Hong Kong citizens does not have access to English, it remains the capital of a small elite bilingual class, who enjoy the benefits of prestigious English-medium education. Lin's analysis of classroom data shows that teachers' and students' switches to Cantonese signaled references to Cantonese cultural norms, shifts of pedagogic frames, resistance to the prescribed medium of instruction, facilitation of understanding, and recognition of student contributions and experiences. She concludes that in schools and classrooms, English remains the institutionally prescribed language, but Cantonese has an important role as it promotes shared cultural values, earnestness, student engagement and relationship building. Seeing the necessity and value of

Cantonese in Hong Kong classrooms, Lin rejects suggestions of limiting English-medium education to highly proficient English speakers, arguing that it would further contribute to the segregation of the educational and social landscape in Hong Kong and thus perpetuate socially unjust structures. Instead, her study can be understood as a powerful voice of advocacy in the discussion about language norms and exemplifies how students and teachers carve out spaces in the classroom where non-official and less prestigious languages can be legitimate.

Although, as we have seen, a number or teachers join students in their efforts to undermine monolingual classroom norms, some acts of resistance can only be carried out by students because of their linguistic backgrounds or status in the classroom. Two studies from Scandinavian contexts illustrate this.

J. Normann Jørgensen (2005) investigated the use of two languages in Turkish-Danish adolescent students' conversations. He found that students were aware of the school's Danish language norm and the prestige of Danish versus their L1s, but switched swiftly, naturally and without hesitation or change of topic between multiple languages, including not only Turkish and Danish but also chunks of English, German, and French. They crossed languages to play with them even without any specific conversational aim (e.g. in self-talk) and thereby, without intention, distanced themselves from societal linguistic standards. Jørgensen draws our attention to the fact that students' appropriation of linguistic norms often served communicative purposes, which overruled institutional standards and helped to establish their codeswitching and crossing as legitimate.

While the students in Jørgensen's study had no intention to subvert classroom language policies, Alicia Copp Jinkerson (2012) documented how "the English language

norm is instituted, maintained, monitored, resisted, and subverted" (p. 4) very consciously and strategically by students in an English medium elementary classroom in Finland. In her ethnographic dissertation study she describes how two newcomer students, "Ariel" and "Lucille", found voice in navigating the English only standard in their classroom. For example, they rejected or reinforced the "English-only" rule depending on the conversational goals and relationships that they wanted to foreground in a given situation. Copp Jinkerson's study also illustrates how different students reacted to an English-only norm in different ways. For example, while some students showed continuous resistance fairly openly, others would only digress from the norm in covert ways or even adopt it to monitor other peers and position them as outside of it. Copp Jinkerson shows how two immigrant students learn to use a restrictive language norm to their own advantage by accepting or rejecting its legitimacy. Even when they adopted the English only norm in some cases, they did so to position themselves as competent and legitimate language users and monitors.

Although not much work exists to document this, resistance against monolingual language policies can also be initiated by teachers. In her study with 16 teachers in Spanish-English bilingual transitional programs in the US, Palmer (2011) examined the language ideologies and norms that surfaced in teacher beliefs and practices. She found that high English proficiency was often equated with intelligence and English was constructed as something children were "ready for", whereas Spanish was seen as a "need" (p. 111). The official goal of the school to transition Latino students to English only was also made very clear. These ideologies and standards stood in contrast to two teachers' efforts of resisting the subtractive bilingualism that was promoted by the

schools and thereby countering the discourse of English dominance. Despite the transitional character of their program, “Lupe” and “Marta” found ways to teach both languages, for example by introducing “Spanish days” or following a “one teacher one language” pattern. Even Marta’s English-only co-teacher “Tana” involved the children in Spanish activities. Palmer’s study is a good example how teachers can introduce processes of multiple language legitimation and challenge dominant discourses and policies.

All these studies underline the agency students as well as teachers have across ages, proficiency levels, contexts, and ethnicities in the process of challenging language norms and ideologies. Such insights are critical for my study, as I (also) portray my students as agents of their language choice. Instances of legitimizing or delegitimizing language practices against dominant standards and ideologies is therefore a critical focus of my data analysis. The multiple and unusual languages in my participants’ repertoire (Latvian, English, German) will expand this work and show new ways of resistance and legitimation.

Making a foreign language legitimate and subverting hierarchies

When it comes to legitimizing languages, the focus is usually on home languages students bring to the classroom. However, some research has also considered how foreign languages have been considered within processes of legitimation and delegitimation of linguistic practices. Both studies presented in this section address how the use of a foreign language affects social hierarchies in educational contexts. Although Duff and Rampton conducted studies in very different contexts, they both document the

legitimation of a foreign language (English/German) and the accompanying power shifts. More concretely, their seminal work investigated how students appropriated new or unconventional discourses and language practices, thereby challenging existing hierarchies.

In her ethnographic study in English immersion classrooms in Hungarian high schools, Duff (1995, 1996) described how the legitimate language and discourse in history classes shifted in concurrence with sociopolitical changes in Hungary, i.e. "the government loosening its grip on educational matters" (Duff, 1995, p. 529). After one school had changed the medium of instruction to English and transitioned from traditional felelés (recitations) to the more dynamic and democratic genre of student presentations or discussion (kisel adás), Duff (1995) observed several changes. In one classroom, students started to remain within English for long stretches, paraphrase rather than recite, take agency by making decisions about the length and depth of content they were presenting, interact with their audience, uptake corrections from peers and the teacher, negotiate language and content, and "jointly establishing 'truth' and personal accountability for this truth" (p. 528) with their teacher. In addition, across classrooms, students were correcting each other's and the teachers' language, often teasingly, and starting to see themselves as legitimate and the teachers as less legitimate speakers of English, thus redefining traditional classroom power dynamics. As Duff reports, they tended to "have – or believe they have – a superior grasp of the language" than their teachers (p. 536). This criticism, corrections and teasing were often a reason for teachers to seek further training or relocate to a different teaching job. In all, Duff (1995) draws attention to a very positive development in Hungarian schools and calls for resources,

teacher training and materials to support it further. Duff's ethnography illustrates the links between societal processes and classroom discourse in a Hungarian school. Even though she does not use a legitimacy framework, her study illustrates how students use and shape their right to speak and enact their agency as bilinguals through using their foreign language.

Another important study that examined the use of a foreign language in a high school was conducted by Rampton (2006). His work illustrates how students appropriated a foreign language and thereby reorganize classroom hierarchies. He examined the language practices of multiethnic working class youth in an urban British secondary school, "Central High", to understand how students' language use was shaped by (among other things) the FL they learned, German. Compared to the schools Duff described, "Central High" was moving in a very different direction. After the introduction of a national curriculum and standardized tests, the school had adopted a rather traditional, teacher-centered pedagogy that involved a lot of whole-class instruction. Especially in one class, Rampton found that such teacher-fronted lessons were followed and interrupted by a group of hyper-involved male students who echoed, modified, initiated or commented on chunks of teacher talk, thus decentering and undermining the IRE (Initiation-Response-Evaluation)-like classroom discourse and reclaiming their agency. In his words, the group of male students …

> attended very closely … to whole-class discussion, but rather than sticking strictly to thematic relevance and lexico-grammatical propositions, they milked the main line of talk for all its aesthetic potential, recoding the official discourse into melody, German, non-standard accents, etc. (Rampton, 2006, p. 119)

Countering the traditional sociolinguistic perspective that has perceived foreign language communities as remote and thus insignificant to students' social identities (e.g., Trudgill

& Giles, 1983, cited in Rampton, 2006), Rampton (2006) found a considerable amount of German chunks in his participants' speech in and beyond the German classroom. He interprets such instances as performances, in Bauman's sense, i.e. as staged actions that are directed at an audience, whose evaluation is invited. These performances sometimes congealed into "rituals" (pp. 165-166, but mostly pp. 174ff.) that marked the "sacredness" (Goffman, 1871, cited in Rampton, 2006 p. 169) of shared meaning between students, parodied the teacher, established a sense of collectiveness, and resisted the rigid IRE-style of the students' German classes. Simple chunks like "danke" (thanks) and "Entschuldigung" (sorry) were often used playfully and humorously to show off and entertain, to enjoy the language's prosody and energy, or when issues of classroom management surfaced. Students' use of impromptu German as rituals is also explored in a decoupled article (Rampton, 2002), where Rampton points out that rituals can help students deal with the "major disruption to their routine linguistic practice" (p. 516) that FL lessons that are delivered in the target language represent. In addition, such rituals can indicate educational change and a shift of legitimacies, for example when students create them to delegitimize what is offered to them by their teachers, thereby initiating a shift in power and control (Rampton, 2002). In all, performances and rituals of German enabled students at Central High to a) invert the power structures of this traditional, teacher-centered instruction, in which very little meaningful interaction took place and their agency was very limited and b) appropriate the German language by modifying and recycling the teacher's use of it rather than the native speaker's variety that is prescribed by the curriculum (Rampton, 2006). They claimed their right to speak their own variety

of German through adapting and performing the language rather than adapting to its formal, grammatical rules.

Like Duff's and Rampton's work, my study is situated in a FL context, namely a high school German classroom. Like them, I observed how students positioned themselves as legitimate speakers of their FL and how they negotiated legitimacy and illegitimacy of their discourse. However, I also included my participants' L2 English and their L1 Latvian (or rather its absence) in my analysis. In this sense, I build on Duff's and Rampton's work, while also moving beyond it towards a focus on multilingual legitimacy.

Appropriating and owning legitimate multiple-language practices

Even when multiple-language practices are tolerated or promoted by official norms and policies, speakers need to appropriate and legitimize them for and within their own use. Several studies have documented such efforts. They show how students (gradually) adopted discourses and practices that legitimized practices like crossing and codeswitching or simply the use of an additional non-dominant language.

For example, in his early work, Rampton (1995) investigated the phenomenon of language crossing, the use of language and linguistic features by speakers who are not owners of these languages or features or, more simply, by linguistic outsiders. Rampton described the outgroup use of Panjabi, Indian English, and Creole and how these crossing practices related to class and race. He analyzed the functions of different crossings in school settings, stressing that these differ greatly across languages and contexts. For example, students used crossing strategies in conversations with adults of higher status to claim certain identities (e.g. the troublemakers, the Asian group, etc.) and evoke or probe

for stereotypes that were associated with certain groups, such as the "Babu stereotype" for speakers of stylized Asian English (SAE). Crossings into Panjabi often served to exclude monolingual adult bystanders from conversations and by crossing into SAE or Panjabi, adolescents were able to manage risky situations such as cross-gender talk. Other functions of crossings were to entertain, question or affirm relationships, show solidarity, as well as express interest in outgroup arts and music. Most importantly, it served youth to manipulate the structures and limitations of social order: Students claimed and used languages and thereby identities that would traditionally be out of their reach because of their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. In other words, they challenged traditional discourses of legitimation. Based on his study, Rampton also questions traditional and rigid concepts of native speaker, multilingualism, proficiency, and intercultural communication.

Codeswitching is another practice that students have used to legitimize multiple-language practices. Grit Liebscher and Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain's (2005) study demonstrates how school contexts can support students' bilingual development and linguistic ownership. They examined the patterns and roles of codeswitching in a college-level German Applied Linguistics classroom. More precisely, they illustrated how the community of practice of the classroom supported the learners' "development from second language learners to bilinguals" (p. 235). The analysis of their data showed that learners' codeswitches served participant- but also discourse-related functions, e.g., to contextualize the conversation, make topic and footing shifts or identify the interlocutors as students and bilinguals. Through their codeswitching, the learners also defined their classroom as a legitimate bilingual space, similar to out-of-classroom spaces. Liebscher

and Dailey-O'Cain (2005) point out that, "[w]hen there is a shared understanding among both students and teachers, that … one of the main goals is L2 use, permission to use the L1 can be granted without fear of jeopardizing the language learning endeavor through overuse of the L1" (p. 245). The authors thus encourage the conceptualization of FL classrooms as bilingual ones, where students are free to develop their own patterns of language use.

A third study that demonstrates how students legitimize multiple language use and "become multilingual" comes from the preschool context and was conducted by Amy Kyratzis. In her study with eight students from a Spanish-English bilingual preschool, Kyratzis (2010) found that children within California's English-only climate begin to use multilingual language practices to "shift frames and participation frameworks" (p. 570) during pretend play time. For example, codeswitching helped them to move between small and larger group frames and align with different levels of interaction simultaneously or shift between them fluidly. In addition, their codeswitching enabled them to navigate competing world views, memberships and ideologies about their languages, sometimes also adapting or changing them. For instance, they challenged dominant associations with English as language of consumerism and schooling and Spanish as language of the home by using English when playing house. The children were thus at moments not only crossing but blurring linguistic boundaries and thereby questioning existing categories of language, while also creating space for the legitimate use of multiple language and positioning themselves as bilinguals beyond the socially accepted norm.

These studies are valuable illustrations of how legitimation of multiple-language practices needs to go hand in hand with ownership of multilingual practices. They have inspired my work to conceptualize the FL classroom as multilingual space and approach multilingualism beyond ethnic and racial boundaries.

Creating new standards and hierarchies

Resisting language norms and creating new ones does not always have a purely liberating effect on everyone's language use. The following studies show that through the legitimation of new language policies that are intended to support language use and academic success of a certain population can result in new hierarchies and new marginalizations of minorities.

In her sociolinguistic ethnography at the "Le Champlain" school in English-dominant Toronto in Ontario, Heller (1995, 1996, 2006) identified language norms as indicators of ideology and institutional power structures and describes how symbolic domination is expressed, supported and resisted through language in interaction. Le Champlain offers advanced-French classes, which prepare students for college, and general-level classes, which prepare students for vocational training and suffer from a much higher drop-out rate. Heller found that in advanced-French classes of mostly middle class students, who had lived in Toronto for a long time, the French standard was rigidly promoted (e.g. by rejection of codeswitching, Anglicisms, and French vernacular) and acts of resistance were rare, whereas in general-level classes with speakers of immigrant languages (such as Somali, Haitian Creole, Farsi, etc.) and French vernaculars, norms were more ambivalent and flexible and resistance was more common. Students'

resistance and antithesis to the teachers' and school's authority included speaking their L1s English or Somali, refusing to participate in French-only activities (Somali students who were asked to fill in a French questionnaire), codeswitching, remaining silent, withdrawing from class by coming late or listening to music, interrupting the teacher, rejecting content, and using inappropriate language. She also reports that such resistance is not without consequence: "Most if the students who consistently use English on the floor of public … end up leaving the school" (Heller, 1996, p. 146).

Observing such dynamics, Heller (1995, 1996) describes how the norms of standard French have created new hierarchies. Francophone Canadians, who have established their own francophone communities, have moved up socially and socio-economically and based on this experience, created monolingual language norms that exert dominance over others. Heller (1995) suggests that "the ways in which the French language and Frenchness are defined in daily life at school serve the interests of a group defined primarily by level of education and socio-economic position, as well as by degree of integration into Ontario society" (p. 376). In other words, the school seems to promote "standard French" (the standard French of Europe and Canada) as the norm, thus privileging not only French bilingual middle class students, but also English speakers who have acquired academic French. In contrast, speakers of Canadian French vernacular, who were of lower socio-economic status, as well as immigrants from African countries were marginalized. Heller (1996) remarks that while "there is no simple correlation between possessing those [the dominant French] varieties and identities and doing well in school" (p. 155), the interplay of social selection and language practices, went against the school's philosophy of providing social mobility to

all speakers of French. Heller's work powerfully illustrates how linguistic norms, socioeconomic status, and language (de)legitimation interact to create new social pressures and inequalities.

As Heller's work shows, restrictive language policies in multilingual environments can become legitimacy traps that perpetuate social marginalizations or shift them from one group to another. Similar dynamics have been documented by Anne Pomerantz, whose 2002 study at a US university enlightens how language ideologies of legitimacy contribute to widening the gap between foreign language and heritage language learners of Spanish. She describes how "an elite student body clamors for courses in languages-other-than-English in an effort to accumulate the linguistic resources necessary for participation in a multilingual marketplace" (p. 276) while Latino communities struggle to maintain or develop their language and Latino students are often forced to attend English-only schools. Conceptualizing legitimacy as performance of accepted and expected linguistic acts and ideological stances, she asked how FL learners were constructed as competent and legitimate. Her analysis of official documents and exams of the university "Shadyside", which has introduced a proficiency-based language requirement, showed that proficiency expectations were very low and did not match the university's promise that graduates would be able and legitimate to use the acquired language in the workplace. In addition, the university's policies and offers completely excluded heritage learners and were exclusively geared towards English L1 speakers. Pomerantz also problematizes the university's policy of defining linguistic competence by the sole means of the passing of a test, which became part of FL learners' social capital. She further criticizes the university's legitimation of claiming Spanish

competence based on one's membership in a professional group. Students' statements in interviews showed that they had adopted the university's ideologies of language learning as a linear process, which is quantifiable and can be evaluated by a test. They positioned themselves as legitimate users of Spanish, which meant meeting the university requirements and "passing through the appropriate, university-sanctioned stages" (pp. 290-291). Some students also referred to their future membership in professional communities as well as to Spanish speaking friends and home neighborhoods to underline their legitimacy as Spanish speakers. However, one student expressed doubts about her legitimate use of Spanish due to physical differences between her and Latino students. She positioned herself as legitimate only within the community of novice Spanish learners. In all, Pomerantz's study problematizes the implications of a language program that was intended to promote bilingualism by analyzing how it solidifies the power imbalances between FL and heritage learners of Spanish.

The above-mentioned studies introduce a phenomenon that has received little attention but is in need of being analyzed thoroughly because of its complex power dynamics: In both cases, policies were established to protect and support linguistic minorities or minority languages and their learners. However, these policies also created new injustices by delegitimizing language practices or competences that did not align with them or legitimizing the use of languages as linguistic capital on questionable grounds. Such power dynamics need to be carefully examined to understand processes of legitimation and delegitimation in their whole complexity.

The gap: legitimacy claimed, denied, and negotiated in context

My dissertation builds on but also expands the reviewed literature in three important ways:

a. Through my theoretical approach: In contrast to existing legitimation theory, I conceptualize legitimacy as interactively constructed between two or more agents. In other words, I extend my view on legitimation processes to all the members of the discourses that constitute it and analyze not only how legitimacy is claimed, but also how it is denied and negotiated in a particular context and situation. This has not been done before.
b. Through my focus on a foreign language classroom: Most of my data come from a German FL classroom. As Rampton (2006) has pointed out, research on identity-related issues in FL classrooms is still extremely rare because foreign language contexts have not typically been associated with identity constructions and negotiations. However, as my research shows, issues of linguistic legitimacy play an important role in such contexts, and can explain classroom dynamics and processes in new and insightful ways. If we take foreign language classrooms seriously as multilingual spaces and sites of identity and legitimacy negotiation, such research needs to happen to develop recommendations for practice and policy. However, no research exists that provides in-depth analyses of individual multilingual students' legitimacy constructions in a FL context.
c. Through my choice of participants: My dissertation project focuses on students who speak languages of very different levels of social prestige and unite memberships in minority as well as majority discourse communities. No research

exists so far about multilinguals who are negotiating both their legitimacy as minority as well as majority language speakers, or as speakers of a minority L1 (Latvian), a socially dominant L2 (English) and a prestigious FL (German).

Research questions

In order to fill the described gaps, I employed procedures to answer the following research questions:

1. What discourses of linguistic legitimacy characterize the educational environment, especially the German classroom, of two multilingual students?
    - Which discourses of linguistic legitimacy does the German teacher engage in?
    - Which discourses of linguistic legitimacy do the multilingual students' peers engage in?
2. How do two multilingual students understand and enact their legitimacy as speakers of all their languages in the German classroom?

Chapter three: Methodology

This chapter lays out the path that I took from what I believe (epistemology) to what I saw in my data (analyses) and includes stopovers, for example at what I did and did not do (methods) and what my biases are (positionality). In other words, it outlines the journey from my worldview to my research activities, rather than merely giving an overview of what was done.

Epistemological foundations

The purpose of this study is to describe the discourses of legitimation in a German classroom: those of two trilingual students and those of their teacher and peers that surround them. In an effort to be transparent about the epistemological beliefs that undergirded this study, I am explicitly situating the methodology of the study within an interpretive research paradigm. As Merriam (1998) explains, …

> [i]n interpretive research, education is considered to be a process, and school is a lived experience. Understanding the meaning of the process or experience constitutes the knowledge to be gained from an inductive, hypothesis- or theory-generating … mode of inquiry. Multiple realities are constructed socially by individuals. (p. 4)

Thus, the interpretive paradigm rests on the ontological relativism of social constructivism, which rejects the idea of an absolute or given truth and understands the world, or the classroom and its discourses, as socially constructed and negotiated, multiple realities. Social constructivism is often traced back to the work of Lev Vygotsky, who identified the social environment as the most important factor in cognitive development (Lantolf & Appel, 1994). As reported by Lantolf and Apple (1994), Vygotsky tied a child's development of higher order thinking skills to interaction

with more advanced peers and the acquisition of "culturally constructed artifacts … such as language" (p. 6). He argues that a child becomes independent when her actions transition from an intermental to an intramental state, a process called internalization. In other words, actions (like language) are first modeled by an external expert and are gradually internalized into the child's repertoire. As a consequence, the child learns self-regulation (Vygotsky, 1978). What is essential in Vygotsky's theory is that he situates the origin of higher order cognitive processes outside the individual. To serve as an epistemological standpoint that underpins the methodology of this study, Vygotsky's theories need to be transferred from their psychological origin to a philosophical sphere. Thus, from the assumption that what we do and know is based on internalized social contact follows that what we experience becomes our reality. Reality, then, is (nothing more than) a construct made of and through social interaction. Likewise, knowledge is not created beyond this world, but within it, by the people who inhabit a particular context and interact with it and with each other. It is only from this standpoint that the power of discourses can be understood, and only from this standpoint that my questions about how legitimation is constructed can be approached meaningfully.

For my interpretive exploration of legitimation discourses, two things were critical: First, as for all qualitative research, a mindful and in-depth consideration of the context was paramount (Maxwell, 2005; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2009). As Maxwell (2005) explains,

> [q]ualitative researchers typically study a relatively small number of individuals or situations, and preserve the individuality of each of these in their analyses … thus, they are able to understand how events, actions, and meanings are shaped by the unique circumstances in which these occur. (p. 22)

A thorough description of contextual circumstances can best be achieved through approaches that require the researcher to become, as much as possible, part of the researched. Therefore, my field work is based on "being there in person, relying on oneself as primary research instrument" (Wolcott, 2008, p. 45), which I found to be best realized in an ethnographic exploration of my research questions. Although I am by no means claiming to be "*doing ethnography*", I am "*borrowing (some) ethnographic techniques*", a distinction has been deemed important (Wolcott, 2008, p. 44). Second, for my purposes, a close observation and tracing of real-life speech were key. Although I am not claiming to do discourse analysis either, I am adopting the belief that "saying things in language never goes without also doing things and beings things" (Gee, 2011, p. 2). By looking at the things my participants are saying, I will offer interpretations of what they are doing (and, in some cases, being). In order to describe such processes of "saying things" convincingly, i.e., how legitimation was claimed and negotiated in interaction, I needed to obtain detailed documentation of classroom discourse beyond my own observations. For this reason, I complemented my ethnographic approach to data collection with the use of video cameras.

Design

The present study was designed as a case study. As such, it aims to illustrate and expand current theory and thus follows what Yin (2009) calls the principle of "analytic generalizability" (p. 15). This is in contrast to statistical generalizability, which aims to enumerate theories. Like all case studies, it exists in the tension between being clearly bounded and yet highly permeated by and permeating its context. More concretely, the

case, the German classroom, is bounded by its participants, time, and location. However, ideologies and power dynamics from the school context and beyond surface in classroom discourses, which in turn cross the classroom threshold and contribute to students' and teachers' realities and experiences outside of it. Merriam (1998) identifies the clearly defined bounded unit as “the single most defining characteristic of case study research” (p. 27). Like her, I understand one particular classroom, in this case one German foreign language classroom, as a case or bounded unit. At its heart are focal students Karina and Jana, as I will call them, who differ from other students in the classroom through their trilingual language repertoire (Latvian, English, German), which is central to my research questions. The fact that they are twin sisters and often appeared as a physical unit (they dressed alike, took the same classes, worked together, walked the hallways together, shared friends and resources, etc.) further sets them apart from their peers and undergirds my definition of them as heart of the case. To visualize this, I adapted Miles and Huberman's (1994) graphic representation of the case study design. Like their diagram, mine consists of a circle which represents the bounded unit of the case (the German classroom, including the teacher) and a heart in the center which marks the focus of the study (Jana and Karina). I added the context of Clearwater High School (a pseudonym) to represent the environment of the case.

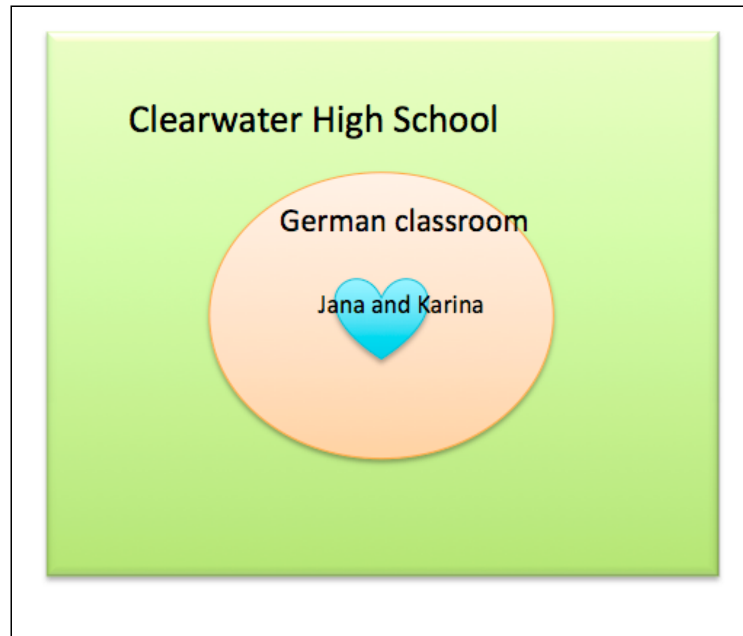


Figure 1: Case study design

As this graphic shows, Jana's and Karina's discourses as well as the case of the German classroom are imbedded in and thus inseparable from their contexts. Yin (2009) addresses this important characteristic of case studies in his definition as follows: "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (p. 18)".

As mentioned above, another important dimension to a case study is contextuality. Stake (1995) emphasizes the contextuality of case studies when he suggests, "We study a case when it itself is of special interest. We look for the detail of interaction with its context. Case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances" (p. xi). This applies to my project: The discourses in a German classroom as a whole, and especially those of Jana and Karina, were my special interest. I looked for detail of interaction with other discourses in the classroom as well as in the larger school

environment, thereby coming to understand these discourses within important circumstances. In fact, the heart of the case, the focal students' legitimation discourses, are so tightly interwoven with the context of the German classroom that they can only be understood against the backdrop of their surrounding discourses. No clear boundaries can thus be drawn to separate them. The school as space where overt and covert language policies and practices manifest themselves adds an additional contextual layer that has to be considered. The different layers of design received different amounts of attention in my investigation: While most of my data were collected and analyzed at the heart of my study, i.e. illustrating Jana's and Karina's legitimation discourses, a close examination of the German classroom was also critical to understand how these discourses were constructed. In addition, I gathered data from beyond the case, e.g. from other classrooms, hallway conversations or lunch table interactions to enlighten and complement the described levels of investigation.

Apart from the concept of the bounded case that interacts with its context, the ability of case studies to capture phenomena in-depth and holistically drew me to this design. As Yin (2009) argues, "the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (p. 4). My study is based on holistic and meaningful data as it sought to capture legitimation discourses without any intervention and within their context, where they fulfill particular purposes for particular agents and are shaped by particular circumstances. Yin (2009) also draws a strong connection between research questions and study design. He emphasizes the appropriateness of case study frameworks for research that is guided by "how" and "why" questions. Given that my study is descriptive in nature and aims to answer *how*

legitimation is constructed and negotiated, choosing the case study design stood to reason.

Yin (2009) further emphasizes that "the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence – documents, artifacts, interviews and observations" (p. 11). Taking advantage of this strength of case studies, I drew on several different data sources, as elaborated below, to create tangible descriptions of the students' and teacher's interactions, opinions, and experiences.

Context and participants

The purpose of this investigation was to describe legitimation discourses of multilingual students, their teacher, and their peers in a German FL classroom. Because I was interested in students who speak languages that are associated with different levels of social prestige in order to maximize my chances of documenting a variety of legitimation discourses, I tried to find participants who were second as well as foreign language learners. In addition, a German classroom was a good location for this inquiry, given that the language is frequently associated with economic power and wealth (Ennser-Kananen, 2012) and thus potentially stands in contrast with students' first languages or their identities as second language learners.

At the time of investigation, Clearwater High School (a pseudonym) served a population of 1183 students, 60 of whom were taking German, 48 of whom speak non-English home languages, and 42 of whom were registered English language learners (ELLs). With 7 Native American, 89 Asian, 52 Black, 50 Hispanic, and 985 white students, the school population was not very diverse, but predominantly white. The world

language department of Clearwater High School offered classes in Spanish, Chinese, American Sign Language, and German.

Two German teachers filled 1.5 positions, of whom Frau Zeller (a pseudonym) was the older, more experienced one. After teaching ESL for 10 years, she was in her fifth year of teaching German at Clearwater High and Middle School. She had first learned German in high school herself, participated in an immersion camp in her youth, and studied German in the US, Austria, and Germany. After receiving her licensure for teaching ESL and German, she worked as an ESL teacher because she preferred the student population to the one that is typically found in German classrooms. In her words:

> I hated the student teaching because suddenly I'd just come back from Austria and then in this classroom full of 16-year-olds who were more concerned with their hair or their boyfriend and, nobody, I just, I didn't like it and I really loved working with ESL students … I just found that the students were so eager to learn and they have all, they face all kinds of challenges in general, at least in my experience. I was working with newcomers … and they were just so eager to learn and, be, so excited to have a book and to know the answer. (Interview, December 11, 2012)

What Frau Zeller suggests here is that she found students' attitudes towards learning a language to be much more productive in ESL classrooms than in German classrooms. Implicitly, she identifies ESL/immigrant students as motivated and grateful for any educational input, whereas the population in German classrooms, a predominantly white middle class audience, seemed to be less engaged and eager to learn. This standpoint is important in order to understand her expectations for students as described in the findings chapter. After her maternity leave, Frau Zeller felt ready to teach German even to what she considered unmotivated young people. She interviewed for an opening at Clearwater High School, and started the job soon after. About her current position, Frau Zeller said "Every year has been very different. I have a completely new job every year, so I feel like

a first-year teacher for the fifth time in a row." She also admitted that it her biggest challenge remained "convincing people that it [learning German] is worthwhile" (Interview, December 11, 2012).

Frau Zeller's classroom consisted of 34 students of German 3 and 4, which means that students had learned German for three or four years. The 12 boys and 22 girls gathered every school day at 7:30 in a classroom that was used by German and American Sign Language teachers. Despite being the minority, the male students dominated the room. Their claiming of the physical space was one of the most striking characteristics of the classroom that frequently found mention in my fieldnotes, for example:

> They had to do dialogues about their weekends. Students walked around to find partners to talk to, so I did the same. … Jana and Karina were standing in a circle of six girls by the door. Actually, they were so close to the door, with a few more steps would have been standing in the hallway. I passed some smaller groups and couples that were standing scattered around the side by the windows. … Then I tried to enter the middle of the room, where all the boys were standing in a close circle and chatting loudly. I heard the required "Was hast du am Wochenende gemacht?" [What did you do on the weekend?] as well as a lot of English, laughing, howling, and yelling. I tried to move into the circle, but I couldn't. They are so tall! I walked around the circle three times, trying to enter from different points, but it was impossible. It was like a fortress of guys. (Fieldnotes, November 5, 2012)

Apart from their physical dominance, the male students of the class, most notably three boys who I will call Christopher, Miles, and Caleb, were also very vocal in class, and often redirected the course of the lesson with their interjections and comments. In contrast, like most of the girls in the room, the focal participants Karina and Jana were fairly quiet during whole-class activities, and rarely offered answers to peers and the teacher unless prompted.

Jana and Karina had been learning German with Frau Zeller since middle school. The 15-year-old twin sisters were freshmen at Clearwater High School and started taking

German as their foreign language elective requirement in 6th grade. As second-generation immigrants, they spoke Latvian at home and with almost all of their relatives and were part of a small local Latvian community, which, according to Jana and Karina, was dying out because younger generations did not identify with the Lavtian language and culture as much as they did (Interview, December 17, 2012). As children, they went to Latvian speaking church and Sunday school and attended religious and cultural Latvian festivals in the area. In addition, their parents and grandparents, who all live in the Clearwater area, keep informed about current political and social events in Latvia and share them with the sisters. In all, although they had never been to Latvia, they felt very connected to the country, language, and culture and identified as "ethnically Latvian" (Interview, December 17, 2012). Family connections, more precisely their mother's connections to Germany, – she had lived there for some years during the Soviet occupation of Latvia (1944-1991) – were one reason for Jana and Karina to learn German as their language of choice. While on the surface the sisters seemed rather reserved, when doing partner work together, they were not too shy to express their opinions very directly and emphatically. They usually worked with each other, and made an effort to do so. For example, when Frau Zeller changed the seating arrangement halfway through the semester, Jana and Karina would frequently change seats with their peers, so that they could continue to sit next to each other. Frau Zeller did not object. In one Psychology class, I counted that the sisters visited each other's desks twelve times (Fieldnotes, October 31, 2012). Even the librarian of the school, a middle-aged woman, who was eager to share her opinions and whom I had frequent conversations with, knew Jana and Karina's preference for working

and being together. Once she commented, “The twins, they are inseparable” (Fieldnotes, October 22, 2012).

My relationship to Jana and Karina was friendly but never became intimate. Although I was introduced to them by their German teacher, Frau Zeller, based on their explanations and introductions to their school context, I believe Jana and Karina saw me as outsider to their educational environment. At times, they seemed to relate to me as fellow English learner, multilingual language user, and European. For example, they confided in me about feeling bored at school and frustrated with many of the classes they sat through every day, and invited me so sit at their lunch table. A few times, they took the video cameras home to capture some Latvian family conversations or other scenes from their everyday life they considered relevant, e.g., a German poem they would recite while walking their dog. On the other hand, they seemed to feel a little uncomfortable at times, when I was shadowing them through their school day, and kept repeating that most of their classes were not worth visiting. Throughout the weeks, they warmed up to the idea of being followed and being asked a lot of questions. For example, while the initial interview was rather brief and formal, the fourth and last one, which we conducted at a coffeehouse outside the school campus, was characterized by the twins’ loud and excited expressions of opinions and eagerness to share stories.

Data collection

As Yin (2009) stresses, “[t]he case study inquiry relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion” (p. 18). Taking this advice to heart, I used different types of data collection to capture different perspectives

and types of data for the sake of triangulation and trustworthiness (see below). Yin (2009) further emphasizes that “the case study’s unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence” (p. 11). In my case, this variety includes classroom observations, semi-structured interviews, and video recordings.

Classroom observations

I conducted observations that included the two focal students as well as their peers and teachers during classes and breaks two to five times a week for one to five hours throughout one semester. This equals an amount of about 145 observed hours. These observations were a critical part of the study, as they allowed me to assume the most emic perspective of all the instruments I used. This means that I acted as a participant observer in the classroom (and beyond), rather than being merely a “fly on the wall”. I joined students at their desks, engaged in conversations with them and their teachers, followed and sometimes contributed to classroom discussions, walked the hallways with them, and sometimes joined them for lunch. After a few days, many of students started to use me as a resource and asked me for help with German vocabulary and grammar, or to proofread something they had written. They also wrote notes to me, shared candy and stories about their hobbies, families, and love life with me, and rolled their eyes about the teacher to me, all of which I took to mean that they did not (only) see me as another instructor. In addition, they seemed interested in my job, my research findings, and my family. Oftentimes, engaging in such informal conversations or “natural interviews” (Patton, 2002 p. 265), provided me with spontaneous and thus relatively unfiltered data, which complemented and informed the more formal interviews I

conducted in important ways. Most importantly, putting myself in a student's role and joining my participants on a peer level made me sensitive towards their experience. Trying to listen to the teacher with their ears was crucial for me to understand the dynamics in the classroom and in the end was indispensable for me to interpret my data.

Participant interviews

Participant interviews were another important ethnographic tool to collect data. They provided me with important information that I could not retrieve in other ways: participants' interpretation of their experiences of language learning and using, participants' evaluation of their educational experience, participant-reported stories and memories, participants' explicit statements of opinions and beliefs about language learning, participants' interactive construction of memories, stories, and their interpretations, etc. I interviewed every focal participant twice throughout the semester and held two group interviews with both of them. In addition, I interviewed 30 of the 32 other students in the German classroom, as well as the German teacher. Interviews were semi-structured and open-ended and questions focused on the participants' language learning experiences, their being and becoming multilingual, and their use of different languages, especially in their school and classroom context. Examples are: "What do you like about using [language]?" and "What is it about [context] that makes you (not) want to use [language] there?". While the first set of questions I developed for the focal student interviews were informed mainly by prior research, subsequent protocols were designed based on my observations in class and on conversations I had had with my participants. Thus, the longer I stayed in the field, the more our interviews revolved around things that

had happened in class. A list of the most important questions can be found in Appendix C.

Video recordings

Video recordings had an important role in the data collection process, as they allowed me to gain a detailed and in-depth understanding of the focal students' discourses and capture data from different points in the classroom that I would otherwise have missed. Two or three cameras were located in the room during German lessons. Within a few days, students started to play with them, film or "interview" their classmates, provide impromptu interpretations of goings-on and document their written or oral work. To some degree, the recordings replaced a collection of artifacts and documents, because students and I were frequently filming notes, posters, the board, worksheets, and other classroom materials. Classroom (inter)actions were recorded two to five times a week for about one hour per day during German classes and breaks throughout one semester. This equals about 38 hours of recordings, with about twice as much footage due to multiple camera use. While I made an effort to have one camera with at least one of the focal students at all times, their peers' and teacher's discourses were also relevant in so far as they interacted with the focal students or created the environment in which the focal participants acted and interacted.

Data analysis

Data analysis tends to be the most opaque part of research studies, during which raw data are "mysteriously" transformed into findings. To demystify this process, I am providing a detailed account of my data analysis process.

Fieldnotes

Each observation was documented through handwritten jottings, or "quickly rendered scribbles about actions and dialogue" which "translate to-be-remembered observations into writing" (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995, p. 20). In addition to jottings about actions and dialogue, I included questions I had about what I observed as well as ideas for a beginning analysis. Whenever possible, I followed Emerson, Fretz and Shaw's (1995) recommendation to type up these jottings into fieldnotes immediately in order to produce "fresher, more detailed recollections that harness the ethnographer's involvement with … the day's events" (p. 40). Fieldnotes consisted of "rich, detailed, and concrete descriptions" (Patton, 2002, p. 438) of people, places, and actions, which I hope draw the readers into the context and invite their own interpretations. To facilitate data management and analysis, I produced 38 field logs, each of which consisted of a summary of the main activities and observations, an analytic memo, and a reflexive memo. Here is one abbreviated example:

Date: 10/15/2012
Fieldwork activities and observations
German class, 7:30 – 8:25 • J and K stick out because of what they wear: tight jeans, high boots, shirts with gold and glitter, tiger/cheetah pattern • Teacher announces Schüleraustausch [student exchange] with Leipzig coming up, 16 German students will visit; usual greeting "Ja Bären!" [teacher's translation of "Go Bears!"] • First activity: describing traffic signs - students read sentences from the board, they sound bored, Frau Z even says "Das klingt wie babababa" [That sounds like bahbahbah]. Miles offers several (wrong) interpretations of signs but is not heard/corrected. He talks to me about cows in Texas vs. MN again. • Frau Z provides question for small group discussion, K and her group are supposed to discuss "Darf man hier Motorrad fahren?" [Can you ride a motorcycle here?]. They agree on "yes" (wrong) very quickly and move on to private conversation. All in English, as usual. • Choral reading of question words. Frau Z asks about the difference between wieviel [how much] and wie viele [how many], explanations are offered by Anna, Mark, Christopher (pseudonyms) – teacher talks about mass nouns and count nouns.

- Next activity: Writing questions about a picture of a busy crossroads, J and K work together, very quickly, K keeps saying things like "I feel we should have learned that" and "Wow, I feel stupid".
- "Press conference" role play: Students ask questions, Christopher answers as "minister of traffic" and creates a story around the picture about the German president being late because his car has broken down. Students are eager to participate and do it in German!
- Teacher monologue: She apologizes for focusing on content rather than grammar and talks about word order. Then she expresses disappointment about the amount students wrote in the picture activity. She ends up banning ipads and ipods from her class. Then she explains the homework, and the bell goes.

Analytic Memo

German class, 7:30 – 8:25

- Press conference – I was so impressed how engaged everyone was. So many voices and so much German! Cool! Christopher made it happen with his creative story.
- Frau Z kept repeating how she focused on the wrong element of the class - why did she keep saying that? Why is she not excited about some student-created content? First, she apologized for focusing on content rather than grammar. Then, she got herself all worked up and banned all electronics. She also kept saying "Let's go", "30 seconds" and wanted to "move through this quickly", etc. In contrast, students seemed slow, tired, bored … Were her expectations realistic? Why this attention to product rather than process? Why is she in such a rush? Why do students need to be fast and produce a lot? What pressure does she feel?
- When explaining traffic signs, Frau Z used exaggerated gestures the way people sometimes do with little kids. Is her way of speaking age appropriate/effective? In her head, is she talking to little children?
- Miles' way of participation is really spotty. I think most of the time he has no idea what is going on, engages in other activities (phone, drawing logos, talking about hunting) – then he picks up random phrases and repeats them, or parts of them. He also has told me the same story (about cows) for the fourth time today. Does he not remember or does he think I don't? Sometimes I wonder if he has special needs.

Reflexive Memo

The press conference activity was the most enjoyable part of my day – and also the only student-driven activity I observed all day. So many students had something to say – in German! Christopher did a great job of creating an impromptu story and establishing a German norm for this activity. Otherwise, I had a hard time observing classes today. How can high school students be OK with all this? First, the Frau Z blamed the students for not living up to her expectations, and out of nowhere banned all ipods, phones and other electronics from her classroom. Then, the Psychology teacher did nothing but sit behind her desk for 60 minutes and let the kids synthesize information from the textbook (!). After that, the math teacher did not even take the hand out of his pocket while he lectured and used language ("with me?") that allowed for zero meaningful interaction. And then, the History teacher gave a 30-minute super-fast monologue about every single detail of the battle of Gettysburg and showed a clip from a war movie (*Glory*) that glorified the "brave soldiers" of the civil war. Lunch was nice with J and K and their friends, though. There were two Spanish speaking girls from Mexico, a French learner, and two girls who were taking Spanish. We talked about languages and how it feels to speak more than one. The students gave a lot of examples of how they codeswitch and found them really funny. I admire how they keep up their spirits on a day like this. Have they bought into this way of being educated? Or do they simply have no time/opportunity to protest because they are busy keeping up? Sometimes it seems like there is focus on pace rather than on depth. "Let's do a lot and fast rather than engage

in meaningful things.”

Figure 2: Field log example

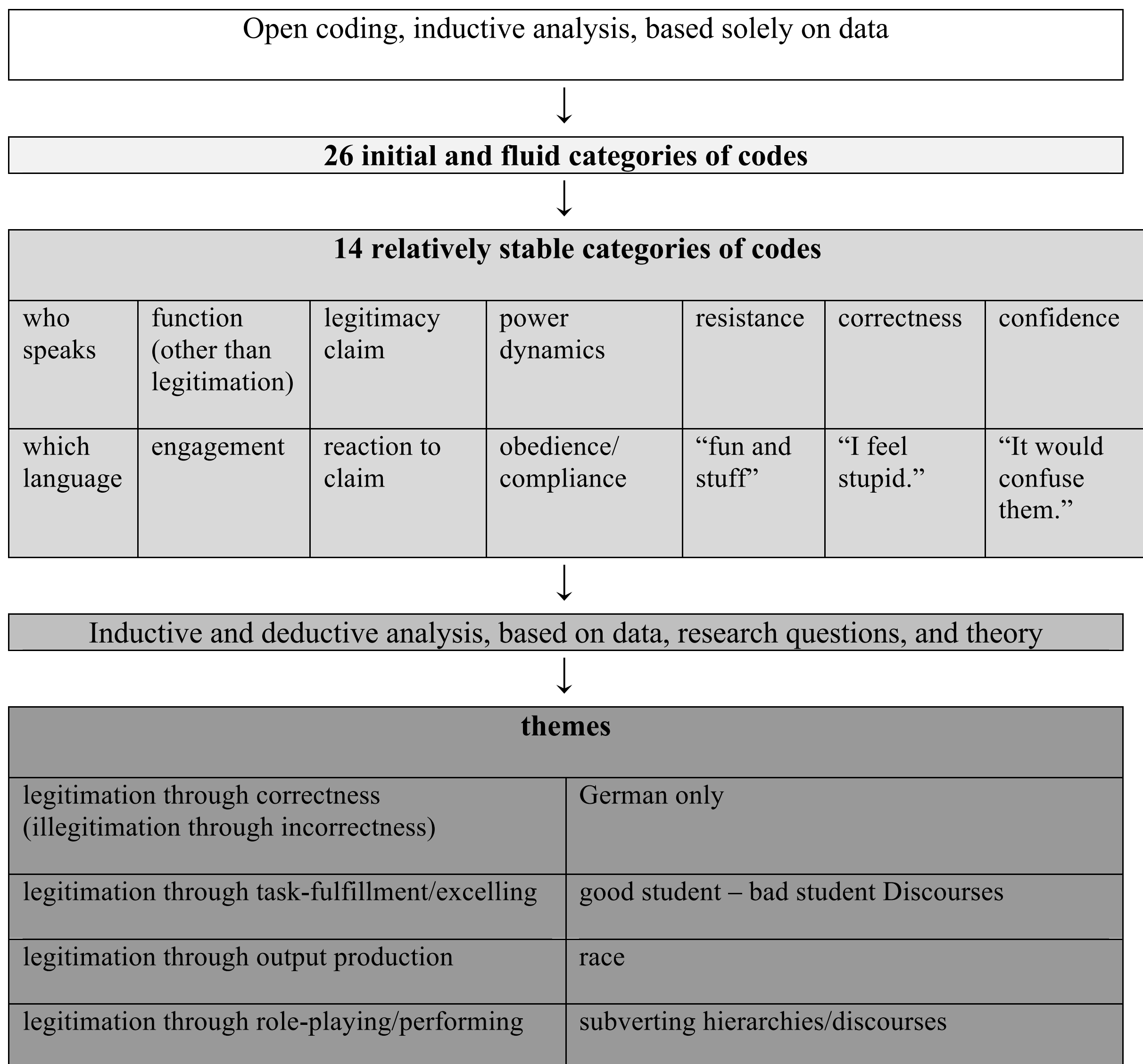
Transcripts

My analysis of interviews and classroom recordings mostly focused on content and themes and therefore lent itself to a fairly broad way of transcribing. I transcribed selected segments more closely, in order to draw attention to how language is used to construct or desconstruct legitimacy moment-by-moment. Again, to facilitate data management and analysis, I produced transcript logs for interviews as well as recordings, each of which consisted of a summary of the main activities and observations, an analytic memo, and a reflexive memo.

Analysis of fieldnotes and transcripts

Initially, fieldnotes and interview transcripts were analyzed inductively. More precisely, I engaged in a process of open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) for about two weeks' worth of data. I used in vivo codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which were based on participants' language, as well as my own code names. To facilitate the process, I entered the data into the Internet-based software *Dedoose*, which allowed me to code transcripts but also raw video footage, add memos to any part of my data, and see and apply codes across data sources. After this first round of coding, I ended up with 26 types of codes, each with two to six sub-categories, which I used for further data analysis. Throughout the process, several codes were changed, merged, dropped, and created, as they became more focused and I made a more conscious effort to tie them back to my

research questions and theory. In other words, my data analysis became more deductive (Patton, 2002) and I began to use 14 categories of codes more consistently and strategically throughout the process. Going back and forth between inductive and deductive analyses, and considering my analytic and reflective memos, I identified recurring patterns in the data that spoke to students' and the teacher's language use and legitimation discourses and gradually molded them into more abstract themes. The following graphic organizer illustrates this process:



legitimation through entertainment	other-legitimation/self-legitimation

Figure 3: From codes to themes

As this table shows, the process of coding and finding themes started out as a fairly technical one and became rather creative in the end. Thus, while the initial 26 codes were driven mainly by data and theory, I interfered more directly in the creation of the themes, for example by reorganizing codes and collapsing them into one them. To illustrate, the codes, or sub-codes within the codes “who speaks”, “obedience/compliance”, “resistance”, and “power dynamics” gradually became the theme “subverting hierarchies/discourses”.

The examples I chose to illustrate my findings are the ones that I found most poignant or most typical in representing and communicating my main point. As I looked at my data more closely, I noticed that in some cases a close analysis of the moment-by-moment discourse would be insightful. I engaged in such analysis when I was hoping to either reveal new aspects of my main argument, but sometimes ended up refining or revising it. In all, the closer secondary analysis strengthened my argumentation by deepening the connection between my data and my interpretation of it.

Trustworthiness

As Lincoln and Guba (1986) argue, interpretive research that rests on constructivist worldviews, cannot be judged according to positivist standards. Rather, they suggest evaluating the trustworthiness of a study by describing its credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. I follow Shenton’s (2004) ideas in addressing these four criteria.

First, my study is credible in that it used common and established methods. In similar studies, similar techniques have been used. To name two famous examples, Duff (1995, 1996) and Heller (1995, 1996) used ethnographic tools and classroom recordings to collect their data in their studies on legitimate languages. I further made use of a variety of methods (interviews, observations, recordings) for the sake of triangulation. Thus, I made sure to confirm all my findings through data from at least two different data sources. In addition, my presence at Clearwater High School was frequent and regular over a period of four months, so that I could familiarize myself with the environment. This "prolonged engagement" (Lincoln & Guba, 1986) with Clearwater High School enabled me to establish rapport with my participants, elicit meaningful data, and create rich transcripts and field notes. In addition, each informant was frequently reminded of the voluntary character of their participation, so that I can assume that most of my data was offered freely and honestly. I also held "frequent debriefing sessions" (Shenton, p. 67) with my adviser, which Shenton recommends so that "the vision of the investigator may be widened" (p. 67), and shared my data and interpretations regularly with peers and colleagues informally or formally at academic conferences. Although I was not able to hold formal sessions of member checking, such participant verifications of data and data interpretation, as recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1986), occurred informally during my field work or as part of interviews. Lastly, I paid special attention to discrepant data, which sometimes led me to reconsider my analysis, refocus my questions or gather more data to get a deeper understanding of my observations. All these techniques make my study credible (Shenton, 2004).

Second, the present study is transferable, in that it offers a rich description of the case and context, which enables the reader to bring together my observations and interpretations of their own. As discussed by Shenton (2004), while the uniqueness of a case and its contextuality stand in the way of actually performing a transfer of observations or findings, a thorough description of the site, the participants, and the situations during which relevant data samples were obtained, as well as the data collection processes will enable my audience to connect their own experiences, findings, and analyses to mine.

Third, what makes my study dependable according to Shenton (2004) is a clear and thorough description of the research process including research design and implementation, data collection, and a reflective evaluation of the process. The latter is part of my limitations section.

Finally, Shenton (2004) argues that in order for a research study to be confirmable, "steps must be taken to help ensure as far as possible that the work's findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher" (p. 72). I aimed for such confirmability by triangulating my findings through the use of multiple methods and participants. Further, for the sake of confirmability, I laid out my own positionality (section 3.7), kept reflective memos throughout the whole research process, and described the research procedures in detail.

Researcher positionality

As Shenton (2004) suggests, for any study that draws on ethnographic instruments and thereby uses the researcher herself as most important research tool, it is paramount to offer an honest description of the researcher's positionality, including her biases and beliefs. The biases and beliefs that were most relevant for this study originate in my identities as multilingual language user, as former high school teacher, and as PhD student at the University of Minnesota.

First, I am curious about multilingual language use because it is a big part of my daily life. My first language is Austrian German (if "first" denotes the order of acquisition), my second one English, which is also the lingua franca of my Finnish husband and me, my third language is French. I also speak some Finnish (more than French) and have attempted to learn several other languages, although not to a level that would enable me to communicate effectively. Even though all my languages (I do claim them all as "mine") are usually highly valued on the market of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977b), I have experienced that their value is strongly context-dependent and fluid. For example, while speaking German is an asset in many contexts, it also prompts associations with the Nazi regime and WWII and is often considered an aggressive-sounding language, as is the German accent I have when speaking other languages. The bias that is fed by such experiences is one that hopes to uncover and critique similar trends through my research. This is reinforced by my experience as a German and English middle and high school teacher. Many of my students with immigrant backgrounds (first, 1.5 or second generation) spoke Turkish, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Polish, Czech, and Slovak at home – all languages, that continue to have low social prestige in Austria, where I taught. These students, while required to learn English from

elementary school onwards, and often another language during their middle and high school years, were constantly receiving the message that their first language was a deficit that needed to be fixed and/or forgotten. In addition, as students within the EU context, where "mother tongue plus two" (European Commission, 2003) is the declared aim for each student, they were also showered with policies and practices that promoted multilingualism. I often wondered how they were dealing with such mixed evaluations of their language resources, a stance that definitely impacted how I phrased my questions and conducted my research. Finally, my identity as PhD student at the University of Minnesota has sharpened my understanding of language attitudes and ideologies and multilingual language practices. I have adopted the language advocacy stance of many of my professors, which prompts me to look for power imbalances and injustices, but also for my participants' agency within such contexts. The themes of "race" and "subverting discourses" are examples of discourses that I have foregrounded because of this professional and personal stance. I bring all these biases and beliefs to my research, and while I can't escape them, I believe I can turn them into an asset for my work by being open about them.

Ethical considerations

I believe this research posed minimal risk for my participants. For the most part, I asked them to go about their normal daily routine as they were observed or recorded. However, especially during interviews, emotional distress occurred in a few cases, for example when the topics of L1 use were addressed, and my focal participants Jana and Karina recalled situations that were painful for them. When I emphasized that it was their

right not to answer any questions or withdraw from the study, they always declined. The monologue that often ensued seemed to be an angry processing of their experience, which they were reliving through their stories. This unearthing of painful experiences was usually accompanied by harsh criticism of people and institutions in their stories, a criticism which, I believe, empowered them and gave them agency. It was moments like these when I became aware that I was working with a vulnerable population of second generation immigrant students, who spoke a low prestige minority language and had experienced marginalization and discrimination. I did my best to honor their participation and protect their identities. For example, I consistently used pseudonyms for every person and institution in this study, and kept everybody's participation confidential. However, in a classroom, anonymity is not always a realistic option. Within a few hours after I had collected the consent form and made sure not to reveal whether or not they were signed, many students knew who was participating in the study and who was not. Also, because they started to make quite liberal use of the cameras, I made an effort to establish a rule that if anyone switched off any recording device at any time, it would have to remain off until that person agreed to switch it back on.

Although I made an honest attempt to be personable and approachable, some students might have felt pressure to participate in the study or answer my questions. This might be have been due to my identities as researcher, privileged white European, graduate student, representative of a prestigious local university, former high school teacher, and native speaker of German. The perceived difference in status between the participants and me might have caused a feeling of obligation, which in turn might have

pressured students into participation in the study. I tried to be sensitive to that and avoid using data of students who were visibly uncomfortable with being observed or recorded.

Limitations

The following limitations have affected the data I gathered and how I interpreted them. First, I would have liked to obtain data from more different classrooms. Had I followed students through their school days more systematically, I could have painted a fuller picture of their language use and legitimation efforts. However, the school's schedule, students' preferences, teacher's hesitation or reluctance, and my own hesitation in negotiating entry kept me from doing so.

Second, I believe that including the context of Jana and Karina's home would have been extremely fruitful. Although they would sometimes keep the camera over a weekend or break and record family conversations, I did not systematically obtain data to describe their home discourses and language use and therefore had to rely on self-reported data.

Third, potentially a different kind of technology could have provided better evidence of Jana and Karina's language use at school. Even though they declared their school an "English zone" and neither me, their German teacher or their peers ever witnessed them speaking Latvian, we can't be sure that they completely banned Latvian from their school context, because we don't have data from the times they spent alone together. There is a possibility that, in absence of any company, they did use Latvian at school, which lapel microphones could have captured.

Lastly, a more thorough way of member-checking or collaborative data analysis would have included another voice in the interpretation process and thus would have made my findings more trustworthy. Even though I encouraged my participants to read my transcripts, they mostly declined, and those who did try, did not find the transcripts a very exciting or worthwhile reading. I resorted to asking specific questions about observations I made in the field or in my data, which was helpful, but not as thorough as collaboratively revising and interpreting data.

Chapter four: Findings and discussion:

Negotiations of linguistic legitimacy between product-orientation and entertainment

The following chapter describes how Jana and Karina construct and negotiate their linguistic legitimacy in and beyond the German classroom. In order to gain a deep understanding of their experience, a close description of Frau Zeller's and the students' legitimation discourses is offered, which provides the context in which the twin sisters do their legitimation work. It is only against this backdrop that the effort Jana and Karina make every day to be legitimate multilingual speakers, as well as the significance of their subversive acts can be understood.

Teacher discourses

The following section focuses on the discourse of the German teacher, Frau Zeller. With data from classroom recordings, observations, and an interview, I will show that her discourse was characterized by a delegitimation of grammatical and lexical incorrectness, a promotion of a German-only classroom language policy, a focus on prompt language production, and a preference for traditional student behaviors.

The delegitimation of incorrectness

One legitimation discourse that was frequently employed and reinforced by the teacher was the one of lexical and grammatical accuracy, either through an emphasis on correctness or a delegitimation of incorrectness. This came up almost every day in different forms, be it as brief reminder for students to check their texts for grammatical

errors, as frequent recasts, or as direct instruction of lexical and grammatical items. The first example is taken from the introduction to a partner activity called "grammar domino", during which the students were asked to form sentences with provided chunks of subjects and modal verbs, e.g., "Hermann – müssen" [Hermann – have to]. Sections that were originally in German are marked in blue. (For further transcription conventions, please check Appendix A, for original transcripts Appendix B).

1 T: and this [*the domino game*] we will do for some minutes and please pay really close
2 attention so that you have the correct word order and when you see a word that you do
3 not know then look it up you should not just gamble/play yes i have no idea what this
4 means but i will say it anyway
5 {[*Miles laughs.*]
6 T: you should look it up} yes you are laughing but i see that every day so
7 [*Students start to work. After one minute:*]
8 T: okay and please now german or nothing and really pay attention to the language so
9 and everything you need is written here

(October 17, 2012)

This call for attention to correctness is one typical example of short reminders for students to use accurate language that were sprinkled into most lessons. Here, it comprises two elements: First, students are supposed to pay attention to correct word order. Second, they need to look up words they are not familiar with, rather than just using them or guessing their meaning. What is remarkable is the Frau Zeller's reaction to Miles' laughing: By saying that she sees students using words they do not know every day, she identifies her observations of incorrectness or lexical insecurity as a very common unpleasant event that she has to endure on a regular basis. Through this and through her use of the word "spielen" [to gamble or play], she labels the practice of guessing the meaning of words as something that is not only illegitimate in the current setting of the activity, but beyond that: It is something she sees and identifies as

illegitimate every day. The mere guessing and using of unfamiliar words thus becomes an unwanted practice of incorrect language use that stands in contrast to the knowing of words and looking them up in the dictionary, which represents correct language use. (In other contexts, guessing the meaning of words might be encouraged, e.g. as skill of inferencing or risk taking.)

A second example comes from the common Monday morning activity of students reporting about their weekends. They were usually given some minutes to exchange answers to the question "Was hast du am Wochenende gemacht?" [What did you do on the weekend?] with their peers before Frau Zeller called on them

1 T [*pulls out a destiny stick*]: danielle okay so danielle please what did you do on the
2 weekend?
3 D: uhm we we go* to the movies
4 T: okay we uhm let's look at this sentence more closely [*writes on board and reads*
5 *along*] we to the movies
6 S1: we have gone* to the movies [*using wrong verb for past tense*]
7 T: ok i like gegangen [*writes gegangen into second slot*]
8 S2: has*
9 Several students [*guessing*]: had*
10 T: oh dear oh dear well [*writes first letter s in first slot]*
11 S3: are
12 T: okay so are we doing german two instead of german three today? it looks like it i'm
13 i'm taking a deep breath here because i'm trying really hard not to tell you i told you so
14 these are things you should have lear- and in fact we did learn last year a year ago at
15 least when we built the foundation of your the grammatical basis if you want of your
16 german and you should really know so we can move forward and these mistakes i know
17 mistakes happen even to me i'm not an exception i'm not perfect but this you know this
18 basic stuff should be ingrained in your minds already from last year but okay let's just
19 okay repeat after me we go
20 Class: we go
21 T: we went
22 Class: we went
23 T: we have gone
24 Class: we have gone

(November 5, 2012)

In this excerpt, the Frau Zeller refocused the weekly warm up activity into a grammar-oriented phase of the lesson. After announcing a focus on grammar (line 4) and trying to elicit correct Perfekt tense (similar to present perfect tense) from the class, she showed a fairly strong reaction to the incorrect forms students suggest. In line 13, she moved away from her explanation/elicitation of grammatical rules and expressed her frustration by defining the grammatical content in question as something that students should be familiar with as it is part of their "foundation", their "basis" that they "should really know" because it was discussed "a year ago at least" and thus "should be ingrained in … [their] minds". All these statements identify students as the ones who are failing to live up to a linguistic norm, which was never questioned or described more closely, although Frau Zeller's reference to proficiency levels in line 13 suggests that she bases her assessment on an official and uncontestable curriculum. Such reference to the level of German in the classroom can be interpreted as legitimation through "impersonal authority" or "moral evaluation" (Van Leeuwen, 2008). By doing so, Frau Zeller called on an authority that is external to herself, thereby giving her statement a more official or "objective" connotation. In addition, her citing of the class level normalizes the German syllabus she seems to have in mind: What students are supposed to know at a particular level becomes non-negotiable and a given fact. Such "naturalization" (Van Leeuwen, 2008) or "normalization" (Fairclough, 2001) of a language (learning) policy is one powerful way of claiming legitimation. They strengthen Frau Zeller in her authoritative position and hold students (rather than anyone else) responsible for their lack of proficiency: Using the German Perfekt incorrectly as a third-year student earns one the description of being behind (in level two instead of level three), unable to "move

forward", and lacking critical knowledge of basic grammar. Incorrect language use is thus associated with failing to develop language proficiency. Although such ideas probably do not represent the teacher's beliefs about language in a comprehensive way, they give an insight into the language ideologies that surface in this particular instance of classroom practice.

A third example of the Frau Zeller's focus on correctness is particularly interesting considering the context in which it occurred. In the following transcript, Frau Zeller's explanation of word order immediately followed the role play of a press conference in which a student, Christopher, played the minister of traffic and answered the audience's questions about a chaotic traffic situation (see next section).

1 T: so uhm one moment now so uhm i'm sorry i was a little mem- mesmerized by
2 the snappy answers but now i wanna take a minute to go over a couple of the
3 questions okay to focus your attention on a few things so shh […] guys this is the
4 part i wanna get over quickly but i need you to see it because you just had all this
5 time writing questions and then you were asking some and so i'm focusing pst if it
6 if it helps you actually turn your chair a couple of degrees so that your shoulders
7 and your knees are facing where you are supposed to watch that sometimes helps to
8 focus your attention as well okay human beings have a big visual cortex and so if
9 you're looking at something you are more likely to pay attention to it okay very
10 very smart adults who work with young children always make them look at them
11 when they try to send a message right so you actually need to look here so sh sh sh
12 sh sh sh so here is a question that was asked at the very end that was just everything
13 was correct about this question right okay so was what what element if we had to
14 name this element of the question [*underlines was*] what is it?
15 [*For the next 28 turns, the teacher discusses the grammar of questions in a back-*
16 *and-forth dialogue with a few students.*]
17 T: i heard a few things where people were saying something uhm goofy and and i
18 don't remember the exact words now i i didn't i didn't do the best job today with
19 remembering cause i was caught up in the moment of the press conference what
20 happens to sh sh sh sh right now i need two minutes to describe the homework and
21 then you will have one minute to look at your own questions and seeing if you have
22 the question word and the verb right next door okay if you have anything else in
23 here you have to fix it

(October 15, 2012)

The press conference role play was a phase in class during which students were highly engaged and producing more German than usual. The narrative Christopher developed around a photo not only engaged his peers but apparently also his teacher. However, during her follow-up, Frau Zeller talked about the story line as something that kept her from focusing on grammatical structures. For example, in lines 1-2 she mentioned being “mesmerized” by Christopher’s “snappy answers”, which kept her from focusing on the structure of the questions. Her plan to focus on grammar was thwarted by the engaging content introduced by the students. With this statement, she creates a contrast between meaningful content and attention to form and suggested that the former had been disruptive to the latter. She repeated this lines 18-19 with an almost apologetic tone, adding some self-criticism by stating that she “didn’t do the best job” because she was “caught up in the moment”. While such statements could also be read as indirect praise of students’ creative abilities, the Frau Zeller used them here to explain her lack of attention to grammatical accuracy, which she describes as deficient and inadequate.

This example illustrates the weight that Frau Zeller put on grammatical correctness, which is also underlined in lines 6-11, when she gave a mini-lecture about how to listen attentively. Claiming legitimacy through enacting an “expert authority” (Van Leeuwen, 2008), she encouraged students to prepare physically for the grammar instruction she is about to deliver, backing up her argument with references to science (“human beings have a big visual cortex”) and psychology/pedagogy (“very very smart adults who work with young children always make them look at them when they try to send a message”). Through this statement, she paralleled her students with young children and herself with “very very smart adults”. Frau Zeller closed this interlude by

demanding silence ("sh sh sh sh sh sh"). All these efforts she undertook to ensure that students are paying attention speak to the importance the teacher gave to grammatical rules and correctness in her classroom and her critical role of enforcing these priorities.

Frau Zeller's constant corrections can be read as acts of laying down the "linguistic law" in Bourdieu's (1991) sense, which positions her as a teacher who is "empowered universally to subject the linguistic performance of speaking subjects to examination" (p. 45). Seen in this light, her language policy of correctness loses its political innocence and becomes a tool of power. Thus, through delegitimizing inaccurate language, Frau Zeller becomes the main yardstick and authority to evaluate language in her classroom, which introduces a very clear power structure between her and her students.

Introducing a German-only policy

In her discourse, Frau Zeller doesn't only foreground correctness, she also puts an emphasis on using German in the classroom. Explicit statements of the German-only policy were common throughout the whole semester, especially during group and partner activities. This is illustrated by the following excerpt from my fieldnotes:

> Frau Zeller announced: "We will speak German with each other today" while introducing the daily agenda, and repeated a little later while kicking off an activity: "Of course you must not speak English now but German okay? Okay". … She interrupted the activity and stepped on a chair (which made a couple of students giggle or role their eyes) to warn students "Anyone who constantly speaks English must leave now; anyone who speaks English must stand in front of the door for 30 seconds like in ice skating [*she meant ice hockey penalties*], so mouth closed. German or nothing".
>
> (Fieldnotes, October 22, 2012)

During this class, the Frau Zeller's discourse changed. What started as a statement of the policy became a prohibition of speaking anything but German, and finally a threat of exclusion from the lesson. The act of stepping on a chair can be read as legitimation through "personal authority" (Van Leeuwen, 2008), intended to emphatically use or claim her authority as a teacher in order to give weight to her German-only language policy. However, as I observed, several students did not take her threatening gesture very seriously, thereby making her efforts look rather desperate and ineffective. This observation suggests that legitimation goes beyond a legitimator's claim and needs to take the receiving end into consideration. This goes beyond Van Leeuwen's work, which does not consider the receivers of legitimation claims, and beyond Bourdieu's theory, which describes listeners as passive receivers of legitimation discourses.

Frau Zeller also reinforced the German-only language policy less directly. The following example is taken from a sequence during which the class was discussing the meanings of traffic signs.

1

1 T: what does this mean? attention?
2 Miles: children crossing
3 T: and how do you say in german?
4 M: uh {children
5 T: what are they} called? children
6 M: children go*
7 T: yes there are children close by in the area you should pay attention

(October 17, 2012)

In the translation from English to German that Frau Zeller elicited from Miles, the word "crossing" was lost and replaced with "gehen" [go/walk], which is a much simpler, less specific word. The complexity of the German production is therefore lower than the one of the English phrase in line 2. In addition, the German phrase "Kinder gehen" [*children*

go], which Miles produced in line 6, was used without a spatial phrase or clause, leaving its meaning rather open and the structure incomplete. Another option would have been to introduce the word for “crossing” and prompt Miles, with sufficient scaffolding, to use it. This example illustrates how Frau Zeller compromised complexity and accuracy through a translation that is aimed at the fulfillment of her German-only language policy. Thus, it is evidence of competing policies in her discourse: As in the example above, the correctness discourse and the German-only ideal work at cross purposes and can run counter to each other.

Frau Zeller also talked about her German language policy in the interview I conducted with her:

> JEK: What’s your approach to using German and English or other languages in class?
> T: I don’t know, I switch back and forth, I, that’s one of the disadvantages of having students for a long time because they’ve gotten used to speaking a lot of English in class and then I feel like I’m not pushing them. Maybe in lower levels, you know, I allow English but I don't know that’s the one that’s like an embarrassment for me to to have to explain. I don’t know, maybe at this time of the year I go through a frustration with students not being willing to speak German, I don’t know, you think of all these activities but they’re not doing it and then what, you know, then what? So it’s one of my goals I really have to figure out this out. (Interview with Frau Zeller, December 11, 2012)

In this statement, Frau Zeller expressed her commitment to her policy of using German in class, but at the same time represented it as a source of doubt and worries. When she explained that she felt insecure, helpless, and frustrated, even embarrassed, about the practices in her German classroom, she identified the German language policy as an ideal that she was not (or her students were not) meeting. Given the feeling of inadequacy this policy seemed to cause her, her commitment to it is remarkable. Interestingly, she never

questioned the policy, nor did she try to back it up with pedagogical or linguistic arguments.

On occasion, Frau Zeller would interrupt the lesson for a longer time to talk about the policy of speaking German in more depth. One nine-minute-long monologue she gave in December stood out because of its length and emotional tone. (For the full transcript, please refer to Appendix B.). In it, Frau Zeller explicated her goal of moving towards the realization of the German-only policy. In addition, she also mentioned, more briefly, her goal for her students to master some (she never says which) aspects of German grammar, which links back to what has been said in the previous section. Frau Zeller supported her arguments for a German-only policy with several reasons, as the following excerpts show:

1 i wanna have an opportunity for you every day to engage with the german
2 language something you are expected to do like grab a partner and exchange three
3 words and then do lightning skits […] so every single day there is something […]
4 but there's a couple of things that need to need to change a little bit i really my
5 hope for you in my heart is that you are willing to use german and we will have
6 more time where we can say english is banned/prohibited […] we're sort of
7 approaching we're coming toward the middle of the school year and uhm what i
8 would hope to accomplish toward the end is actually using more actual german in
9 the classroom where you're able to like even if you're turning to say something to
10 someone like there's something like you need to borrow a marker you can say that
11 in german […] normally everything i do is like yay you did it you did that whole
12 thing in german wooo there are mistakes and everything and that's okay that's
13 what i want for you but we're kind of kind of ready with german to three to turn
14 the corners and i think you're ready for it too i today want to hear a couple of
15 stories and i want you to be open to this idea that if you have certain mistakes in
16 your story i'm gonna correct you […] you're the right people to try out everything
17 whatever i come up with whatever i invented for today you're like okay frau zeller
18 i really like that about you

(December 3, 2012)

What is interesting about this example, and the whole monologue, is Frau Zeller's way of defending her German-only policy. She does this in a threefold way: First, she positions herself as a planful and emotionally invested teacher, who has prepared her students well for the upcoming changes through daily activities (lines 1-4) and identifies the German-only policy as her personal wish (line 5). Second, she describes the students as open-minded and ready for a German-only policy (lines 13-15 and 15-17). Third, she refers to outside factors to introduce her new policy by saying that the time is right (lines 7-8). In all, she refers to herself, the students, and outside factors to promote her new policies.

Ironically, by defending and initiating the German-only policy in such an emphatic and thorough way, Frau Zeller inverts what Bourdieu, Fairclough, and Gee have described as "normalization", "naturalization" or "typical" behavior. She marks the use of German as something out-of-the-ordinary that seems to be connected to major linguistic (and as the full transcripts shows, emotional and behavioral) efforts on the students' part. In addition, the fact that she uses English to make this important announcement, strengthens English in its position of a powerful and "normalized" language, similarly to the classroom discourse in Camilleri's (1996) study, where the students' home language (Maltese) was used to build relationships, establish rules, and manage the classroom. If the target language, here German, is restricted to language activities, it can become a marker of inauthentic talk or roles that students and teachers assume during these phases. In contrast, using English would then identify instances when these roles are abandoned and "real" or "authentic" conversations happen. This reinforces a compartmentalization of target and societal language.

Given the thoroughness of Frau Zeller's defense of a German-only policy, what is especially striking is what is missing: When promoting a new language policy for her classroom, she never mentioned or even hinted at any linguistic or pedagogical reasons for her choice. For example, she failed to explain how her German-only policy would support student learning and language development or benefit students in any other way. One reason for this might be that she was less concerned with the pedagogical or linguistic soundness of her policy than with it being accepted, a thought I will develop further at the end of this section.

Focusing on prompt production

To Frau Zeller, producing German promptly and accurately during writing and speaking activities was critical. The extract from my fieldnotes below refers to a lesson on questions. Together with a partner, the students were supposed to write down questions about a picture they were shown.

> Frau Zeller introduces the activity with the words "So now we will look at some pictures and you will ask as many questions as possible, okay?" and goes on to repeat "as many questions as possible". After this, the students have ten minutes to write down questions. After about one minute she mentions during a check-in with a group, "There you can write very many questions" and tells the whole group a few seconds later, "Let's move through this quickly". Hardly a minute passes without her saying "Let's go!" and "As many as possible." or asking students "How many have you written yet?". After about eight minutes, towards the end of the activity, Frau Zeller tries to speed up the general work pace by saying "Sh, sh, sh, many questions, write many questions!" before she ends the activity with "Okay, stop."
>
> (Fieldnotes, October 15, 2012).

After the activity, Frau Zeller proceeded to say the following:

> T: okay i'm gonna be honest we are really just kind of reviewing and as i heard as i saw the difficulty you had in writing along was the questions the first time you met

> with a partner i walked around and some people had three or four and at the top people had six i sort of imagined you could write all the way down the paper asking questions about something okay? that was sh sh sh sh that's what i had in mind i thought that you would be able to just really pump out the questions okay sh sh sh listen then when we're doing the press conference right and people were asking questions you were trying to seek information which is the point of questioning right but that's when i realized the whole structure of it's really disappointing that people waste their time.
>
> (October 15, 2012)

After this evaluation of her students' work, Frau Zeller segued into a ban on mobile phones and ipads which, according to her observations, have kept students from producing the expected amount of questions. Activities like the one described above were quite common in this classroom. Student often worked in teams to produce a particular German structure over and over again. Although less frequently, such activities were also used for oral language practice. For example, students were supposed to produce as many dialogues as possible on a particular topic or around a particular structure. In such activities, the focus was clearly on the product, more precisely, on the amount of produced results. Time-consuming processes such as negotiating form and meaning, deciding on which language to use for discussion, peer correction and review, and finding and applying strategies to successfully fulfill the task were not scaffolded or encouraged. In the excerpt above, Frau Zeller shared her disappointment very openly and explained what she had expected, namely that students would be able to fill a whole sheet with questions within the time they were given. Thus, Frau Zeller tied linguistic legitimacy of a good language student to rapid language production and sanctions failure to comply by withholding "recognition" or "social goods" (Gee, 2011) like praise or good grades.

Trying to establish an "academic atmosphere"

The following examples from my fieldnotes illustrate Frau Zeller's struggle with the noise level in her classroom. These examples serve to illustrate Frau Zeller's understanding of a productive learning environment.

> Today I learned about the whisper rule. After repeated attempts to lower the general volume in the class during group work phases through shushing students, Frau Zeller declared "I'm evoking the whisper rule. I've asked you three times to keep the volume down and it's not, it's just not working, so from now on you can only whisper". The students seemed to be familiar with this rule. Most of them continued their dialogues whispering or talking quietly for a little while. Some of them shut down completely and put their heads in their arms on their desks. I saw two students rolling their eyes and at least four who continued talking in their normal voices. Soon the volume was back to where it had been before. About three minutes later Frau Zeller interrupted the activity again and said "Please, please help me understand what we need to do here to make this a better educational experience. I'm asking you because, honestly, I'm not sure what to do next. We need to create an academic atmosphere, but there is just too much noise, so please keep it down". Even though she addressed the students, she did not seem to expect an answer, nor did the students seem to consider giving one. They continued whatever they were doing, leaning on their desks, drawing in their notebooks or talking to each other. Fewer of them than before seemed to be working on the actual task. About four minutes later, Frau Zeller turned off the lights to get the students' attention. The students first reacted with loud muttering and talking but finally quietened down. Then Frau Zeller explained the next activity.
>
> (Fieldnotes, October 25, 2012)

Two things are noteworthy about this example: First, Frau Zeller's strong desire for a reduced noise level in the classroom, and second, her description of such a climate as "academic" and "edcuational". The second example is taken from my fieldnotes about an observation I made about one month later:

> Today, on November 26, I discovered student-written mini-posters hanging in the classroom. They said: "Subjects don't always seem interesting and relevent [sic] but being actively engaged in learning them is better than being passavily [sic] bored and not learning." and "You always have to pay attention and put forth effort even if you don't want to." as well as "People that want to do good in school don't talk to their friends when the teacher is talking. They will keep trying to learn something that they don't understand." When I asked about their origin, Frau Zeller informed me that she had the students make those the day before to remind them of

> the reasons why they were here: to learn. She was hoping that the posters would positively affect the classroom climate and create a “more academic atmosphere”.
>
> (Fieldnotes, November 26, 2012)

It seems that what Frau Zeller defined as “academic atmosphere” comprises mostly a reduced noise level or actual silence, which should serve the purpose of listening to the teacher. This was deemed important because, as the mini-posters imply, the teacher was considered the main source of knowledge in the classroom, without whom learning could not happen. Paying attention to her was therefore essential, even if it was against the students’ will. Given the continuous presence of this topic in the classroom throughout the semester, it seems appropriate to consider it in connection with the language policies Frau Zeller tried to establish. Gee’s (2011) concept of Discourses is helpful in understanding that accepted, or legitimate, behavior goes beyond language use. To recall his words: “It’s not just what you say or even how you say it. It’s also who you are and what you are doing while you say it. It’s not enough to say the right “lines”, you have to be (enact, role-play) the “right” sort of person (p. 2, no italics)”. This aligns with Frau Zeller’s claim to be more than a judge of language practices, but also of student Discourses in all other aspects. Such an ultimate power claim, which is enforced by the repetition of rules (e.g., the whisper rule) as well as a common writing down of them, illustrates the power structures that Frau Zeller attempted to establish in her German classroom.

Making sense of Frau Zeller’s discourses

Based on the findings presented above, I claim that Frau Zeller used language policies and ideologies, as well as the promotion of a particular type of student Discourse,

to establish her position of power in the classroom. First, she made use of the ideology of monolingualism to support her German-only policy, which corresponds with Train's (2003) analysis of FL classrooms: "The FL classroom is often an ideologically monolingual space in which only the target language is supposed to be used (e.g., a leave-your-English-at-the-door stance) and students will be discouraged from using their L1" (p. 9). Although Frau Zeller was not promoting this policy in its most extreme form, the so-called "virtual position" (Macaro, 2001), which aims to exclude any other but the target language from L2 instruction, she felt very committed to a more lenient variation of it. This commitment existed despite her frustration with the obvious mismatch between the policy and the practice in her classroom. In contrast to her beliefs, recent research has found L1 use in FL classes to be of great cognitive advantage for multilingual language learners (Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, forthcoming). What is noteworthy about Frau Zeller's policy is that she never gave any reasons for it. Although she made a huge effort to promote the policy of using German by reinforcing it repeatedly and at length, she never explained how it might support student learning or language development. This is also true for her policy of correctness. Although it might be connected to a native speaker-ideal or a promotion of a particular so-called "standard" variety of German, Frau Zeller never explicitly referred to such ideologies, nor does she undergird her focus on correctness with arguments. Rather, any pedagogical or linguistic arguments are left out of her discourse around her language policies.

Second, Frau Zeller promoted a particular student Discourse that lines up with her policies and ideologies. This Discourse is characterized by compliance with her policies and her overall leadership, discipline, and prompt language production. As we will see

later on, in reality, several of Frau Zeller's students did not always comply with this promoted Discourse. Instead, they took on the lead in the classroom quite consistently, use German in impromptu, unfiltered, and often inaccurate ways.

Putting together Frau Zeller's promoted student Discourse with the use of language ideologies and the absence of arguments for classroom policies, it becomes evident that she was using language policies mostly to legitimize herself in a powerful position. As Frau Zeller claimed authority over what is linguistically legitimate in the classroom and evoked very traditional behaviors and language ideologies, she might have been trying to gain or regain a position of power that had become, or had always been, weak. The legitimation of language use thus functions as legitimation of a teacher self that is in charge and in control of her classroom. Seen in this light, language policies and ideologies are not first and foremost expressions of beliefs about language or teaching and learning, but rather tools to legitimize a particular "way of being a teacher", or in Gee's words, a certain teacher Discourse. Of course, even though the teacher's policies and ideologies don't seem to be intended to first and foremost target pedagogical or linguistic aims, this does not mean that they are without consequences or harmless on a pedagogical or linguistic level.

Frau Zeller's attempts to legitimize herself through restrictive language policies need to be seen in a bigger context. First, this means including her most immediate environment, her school, into the picture. As a German teacher, she was competing for student enrollment numbers with not only Spanish and American Sign Language teachers, but also with a newly introduced Chinese department at Clearwater high school.

In the interview, she expressed her concerns about this competition and made a connection between the pressures she felt and her instruction:

> T: I feel like it [the school's German program] has been successful but I'm really nervous about it because uhm last year when they passed out the reg- the registration forms to the 8th graders the 8th graders went like 'Oh cool there's American sign language, I heard the teacher is deaf, I'm taking that.' And it's a perfectly valid language and people should take it if they are interested, but maybe that's the wrong reason. But maybe that's not the students I wanted in German class anyway but uhm right now yeah we have a lot of competition among languages, a new Chinese program, and uhm our numbers are going down. … And some of the students, they don't speak German, they don't do the work, you've probably noticed. I should push them, I know, but, you know, I'm nervous. And honestly, I sometimes I can't figure out, sometimes I wonder why like [*whispers*] 'Why are you taking this'? I mean, but I, the reality is, I want them to fill that chair as long as they're not gonna be toxic and ruin the class. (Interview with Frau Zeller, December 11, 2012)

Frau Zeller's quote illustrates her fear of dwindling student enrollment which would eventually jeopardize her job. It also speaks to her feeling of being torn between what might be considered appropriate ways of language teaching (e.g., pushing students to use the target language) and offering instruction that is popular enough among students to keep them in the German program. The constraints of this balancing act between enrollment figures (i.e., job security) and ideas that are promoted by SLA research needs to be considered when Frau Zeller's legitimation discourses are analyzed and interpreted. In other words, we need to ask about the covert motivations behind language pedagogy and classroom language policies to uncover the pressure and constraints within which teachers operate.

Second, the wider context of an education system that is permeated by neoliberal practices and policies (Heller, 2010) might play a role in Frau Zeller's discourse of product orientation. In other words, her urging the students to produce large amounts of the target language very quickly might be related to the fact that she has been socialized

into an education system in which teachers are constantly asked to provide evidence for student learning. Her concerns about decreasing enrollment figures might add to her need of student productions. Although an in-depth discussion of this issue goes beyond the scope of this paper, future research should investigate the pressures and constraints teachers experience in a neoliberal education system and how it affects their instruction.

In the following section, I focus on students' discourses and how they relate to those of Frau Zeller. What can already be said at this point is that monolingual ideologies and traditional understandings of student Discourses and linguistic correctness can be detrimental to developing or practicing multilingualism.

Peer discourses

In the following section, I provide a description of peer discourses that dominated the German classroom. As described in the literature review in chapter 2, peer discourse are spaces where linguistic legitimacy is denied and created based on social power structures and relationships.

The illegitimacy of German

The most striking characteristic of the classroom discourse was the fact that the use of German was rare. English was the default, the legitimate norm of the classroom. It seemed that a good reason was needed to deviate from this norm, whereas speaking English was usually not questioned. Especially group and partner activities were carried out in English, even when they were supposed to lead to a German result. This means that most negotiating, correcting, and external processing of meaning and form happened in

English. The following example is taken from a share-out phase after individual work. The students were asked to copy a text from the board and at the same time fill in blanks with missing chunks that were labeled a – j.

1 T: now you should read the text in the group and compare the answers now in the
2 group first read read aloud and then compare answers
3 Jana: mkay so first one i got e
4 S1: yeah
5 J: first this and second one i got c
6 S1: that's what i got
7 S2: yeah
8 S1: {i got b
9 J: what you got? second one?}
10 S1: b yeah
11 J: i got c cause i thought that the third one would be b cause it makes she can't use
12 she isn't allowed to use her dad's car
13 S1: yeah that's right
14 J: and uhm fourth one i got i uhm and fifth one i got d yeah
15 S1: then?
16 J: h yeah then f and j for the last one okay so i got for i got e c b i d h f j
17 S1: okay

(October 3, 2012)

The students in this group were deviating from Frau Zeller's directions and making sure to get their job done quickly and efficiently. Rather than reading the German text and comparing the words and phrases they filled into the blanks, they read out the numbers of the corresponding word/phrase and compared those. All of this was done in English, not one German word was spoken. Most remarkably, Jana avoided quoting from the German original, even when directly referring to it (lines 11-12). Instead, she chose to translate the text to English, which, as the two false starts in line 11 suggest, was not the easiest solution. This is especially interesting considering that the students seemed to be focused on getting their job of comparing the answers done, rather than on following the teacher's instructions or paying attention to the content of the story. They appear to have agreed

that the most efficient way for them to fulfill this task is to speak English. However, Jana's choice interrupted the policy of maximum efficiency and instead followed the implicit English-only policy that also seemed to be in place here. In other words, she aligned with the language policy rather than with the efficiency policy, which is an indication of the illegitimacy of using German in this situation.

The next example is from a group work phase during which students were supposed to write a to-do list for a particular profession. This group, consisting of one male (S4) and four female students (S1 – S3) including Karina (K), was assigned the profession of a soccer coach.

1 S1: okay so what are we doing?
2 S2: we're writing a list a to-do list for a football coach
3 S3: soccer
4 S2: soccer coach
5 S1: get the balls [*laughs*]
6 S3: okay do you know how to say that?
7 S1 [*to S2*]: do you know how to say that? you're quite good at that german stuff
8 S2: whaaat? [*shakes head*]
9 K [*eagerly*]: yeah yeah you are
10 S1: okay come on what's balls [*laughs*] we know how to say balls
11 S3 [*starts to write*]: okay
12 S1: guys they have such an easy job like with everything [*keeps talking about guys*
13 *and balls*]
14 S2: okay uhm run? run is to run i think
15 S4: {i'll get a dictionary
16 S3: look up whistle} for me like with p with p
17 {[*S1 talks with S4 about a phone she borrowed.*]
18 S2: okay how do you say uhm blow the whistle}
19 S3 [*to K*]: hey do you wanna help too? [*hands dictionaries to K and S2*]
20 S4 [*looking into dictionary*]: so whistle* [*pronounced fi:fə instead of pfaifə*]
21 S3: spell it please
22 S4: p-f-e-i-f-e [*pronounced English*]
23 K: [*looking into dictionary*] okay blow is h-hit [*noun*]
24 S3: hit [*noun*]?
25 K: yeah hit [*noun*]
26 S3: no hit [*noun*] that's not a verb see noun [*points at page in dictionary*]
27 K: oh yeah makes sense

28	S3: blow? [*pronounced bleisən*]
29	K: yeah blow [*pronounced bleisən*]
30	S1: blow blow [*pronounced bleisən*] [*laughs, starts to talk about gum*]
31	K: we can do like instruct the players
32	S2: or like organize the team?
33	S3: yeah complete* a team
34	S4: doesn't complete mean complete?
35	S2: run with the* team running with the team
36	[*Frau Zeller ends the groups phase by clapping. During the share-out phase, she*
37	*asks the group to present their to-do lists, so that the class can guess what job*
38	*description it fits.*]
39	S1: i'm gonna read the list [*reads*] finds many soccerball* run with the* team
40	blow a whistle* [*pronounced fi:fən*] complete* a* team [*pronounced with ʌ*
41	*instead of æ*]

(October 3, 2012)

The German that was spoken during this group phase consisted of either words from the dictionary or words and phrases that ended up on the to-do list that was the end product of this activity. All negotiating (e.g. lines 23-27, lines 31-35) happened in English, as well as the clarification of the directions (lines 1-4), distribution of tasks (line 19), using the dictionary (lines 20-22), spelling (line 21), and off-task conversations (e.g., line 17). In short, students only spoke a minimum of German, the part that they could not avoid. The default language that was expected and legitimate was English, while German only seemed to be legitimate if absolutely necessary. This is a very typical example of how group and partner work was practiced in this classroom. It illustrates the "normalization" (Bourdieu) or "naturalization" (Fairclough) of a language policy. In Fairclough's words, it shows that using English was "seen as *natural*, and legitimate because it is simply *the way* of conducting oneself" (2011, p. 76). This enactment of linguistic illegitimacy is different from that of Frau Zeller's German-only ideal because it is completely implicit. Put differently, speaking English is based on an ideology that is "constructively implicit" (Woolard, 1998, p. 6), and therefore only occasionally nears explicitly. We encounter one

such occasion in lines 7-9, where S2 denied her investment in learning or using German. S1's pejorative reference to German as "that German stuff", S2's reaction to S1's suggestion that she was "good at that German stuff", and Karina's eagerness to confirm this suggestion all point to the idea that being invested in learning or using German was not valued in this context and students were trying to distance themselves from being invested German users. This is in contrast to Norton's (2000) L2 learners, who were trying to practice their L2 but found their opportunities to be restricted by L1 speakers' dominating discourses. However, Norton's concept of investment, and especially Byrd Clark's (2009) extension of it, which comprises investment in ideologies, policies, and discourses, applies here: Students seemed to be invested in appearing uninvested.

Legitimation through following narrow instructions

The common pattern of speaking English was interrupted whenever Frau Zeller provided very narrow instructions. In the following extract, students were asked to walk around and talk to a number of peers about their likes and dislikes using the phrase "was für" [what kind of/which]. The teacher provided the structure of this phrase with slots to fill in, as well as several example sentences on the board (German original in blue):

Was für __________ Nomen __________ verb*st* du gern?

Was für Pizza isst du gern?
Was für Musik …
Was für Sport …
Was für ein Instrument möchtest du spielen?
Was für einen Film hast du am Wochenende gesehen?

What kind of __________ noun __________ verb*st* [verb+ending –st] you like?

What kind of pizza do you like to eat? What kind of music … What kind of sport … What kind of instrument would you like to play? What kind of movie did you watch on the weekend?

In addition, the teacher also gave additional examples of sentences including "was für" [what kind of/which] orally. The following is taken from a conversation between six girls, among them focal students Karina and Jana.

1 S1 [*to K*]: what kind of music do you listen to?
2 K: [*unintel.*] uhm i have no idea {not rap and i have a little bit of german
3 S2 [*to J*]: what kind of sport do you do?}
4 K: music [*unintel.*] and a little little little little bit rap
5 {[*All laugh.*]
6 K: little little little} uhm and i [*unintel.*]
7 J: i don't like* sport but i like going for walks hm
8 S1 [*to J*]: what kind of pizza do you like to eat?
9 J: uhm all* pizza
10 S1 [*to J*]: uhm what kind of music {do you like to listen to?
11 J: uhm classic* rock}
12 K: what kind of uhm what kind of instru-instrument do you like* to play?
13 S3: saxophon
14 K: okay
15 J [*to S4*]: hello uhm uhm uhm what kind of* film do you like to watch?
16 S4: uhm [*unintel.*] what kind of book do you like to read?
17 J: uhm i like realistic fiction and uhm [*unintel.*]

(October 8, 2012)

In this group phase, the students followed the directions very closely and used almost exclusively German. I observed all of them making use of the scaffolding on the board, frequently turning their heads towards it during a conversation.

Figure 4: Group work

Although in group work phases English usually dominated as the legitimate language, these mini-dialogues were carried out almost exclusively in German. One reason for this might be the teacher's instructions, which seemed to have two effects: a) They minimized the linguistic effort students needed to make to complete this task in German, and b) they helped them to save face by creating the possibility to participate in the activity without positioning themselves as students who put a huge effort into learning German. Put differently, such narrow structures might not only make it easy but also legitimate for students to use a foreign language. If we understand this example through the lens of a performance, the Frau Zeller's sentence starters/sentences acted as a kind of script and the students' laughter and unnatural conversational behavior (e.g., facing the board rather than their conversation partners) suggest that they were not engaging in authentic conversation, but rather assuming teacher-imposed roles.

In addition, the impression was conveyed that the situation and its language were owned by the teacher, and the students were reduced to their roles as task fulfillers. In Bourdieu's words, Frau Zeller controlled this activity by limiting space (in terms of amount and type) for language output and thus appeared as "agent of regulation and

imposition" (1991). As Bourdieu suggests and as we see in the example above, through such kind of domination, language becomes semi-artificial, a characteristic it needs to retain in order to function as tool of power. This adds to Van Leeuwen's (2008) theory of legitimation: Frau Zeller's policy was largely followed because of her offering of very controlled and limited spaces. Complete control or very open spaces for language production might have led to protest or a subversion of power. Thus, these controlled spaces seemed to work to stabilize Frau Zeller' position of authority.

However, while most of the conversation was a direct application of the sentences/sentence starters Frau Zeller provided, Karina interrupted this pattern and made an interesting move in her first turn. In lines 2 and 4, she answered the question, but also gave a more detailed explanation of her musical preferences. Her playing with the word "klein" [little] and the fact that she repeated it to elicit more laughter from her peers illustrates how a student uses (a minimal amount and complexity of) the target language to entertain her peers. At that moment, when she deviated from the script, produced an authentic utterance, and modified it for entertainment, Karina positioned herself as rightful speaker of German. Put differently, she claimed ownership of the language and made German legitimate. Although Bourdieu's (1977a) theory of practice does not give much consideration to such acts of deviation, they do occur, as also Ndayipfukamiye's (1996), Canagarajah's (2001), Lin's (1996), Jørgensen's (2005), and Copp Jinkerson's (2012) studies show. All of them document how students and/or teachers break rules and norms that define a legitimate language. In addition, Rampton (2006) illustrates that, especially when social relationships and entertainment are at stake, students sometimes find ways to claim linguistic legitimacy as FL speakers. This is what Karina did: In order

to keep her classmates entertained and relate to them positively, she broke out of the students' own no-German policy and the narrow structure of the task. Thus, in this situation, the laws of entertainment and relationships ruled over the Frau Zeller's limitations and the peers' language policy.

Unfortunately, moments like this were extremely rare in such highly structured activities. More commonly, these activities produced only the minimum of required German output. Thus, while tightly controlled tasks acted as an effective legitimizing tool by creating a distance between the students and the target language German, they also impeded language ownership and investment. In other words, within the limitations of such activities, students did not need to own the language learning process but were able to maintain an uninvested attitude.

Another example of students using German in a highly structured task was the partner interview activity students did later in that same lesson. This example is taken from a conversation between two female students, S1 and S2, about music habits. What is important to note is that almost all the questions in this dialogue were provided by the teacher on a worksheet.

1

1 S1[*reads*]: are you interested* in music?
2 S2: yes are you interes intereste interested* in music?
3 S1[*reads*]: yes do you play and instrument?
4 S2: yes
5 S1[*reads*]: what kind of music do you listen to?
6 S2: uhm everything? all?
7 S1: uhm everything uhm [*reads*] when do you listen to music?
8 S2: every day
9 S1: me too uhm [*reads*] how do you listen to music?
10 S2: uhm how is how?
11 S1: yeah
12 S2: ipod
13 S1[*reads*]: do you go* do you go to concerts?

14 S2: no
15 S1: me neither [*reads*] do you have a favorite group?
16 S2: i have a* favorite singer* so uhm you know bruno mars? [*reads*] do you have a
17 favorite group?
18 S1: yes but they are not in the [*unintel.*] uh beast or b two s – t [*te:*] s – t [*ti:*] that's
19 what they're called
20 S2 [*reads*]: are the lyrics of the songs important to you?
21 S1: uhm
22 S2: uhm hm not sure i like the words of the songs
23 S1: uhm a little bit?
24 S2: uhm yes
25 S1: uhm anyway [*reads*] are the lyrics of the songs important to you you said a little
26 bit uhm [*reads*] do you listen to the same music as your parents?
27 S2: no
28 S1: uhm [*reads*] have you ever dreamed of playing in a band?
29 S2: no
30 S1: no? [*laughs*] uhm something okay then what? [*silence - 7 sec*] i guess uhm should
31 i write yes? uhm [*reads*] name three things that you find great about the life of a pop
32 star uhm
33 [*T ends the activity.*]

(October 8, 2012)

In this example, most of the task was carried out in German. Given that most of the German was being read, it can be assumed that this was partly due to the fact that the language was provided by Frau Zeller and required very little effort on the students' part. In addition, as in the previous example, the semi-scripted nature of this activity may have functioned as an implicit introduction of a language policy. Although such legitimation through controlled spaces for language production is undergirded by power imbalances, it does not work through explicit force or constraint but through making one option, here the option of speaking German, the more effortless and more obvious choice. In other words, it is based on an ideology, here the ideal of German-only, and thus employs "normalization" (Bourdieu, 1991) and legitimation processes which make it easy and "natural" for students to take on the roles of German speakers. Avoiding German and translating this task to English would not only have required more cognitive effort from

the students, it would also have been a clear deviation from the Frau Zeller's instructions and expectations that would have needed a conscious decision and deliberate action. As a consequence, while German was legitimized and accepted as main language of the activity through constrained task parameters, English marked sequences outside the performed dialogue that served to manage the activity, such as clarification requests (line 10), explanations (lines 18-19), reiterations of statements (lines 25-26), and management of the writing process (lines 30-31).

As we have seen, students in this classroom legitimized German by following narrow instructions and using the target language based on semi-scripts. Such processes can be seen as performances of expected roles. As the next sections shows, more open and unstructured role play activities also helped students to legitimize German.

Legitimation through role play

In several cases, students in the German classroom created legitimation of German as the main language through role play. In the following extract, one student, "Christopher", volunteered to be the "Verkehrsminister" [minister of traffic] and participate in a "press conference". The students, in their roles as journalists, were invited to ask him questions. Large portions of the transcripts are included in this section, because the episodes were some of the few that engaged much participation and in which German was used for multiple communicative functions.

1 T: we want to know a lot now what is going on here with this construction site yes
2 are you coming?
3 C: yes [*walks to front*]
4 T: yes we live here in this town and there is a construction site and it looks pretty
5 dangerous the tramway goes and the cars drive and how and where and where to

6 and so and you will now ask very many questions and the minister of traffic that is
7 the {expert
8 M [*yells*]: christopher christopher} christopher christopher christopher where is
9 that?
10 C: uhm mm wait a sec let me get my [*runs to his desk*]
11 M: it's a press conference people come one we're supposed to yell
12 C: to get my attention [*runs back to front*]
13 M: yeah you wanna yell every time i watch the presidential stuff and they're trying
14 to ask questions {sir sir sir sir
15 T: everyone everyone wants}to ask questions yes
16 C: this is the town yes
17 T: and one more {question?
18 M: mister president} mister president
19 S1: which town?
20 C: uh berlin
21 [*laughter*]
22 C: yes
23 S2: why the car not go?*
24 C: it dead is*
25 S2: oh no
26 S3 [*quietly*]: it is broken
27 T [*laughs*]: the car is dead
28 S4 [*quietly*]: bought in russia
29 S3 [*quietly*]: what is this smell?
30 S5: who in the car b- who in the car be?*
31 C: uuhmm germany's president
32 M [*quietly*]: {sarkozy no that's [*unintel.*]
33 T: oh yeah that's actually} we didn't even learn the word for that yet
34 S5 [*whispers*]: just asking questions?
35 S6 [*whispers*]: yeah
36 S7: how late are you?
37 [*T laughs.*]
38 C: uhm
39 S4: no the car
40 C: oh
41 T: oh du you mean the car or the tramway?
42 S5: the car
43 C [*quietly*]: did she ask me how late i was?
44 S4: yeah
45 C: uh fifteen [*pronounced with u*] minutes
46 T: oh no
47 M: oh shame
48 C: that is bad luck
49 T: that is bad luck yes
50 S7: uh how fast are he train going?*
51 C: uh one hundred kiolmeters an hour

52 [*laughter*]
53 S6: the tramway is fast
54 S8: where is the tramway going?*
55 C: uhm his parents' house*
56 [*laughter*]
57 S8: alright
58 S9: uh what kind of car is that?*
59 T: aha
60 C: uh mazda uh
61 M: just call it a prius
62 C: {uh five
63 M: just call} it a prius
64 C [*laughs*]: just call it a prius it is too big for a prius
65 T: two more questions
66 S10: where is the car going?*
67 C: nowhere right here [*points at curb*] do you have {another question?
68 T: one more question} one more question
69 M: mister president mister president
70 C: yes
71 S1: hi
72 T: but that's not the president that's the minister of traffic
73 M [*yells*]: minister of traffic
74 T: yes exactly
75 C [*rolls eyes*]: yes hi
76 M: what's minister of traffic?
77 S11: how many years old is this car?
78 C: uh twenty or twenty-one
79 S12 [*quietly*]: how do you say what happened to the car?
80 S13 [*quietly*]: what happens
81 S12: uh okay what happens with the car?*
82 C: uh uh the [*circular motion*]
83 T: wheels?
84 C: the wheels are [*explosive sound*]
85 [*laughter*]
86 T: and the last question mister minister
87 C: yes?
88 S13: no i'm taking mine back
89 C: {yes?
90 T: forget it} you say forget it S14 S14 [*calling student's name*] forget it
91 S13: forget it
92 T: yes
93 S14: how old is the street?
94 C: how old? uh [*quietly*] based on the construction say [*to class*] ten years old
95 T: thank you thank you mister minister
96 [*applause*]

(October 15, 2012)

All in all, 17 students were actively involved in the activity, 16 of which produced German, albeit in very short turns. This is one of the highest active participation rates in a teacher- or student-fronted activity I observed all semester. What was remarkable was Christopher's way of creating coherent content, through which he helped establish German as the only legitimate language. English was mostly used for off-task or outside-task conversation, for example in the exchange between Miles (M) and Christopher in the beginning of the activity (lines 8-14), when they negotiated the setting of the role play and Christopher was not "in character" yet. Miles was the only student in the class who maintained mostly English throughout this sequence. His English interjections were ignored (line 18), laughed about (line 64), and evaluated negatively (line 75). Frau Zeller and other students used English to manage the activity or mark off-the-record utterances, e.g. to clarify the directions (e.g., lines 34-35, 43), joke (lines 27-28) or take back a question (line 88). After the exchange with Miles in the beginning of the activity, the only times Christopher used English was to respond to a question that confused him (line 67), to get help (line 43), and prepare for an answer through self-talk (line 94). In all, students seemed willing to use German and eager to participate (e.g., lines 34-35 and 79-80). Although Frau Zeller never explicitly enforced the German-only rule, she did correct Miles' and S 14's (lines 15 and 90) statements with an English rephrasing/recast to signal them that only German was legitimate.

What may have facilitated students' language choice was the story Christopher created around the picture. The plot of a German politician with a broken car stuck in traffic might have motivated students to participate in this scenario and challenge

Christopher to develop the story further. Not only might this narrative have had an engaging effect on his peers, it may also, together with his own use of German, have acted as legitimizing policy of German. Through his taking on a role of a German speaking minister, Christopher defined German as legitimate and invited his peers to do the same. His role needed counterparts, i.e. other roles that were also tied to the use of German. Assuming the roles as question-asking audience allowed students to use German within the safe frame of a role: They did not need to be themselves as users of German but merely go along with a setting that had been created for them. A role in such a context creates a possibility to save face in a classroom where using a foreign language is generally associated with awkwardness and embarrassment, feelings also Rampton (2006) observed in his study of FL German learners. It can thus turn an illegitimate language into a legitimate one, at least for a short period of time.

A similar role play occurred a few days later, when Miles volunteered to act as the inventor of a car that he introduced to the audience. Again, the rest of the students were invited to assume question-asking roles.

1 T: so uh are you the minister of traffic or the inventor?
2 M: i wanna be the inventor
3 T: inventor this is the inventor so you ask questions our press conference begins
4 M: yes
5 S1: what's your name?
6 M: i am jürgen van strangle and i come from switzerland
7 T: from where do you come from?
8 M: switzerland
9 T: {from?
10 S2: switzerland}
11 M: switzerland
12 T: from switzerland
13 M: switzerland oh shame
14 S3: is this a racecar?
15 M: yes yes yes mhm

16 T: this is a racecar mhm
17 S4: why does the bike not stand in the street?
18 [*T and M laugh.*]
19 T: that is a bit cheeky {of you
20 M: one more time} please
21 S4: why does the bike not stand in the street?
22 M: no
23 T: no [*laughs*]
24 [*M laughs.*]
25 T: class is this a bike?
26 M: yes
27 T: a bike?
28 M: yes like it is a
29 [*noise and laughter*]
30 M: yes this is wa- this is*
31 T: okay well next question
32 S5: is this a* car or a bike?
33 M [*loudly*]: a* bike!
34 T: a bikecar
35 M: i am a bikecar yes [*makes driving and pedaling moves*] your flintstone car
36 with a yes?
37 [*laughter*]
38 T: oh hey class is this the car of fred flintstone?
39 M: yes
40 S6: maybe
41 S5: no
42 M: this is a new fred
43 T: flintstone ok next question
44 M: yes S7 [*name of student*]
45 S7: what does it say on the* poster?
46 M: what? [*looks at picture*] ah good question [*points at poster*] this is my
47 minister of traff-* from* switzerland there yes and this is [*laughs*] this is a poster
48 of this [*points at car*] yes this is how do you say miles and hour again?
49 T: uhm
50 S8: k h m* [*pronounced kei hei em*]
51 T: km/h [*pronounced kei em ha:*]
52 M: km/h? [*pronounced kei em ha:*]
53 T: km/h [*pronounced ka: em ha:*]
54 M: huh? km/h [*pronounced ka: em ha:*][*rolls his eyes*] this car can to* twenty
55 km/h drives
56 T: drive
57 M: drive drive okay
58 T: okay not bad
59 S8: does it have a* radio?
60 M: no
61 T: what what was the question?

62 S9: what is this?
63 T: what was his question?
64 M: do it have* a {radio
65 T: one more time please}
66 S8: does it have a* radio?
67 M: no
68 T: oh shame i like to listen to music while driving
69 [*some students talking*]
70 T: do you have a question?
71 S9: no
72 T: you have a lot to say but no question?
73 M: [*unintel.*]
74 S10: what is this?
75 M: this is a* bikecar
76 S11: how many* money cost* the bike car?
77 M: oh a million dollars no uh this is yes uh this is* five
78 T: five?
79 S11: euro? [*pronounced ju:ro*]
80 M: five euro [*pronounced ju:ro*]
81 T: five euro?
82 {[*laughter and chatting]*
83 T: that is a cheap offer}
84 S12: who made it?
85 M: paris
86 S12: who made it?
87 M: on the switzerland made on the switzerland on neuschwanstein made that
88 made that*
89 S13: where does it go* to?
90 M: uhm in your* garage
91 [*laughter*]
92 T: aha for for {five euro
93 M: for five euro} in your* garage
94 S13: uhm where is this?
95 M: uhm heh heh what does this mean?
96 T: where is this this is maybe I thing this is a fair and the people they come here
97 is a new bikecar and the people come and they want to know yes? what is this
98 where does it come from how how much is it yes how does it work and this one
99 has a fair
100 M: and for your turbo this have a* cells hydrogen cells
101 T: aha oxygen cells?
102 M: yes for the turbo yes not not pedal [*pedaling motion*] beep pshhht
103 T: aha you don't have to pedal
104 S14: how many kilos does it weigh?
105 M: oh boy [*laughs*] uh no idea
106 T: no idea
107 M: untested

108 T: and maybe one more question
109 M: a question yes
110 S15: have* it power steering?
111 M: yes yes
112 T: has has it?
113 M: there this have* power steering
114 T okay yes thank you please let's thank the minister of traffic
115 {[*applause*]
116 M [*yells*]: five euro for in your garage!*}

(October 17, 2012)

In this sequence, students used German almost throughout. Miles, who was one of the most reluctant speakers of German and often did not utter a single German word in a lesson, seemed to have found a role and a space that not only allowed him to produce German in front of an audience, but also to push himself beyond the limits of his own proficiency by using complex language and content. For example, he defined the vehicle in the pictures as hybrid between car and bicycle, using body language and references to a cartoon (Flintstones) to get his message across (line 35). In lines 47-49, he explained what can be seen on the posters behind the car – a rather complicated answer that he constructed with the help of priorly mentioned words (Verkehrsminister) and body language (pointing). In lines 98 and 100, Miles introduced the topic of a turbo motor that runs on hydrogen cells, a rather complex issue that he managed with the help of codeswitching. He also asked questions when he got stuck (e.g., lines 46-48). Overall, he seemed very willing to take risks and activated a variety of strategies to communicate complex issues that extended the limits of his proficiency. In addition, the presence of the teacher's voice in every question-answer sequence might have functioned as language monitor that continuously reinforced German as the only legitimate language for this activity. Even though Frau Zeller played a big role as language enforcer during this

activity, it also seemed that the questions performed their communicative functions and elicited a fair amount of student output.

It is striking that an activity like this not only transformed Miles, who usually avoided German whenever possible, into a risk-taking German speaker, it also activated a large number of his peers to participate and use German. Apparently, Miles' role held possibilities for him that he seemed to lack in other, more traditional, classroom situations. He assumed the role of the Erfinder [inventor] with great enthusiasm and humor, and remained in character even when the teacher confused the assigned roles (by calling the audience "Klasse" [class] or Miles the "Verkehrsminister" [minister of traffic]). His excessive gesturing and his varied intonation added to the general feel of him playing a role. His classmates appeared to be drawn into the setting by Miles' acting and willingly provided question after question in German. Once again, a play acting task seemed successful for the use of spoken German. Although such role plays as spaces of enhanced L2/FL use might evoke associations with reports of students who construct their identities discursively through multiple language practices, there is a fundamental difference between these studies and my data. To recall, in Bucholtz' (1999b) and Chun's (2001) studies, the participants "Brand One" and "Jin" used AAVE to construct identities of masculinity. Similarly, "Mike" in Cutler's (1999) study used AAVE to create his identity as a member in African American hip hop culture. In addition, Rampton (1996) documented students' outgroup use of SAE to probe for stereotypes and enact non-traditional, dynamic identities. In contrast to these studies, the example I provided does not document students who are seeking to mark or make an identity shift, but rather the opposite: Assuming the roles of a politician, an inventor, and journalists allowed students

to use German without engaging in potentially uncomfortable or difficult identity work. The roles were disconnected from the students' lives and identities and did not require them to represent their real opinions, thoughts, or experiences. However, they did have an important function in the classroom, in that they created a space where students could "play German": Assuming a role kept students from identifying themselves as invested German learners or serious participants in a language-related activity. It created a space for them where they could use German without appearing overly eager or hardworking – they were merely playing their part. In their play, they could use German without any personal attachment to the language or investment in language learning. In other words, as part of a role, German could be used without commitment or deep identity shift.

Another aspect of role plays and similar activities was their entertainment factor. This also seemed to be a legitimizing power in the discourse of this German classroom among students.

Legitimation through entertainment

One of the most effective ways of legitimizing German in this classroom was entertainment. For their own and their peers' enjoyment, students would frequently use German chunks, parts of song lyrics, exclamations, and greetings. For example, the teacher and/or students would humorously exclaim "Oh, schade" ["Oh, what a shame"] to comment on unfortunate events (like a student losing a game). Sometimes entertaining the crowd went beyond such short-lived comments.

In the following example, four male students, Miles, Christopher, Liam, and Tom (all pseudonyms) volunteered to act out a story that the whole class had worked with

during a fill-in-the-blanks activity. This was part of a quiz from the day before and part of the grammar instruction phase just before the role play. Given that the students had thus worked with it at least twice, it was surprising how little of the story plot the four male students used in their skit.

1 T: who are you?
2 M: i'm the mum
3 T: the mother? okay and {you are the father?
4 M: the mother of [*pronounced vʌn*] who?}
5 T: okay so
6 M: who whose mother am i?
7 S1: stefan
8 M: am i am i stefan's mother?
9 C: {stefan
10 T: stefan's mother}
11 To: uhm yes
12 M: oh man i had that? [*points at To*]
13 {[*laughter*]
14 L: oh my god}
15 T: miles you can ok so {sh sh sh sh
16 M: i had this?}
17 T: maria and stefan wanted to go to the homecoming ball
18 L: wait am i i think i'm supposed to be there [*runs to the other side of the room*]
19 T: what do you say? what do you say to him? hey maria what do you say?
20 [*whispers*] hey psst
21 [*To points at text on board.*]
22 L [*reads*]: you to shall*
23 T [*loudly*]: no no stop so
24 [*laughter*]
25 T: hey so you say something it does not say here in the text
26 L: {oh ok
27 T: and what do you} say {you want to go to the homecoming ball now
28 L: i love you} [*takes To's arm*]
29 C: i love you
30 [*laughter and cheering*]
31 C: i love you [*laughs*]
32 M: i love shame on my boy
33 [*laughter*]
34 T: beautiful he loves her so what? hey but they could not go there because maria
35 her father's car wasn't allowed* to have so maria you have to ask your* father
36 L: you have to ask your* father
37 T: liam ask your* father if you can have the car

38 [*C points at himself repeatedly, indicating that L needs to talk to him.*]
39 L: hey dad your car have*?
40 T [*shouts loudly*]: no! what do you say?
41 [*laughter*]
42 T: [*sings liam's name*] li-am you have to ask your* father if you can drive the car
43 you ask
44 L: you ask
45 T: can i?
46 L: can i
47 T: drive the car?
48 C: uhm uhm [*whispering with liam*]
49 S2 [*whispers*]: no
50 T: and what do you say father it doesn't say here
51 M: he just said it
52 C: uhm uhm yes but
53 L: yes [*makes fist*]
54 T [*to C*]: you say no
55 C: oh no
56 L: oh
57 [*laughter*]
58 T: why? why?
59 L: why? why?
60 M: shouldn't he ask his his wife now?
61 [*unintelligible comment from the audience*]
62 M [*yells*]: no!
63 C: your are an irresponsible driver and yes
64 [*laughter*]
65 T: class say after me responsible
66 Class: responsible
67 T: responsible?
68 Class: responsible
69 T: irresponsible
70 Class: irresponsible
71 T: he is irresponsible he is not allowed to drive the car oh no okay now you go
72 back to stefan and say
73 [*L approaches To and hugs him.*]
74 T: maria you think stefan he should ask his mother
75 L [*to To*]: oh i wish you should ask your mother
76 [*laughter*]
77 T: we didn't hear we didn't hear
78 To [*puts his hand on his chest*]: i will take one for the team
79 [*laughter and talking*]
80 To: hello mother
81 M: hello no wait [*high-pitched voice*]: hello
82 [*laughter*]
83 To: may i may i your car

84 M: no
85 T [*loudly*]: what is it? what is it?
86 [*laughter*]
87 To: uhm car your car uhm
88 T: may i
89 To: may i your car uhm [*looks at board*]
90 T: yeah you don't have to see it you have to make up something
91 To: drive your car*
92 M: no
93 To: why say yes
94 L: say yes i wanna go
95 M: okay
96 T: okay but
97 To: yeah [*makes fist*]
98 M: oh there is an but in there
99 T: yes see it says here but they must not go fast and they must be at home very
100 early and so that you have to express somehow
101 To: oh shame
102 C: say that [*points at text*]
103 M [*puts hands on To's shoulder*]: yes stefan but you not to twenty* what? [*trying*
104 *to read from the board*]
105 T: not faster
106 M: not faster to twenty*
107 T: twenty
108 M: not faster to twenty*
109 T: km/h
110 M: km/h drive
111 C: get her my boy
112 L: yeah
113 T: so stefan said {stefan
114 L: yes?} [*making car sounds*] meeoouu
115 T: stefan said but we must it says here in the text but we must
116 C: but we must uhm
117 M: am i a single mother?
118 T: okay now you say that
119 C: you have to read it
120 To: alright [*reading from board*] this is a deal
121 T: and we must?
122 To: [*reading from board*] but i we could not than twenty km [*laughs*] twenty km/h
123 drive*
124 T: and?
125 L: und we must be twenty twenty thirty o'clock* home*
126 T: that was not ideal but {they went to the ball anyway
127 M: you're driving on the wrong side}
128 L: {we're in germany
129 [*laughter*]

130	T [*loudly*]: they went to the ball anyway} maria und stefan had a lot of fun at the
131	ball
132	C: in germany
133	[*laughter*]
134	T [*loudly*]: shhh they wanted to dance the whole night but they were not allowed
135	to they they
136	[*noise*, *laughter*]
137	T [*more loudly*]: shhht they story goes on now they wanted to dance the whole
138	night but they couldn't they had to return the car
139	[*L and T make dancing moves.*]
140	To: oh shame we must go at home*
141	L: boom boom boom
142	[*To makes high-pitched car sounds.*]
143	C: [*unintel.*]
144	[*laughter*]
145	M: no
146	T: then stefan and maria said next year we shall?
147	[*C and To hug.*]
148	C: shall we in a cab go up*
149	[*laughter*]
150	T: drive a cab or*
151	To, C [*reading*]: shall we call a cab
152	T: yes thank you three applauses* please
153	[*clapping and high-fives*]
154	T: so that is the story of stefan and maria

(October 3, 2012)

This attempt to role play a text the students were supposed to be familiar with is remarkable for various reasons. First, the power balance in the room shifted during this activity. Miles, Christopher, Tom, and Liam managed to navigate the activity in a way that allowed them a maximum of control of the situation, while at the same time staying on task enough to avoid reprimands from the teacher or a premature end of the activity. For example, they reacted to the teacher's attempts to correct their language and lay out the plot of the story, but they also interpreted her directions in their own way. One example are lines 27-29: The teacher provided Liam and Christopher with the plot they were supposed to present ("You want to go to the homecoming ball now.") and prompted

them to produce language that would be appropriate for this situation ("What do you say?"). Liam and Christopher replied with a German phrase ("I love you.") that, even though it might be uttered in such a context, did not align with the teacher's intentions, potentially because it is a commonly used chunk that did not require much effort on the students' part. However, the answer seemed to be enough for the teacher to keep from interfering. Most importantly, Liam and Christopher's use of "I love you", possibly amplified by two boys playing a heterosexual couple, had the hoped-for entertaining effect on the audience: It elicited laughter and cheering. The actors went on to repeat the phrase for even more laughter from the audience. Finally, the teacher also reacted to the statement (line 34), discouraged any further humorous comments ("so what?") and moved the play along by introducing more of the original plot. In addition to such reactions to Frau Zeller's attempts to manage the activity, students also introduced their own plot lines and themes, such as traffic rules in Germany (line 128), being in love (e.g., lines 28-29), music and dancing (lines 139 and 141), etc. These examples line up with observations Rampton (2006) made of high school students of German who "attended very closely … to whole-class discussion, but rather than sticking strictly to thematic relevance and lexico-grammatical propositions, they milked the main line of talk for all its aesthetic potential, recoding the official discourse into melody, German, non-standard accents, etc." (p. 119). Like Rampton's participants, Liam, Christopher, Miles, and Tom shifted, even if inadvertently, the power dynamics in the classroom through their use of German. They skillfully kept the balance between fulfilling a task and following their own agenda of entertaining themselves and their audience, so that they could subtly take

control of the classroom discourse. For this delicate balance, their use of German was crucial, which leads us to the next point.

In general, students' German output was spotty and characterized by extremely low levels of grammatical and lexical accuracy and complexity. For example, only very few German words and chunks were uttered until line 39, where Liam undertook the first attempt to form his own German sentence ("Hey Dad, deine Auto haben*?" – "Hey Dad, your car have*?"). This sentence was met with loud protest from the teacher (line 39) and excessive laughter from the audience (line 41) because of its inaccurate grammar. After this, Frau Zeller changed her strategy and started to provide German words in a repeat-after-me manner. Even that failed when Liam repeated words that were not intended for repetition (line 44). One more longer, independently formed, meaningful, and mostly German stretch of student output followed in line 63 ("Du bist ein irresponsible Fahrer." – "You are an irresponsible driver."). The laughter from the audience that ensued might indicate that they considered the codeswitch incorrect or unacceptable. Further down, Christopher's "Sollen wir in ein Taxi auf gehen?*" ("Shall we in a cab go up?*", line 148) failed to become a meaningful sentence and, again, elicited laughter from the audience. The general pattern to be observed here is that the production of meaningful German output, or even the number of attempts to produce meaningful German, was extremely limited. In all, the German produced by students was dominated by word-by-word repetitions of the teacher's statements, chunks, and barely comprehensible or even meaningless sentences. This is surprising considering that Christopher, Liam, and Tom, who were three of the higher-level students in the class, had in other situations demonstrated their ability to produce complex and accurate German. It further contrasts

with the findings of Palmer's (2008), Chen's (2010), and Pomerantz' (2008) studies, which describe how multilingual students strive for linguistic legitimacy through high proficiency. In the context of this skit, grammatical and lexical correctness or complexity did not seem to be priorities. Quite the opposite, incorrect German appeared to be the legitimized variety. Although the teacher was trying to introduce some attention to accuracy through word-by-word scaffolding, probing, protest, and choral repetitions, the accepted student-created standards in this scenario included incorrect German, the use of chunks, and switching to English. All of these do not only represent violations of what are commonly traditional standards in FL classrooms, they are also directly opposed to Frau Zeller's policies of correctness and German-only. In this sense, the four actors showed a lot of agency during this skit. Fired up by the laughing of their peers, they continued their use of low-level German to the end. The legitimation of their implicit language policy was established and confirmed through laughter, cheering, and supportive gestures (high-fives) among the actors and from the audience. The actors' legitimation discourse aligns with Goffman's (1959) definition of "performance" as "all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants" (p. 16): Christopher, Liam, Tom, and Miles aim to influence each other as well as the audience by claiming legitimation for their way of speaking and acting. As the data show, their attempts to receive legitimation are largely successful, which positions them, whether intended or not, in opposition to Frau Zeller.

As mentioned above, the main goal of the students' performances seemed to be entertainment. This interpretation is supported by evidence of the actors' reactions to laughter such as their repeating of jokes (for example Miles in lines 12 and 16 and

Christopher in line 132) as well as their general exaggerated role playing (e.g., Miles' high-pitched voice in line 81, Liam's disco sounds in line 141, and Liam and Tom's played affection in line 73). Judging from the audience's reactions, the exchange between Miles and Liam in lines 127 -128 was one of the most entertaining parts of the skit (M: You're driving on the wrong side. – L: We're in Germany.). The laughter and noise about this inaccurate cultural reference carried on for several turns and never completely died down.

Clearly, the actors aimed to entertain and be entertained and reached this aim within this role play activity. However, I wish to make a point that entertainment here was not an end in itself. Rather, it fulfilled a function similar to the one of role plays and tightly controlled activities I described in the previous sections: It kept language learners uninvested and distant from their target language. If the purpose of using language is to entertain, there is not need to strive for language development. More importantly though, there is no need for high levels of personal commitment or engagement with the language. Entertainment does not require language users to engage in complex processes of language acquisition, such as constructing new identities, accepting feedback, negotiating form and meaning, etc. Thus, the students' relationship to the German language can remain very superficial and non-committal. The entertainment aspect of German classes was also addressed in an interviews with Jana and Karina.

> JEK: If anything was possible and you could change anything like you could do magic, what would you change about your German class?
> K: Uhm well like for I think like for like, if there is everybody like actually wants to learn or it's actually a majority then it's actually a fun class but –
> JEK: Mhm.
> K: You learn a lot, but, like, sometime it doesn't really like there is just like some people just take it just to get their language requirements and they don't really care about German so uhm yeah.

> JEK: Mhm.
> J: I agree with, that's also the problem with Spanish, cause that's more popular and a lot of people do that. I think a lot of people take German because, since it's not very common, and a lot of people who do that actually want to and they, uhm, care about it, but there's some people who, I don't know why they even take it.
> [...]
> K: Like at this stage like some people I know, they were in German in middle school, like, they were in German, but they didn't really do anything and now you can tell because they don't know what's going on cause it's sorta like Math you have to know how to add before you can do the algebra or whatever.
> JEK: Does this affect you?
> K: I don't know, I don't think so, it's more {annoying than anything
> J: yes}
> JEK: Yeah, okay.
> [...]
> K: Yeah, next year we will go to CIS [*college in the schools*] German, and so like I guess this year there's a lot of people who need their language requirement and so, CIS, if you don't like German you're not gonna take it.
> J: Yeah cause it's a tough class and like it's kinda like more serious and so only people who are actually interested in German take it or those who wanna learn.
> K: Yeah like you really have to do the work and like it's it's not like you can like you really have to do homework and stuff and pay attention and you can't just sit there.
> J: Yeah.
>
> (Interview with Jana and Karina, November 15, 2012)

Throughout this interview, Jana and Karina made a very clear distinction between their current German class and the CIS German class they planned to attend in the following year. While they associated the former with peers who are not committed to learning German but need the credits, they imagined the latter to be more challenging and full of people who are serious about their German studies. Implicitly, they identified with this group. What is noteworthy is that their notion of "wanting to learn" seemed to be related to the idea of "caring about German", "being interested in German" and "liking German", attitudes they appeared to miss in their German lessons. This could be an expression of the distance they observed between their peers and the German language that is created through a legitimation discourse of entertainment.

Making sense of peer discourses

As the presented data suggest, the legitimate discourses in the German classroom occurred as role plays, within narrowly structured activities, and with a purpose to entertain. All these are characteristics of performances: Students can assume roles, act based on scripts or semi-scripted activities, and/or entertain themselves as well as an audience. These performances can occur as compliant assuming of a (semi-)scripted roles and aim at task-fulfillment or be staged as entertaining performance in front of a whole-class audience. In any case, they enable participants to distance themselves from the target language and avoid the appearance of being personally or cognitively invested in learning German. Such a distance is necessary when, as in this classroom, linguistic legitimation is a sophisticated balancing act of reconciling the teacher's, peers', and the students' own expectations and defining multiple social relationships. Similarly to students in Pon, Goldstein, and Schecter's (2003) study, who were trapped in a "double bind" between showing loyalty towards their Hong-Kong peers and claiming legitimation from their non-Chinese peers, the students in Frau Zeller's classroom are caught between a multitude of language policies, ideologies, and social relationships. For example, students want to entertain and fulfill tasks at the same time, align with Frau Zeller's policies, at least in part, while also relating to their closest peers and to a bigger audience. All these processes warrant different, and often conflicting, language practices, which need to be negotiated and legitimized in interaction. Such complex legitimation processes go beyond Bourdieu's (1977b, 1991) economic metaphor of a linguistic market, or expand it: While linguistic capital is still traded and its value negotiated, the negotiations

happen on several levels, often simultaneously, the capitals (languages) are less stable, and the values attached to them much more dynamic and fleeting than Bourdieu's original model suggests. For instance, whereas correct German is highly valued by Frau Zeller, for the purpose of entertaining, performing low proficiency can be more appropriate. One way out of such difficult negotiations is to remain uninvested as a language learner. Tightly structured tasks, role plays, and entertainment – in all, performances of German – can help students create and maintain such spaces of "uninvestment".

These observations raise several questions. First, the connection between a discourse of performance and students' language development needs further exploration. Observations of low German FL proficiency during acts of performance were also made by Rampton (2006) in his study of impromptu German at "Central High" in the UK. If a performance discourse is indeed, as seems to be the case, a phenomenon that recurs across FL classrooms, ways have to be found that encourage students to orient towards promoting proficiency within such a discourse. Put differently, a discourse of performance needs to allow for various negotiations of linguistic legitimacy while simultaneously promoting students investment and language development. For example, a discourse of performance could aid in building up a FL speaker or multilingual identity by providing learners with engaging content, linguistic support, and face-saving roles that allow for flexibility in personal and linguistic investment.

Second, we need to learn more about the interplay of FL performing and multilingual identity construction. There might be a connection between how FLs are used in the classroom and how multilingualism is approached. In other words, how we

approach the goal of becoming bi-/ multilingual through FL instruction could be related to how we legitimize multilingual identities. For example, if it is common in a certain environment to perform foreign languages excessively for entertainment and legitimize low proficiency, or if becoming bilingual is ridiculed (or students feel like it is), the idea of being multilingual might not be promoted as an attractive and beneficial goal, and maybe not even be legitimized, in this setting. In reference to the German classroom at Cleanwater High, one might ask: If the classroom discourse continuously created spaces for personal and linguistic investment in language learning and using, rather than distance to German, would the linguistic legitimacy and language use of the multilingual speakers in the class change?

Third, an area that deserves future exploration is the role of gender in discourses of legitimation. In the classroom I described, it was exclusively male students who performed discourses in front of an audience as engaging and entertaining legitimation of German, whereas female students tended to participate in legitimation discourses of task fulfillment. Similarly, Rampton (2006) noticed a dominance of hyper-active male students and limited participation and visibility of female students in his study at "Central High". How individuals of different gender are able to legitimize their language use might impact their language development, identity construction, and welfare, which is why it deserves more attention in further research.

Finally, a fourth question I pose is the role of entertainment in the theory of legitimation. As I showed above, through entertaining oneself and an audience, behaviors (here: speaking German) can be legitimized in discourse: Actors offer a certain linguistic behavior, which is then accepted (e.g. through laughter or cheering) or rejected (e.g.

through facial expressions or ignoring it) by the audience. Given its critical role in the German classroom, legitimation through entertainment could expand legitimation theory in important ways, for example as addition to Van Leeuwen's categories of legitimation.

In the following, the focus will shift from teacher/peer discourses to the two focal participants of the study. Considering the discourses that surround them in the German classroom, we ask which discourses they use to position themselves as legitimate or illegitimate language users.

Focal students' discourses

In the following section, I present the dominant legitimation discourses of Jana and Karina. They range from affirming Frau Zeller's discourses to subverting them and creating new ways of claiming linguistic legitimacy.

Using German and following the discourses of linguistic legitimacy

Both Karina and Jana showed a continuous concern for grammatical and lexical correctness and product-oriented language use.

Correctness and product-orientation

The following sequence is taken from a lesson that was already mentioned in the previous chapter. Students were provided with a picture of a busy crossroads and had to write down as many questions as possible about it. Karina and Jana were working together.

1 K: the car
2 J: okay
3 K: the car uhm how do you say [*unintel.*]
4 J: the train
5 K: uhm
6 [*Frau Zeller speaks loudly.*]
7 K: faster than the
8 J: the* train i don't know how to say train
9 K: can* the car faster
10 J: than
11 K: than the* train [*Both laugh loudly.*]
12 J: go
13 K: go
14 J: uhm
15 K: uhm why why is
16 J: the* car the car not go

17 K: yeah the* car
18 J: the car
19 K: uhm we can say how many minutes have you the* car
20 J: yeah
21 J: the car uhm why uhm we have already
22 K: where
23 J: where is this
24 K: what where is this
25 J: or where have* that happened
26 K: uh-huh
27 K: uhm where to go* the* car oh no! [*hectically erases some words in her*
28 *notebook*]
29 J: what? what is the where is the car? the car
30 K: i know i didn't hear you
31 J: mhm
32 K: i think it's go*, go*
33 J: goes?
34 K: uhm i don't like this [*takes camera and starts to film*] i'm not filming you don't
35 worry why has the car not wait? not wait?
36 J: yeah like wait till the why didn't it wait till the train went by
37 K: ok [*unintel.*] everything wait we have that one already don't we can the car go oh
38 uhm what is the* sign saying sign?
39 J: like what does the sign say? what is this
40 K: yeah what is the sign for
41 J: what what you can say what means
42 K: means the
43 J: how do you say sign
44 K: the sign i feel like we should have learned that the sign
45 J [*looks it up in dictionary*]: sign oh
46 K: oh wow see this happens to me a lot
47 J: the sign
48 K: yes it's the sign i knew it i knew it!
49 J: i think we're running out of questions
50 K: there's only so much you can ask i want to film i'm just gonna film where frau
51 zeller goes
52 J: we have like seven so
53 T [*approaches their desk*]: you already have a lot of questions
54 J: oh how do you say train in german
55 T: train
56 K: oh wow
57 T: but this is the tramway
58 J: oh ok
59 K: wow i feel stupid alright then tramway it sounds cooler to me
60 T [*to the whole class*]: okay stop

(October 15, 2012)

In this sequence, a few instances occurred that show Karina's insecurity and dissatisfaction with her German proficiency. In line 11, after Karina and Jana tried in vain to remember the German word for "train", Karina put together a codemixed phrase ("als die train") and both of them laughed loudly. As they confirmed in an interview, their amusement about this exchange marks the phrase as well as their failure to remember a German word as something they found unacceptable and laughable. This suggests that they not only regard codeswitching as bad language, but also that they felt that the word for "train" was something they should know. In line 17, Karina started to use the wrong article "die" for the word "Auto" (car). This could be a reaction to Jana's utterance in line 16, which she potentially interpreted as a recast. Although she did not uptake Jana's corrective feedback (lines 18 and 21), Karina noticed her mistake (line 27), exclaimed "Oh nein!" ("Oh no!"), and started to erase some words in her text. Jana then repeated the correct article again, which triggered Karina to defend herself by saying "I know, I didn't hear you" (line 30). The strong reaction (exclaiming "Oh nein"), the instant correction (erasing words) and the defensive statement ("I didn't hear you") suggest that Karina took the grammatical error she made very seriously. It is something she needed to correct immediately, something she marked as gross violation of linguistic standards, and something she got defensive about. Another correction by Jana in line 33 caused Karina to say "I don't like this" and engage in off-task activities (playing with the video camera on her desk). This frustration suggests that she saw her grammatical errors as an indication of her own lack of proficiency. She recovered from this moment pretty quickly and produced two questions in her next turn (lines 37-38). Again, the two girls needed a

word neither of them knew, namely “Schild” (sign). While Karina seemed frustrated about not knowing this word, Jana looked it up in a dictionary. Karina’s statement “Oh wow, see, this happens to me a lot” (line 46) again expressed her frustration about not being able to recall words when she needed them, which she identified as a recurring pattern. In her exclamation “I knew it, I knew it” (line 48) she tried to regain some status as a proficient German student by claiming lexical knowledge. When a little later Jana asked the teacher for the word for “train”, Karina again reacted with an “Oh wow” (line 56) and added “Wow, I feel stupid” (line 59). She explicitly stated here that not knowing German words made her feel inadequate.

Two things are noteworthy about this sequence: First, it shows that accurate use of grammar and vocabulary was an essential part of the girls’, especially Karina’s, understanding of being a legitimate German user. Given her negative self-evaluations, it can be concluded that she perceived her grammatical errors and limited vocabulary to be indicators of her illegitimacy as German speaker. Second, the sequence illustrates Karina’s and Jana’s focus on fulfilling tasks, i.e. producing questions, as quickly as possible. In order to do that, they had established a highly efficient way of completing each other’s sentences and co-constructing oral and written output (lines 7-13, 15-16, 22-25, and 38-43). They also monitored their work to make sure they remained on track with the required task (lines 21, 37, 49-50). Further, their communication style adds to the impression of being product-oriented: The whole exchange consisted almost exclusively of short phrases that came quickly, were negotiated briefly if necessary, and were immediately put together into sentences on paper. There were barely any transitional comments between new sentences. For example, in line 14 the only transition was Jana’s

“uhm”; in line 26 it was Karina’s “uh-huh”. This was a very common pattern in the sisters’ discourse that might have been reinforced by Frau Zeller through affirmation (line 53).

In all, Karina’s concern with correct language and both girls’ focus on swift language production characterizes the sequence. Seen through Van Leeuwen’s (2008) framework, the sisters claimed legitimacy by referring to an “impersonal authority” (rules and regulations) and through showing “conformity” with dominant norms (as represented, for example, by the dictionary), and discourses. Further, they derived legitimacy as a German speakers by abiding to the “personal authority” of Frau Zeller and her expectation of working speedily and producing large amounts of German. This is even more clearly illustrated in the following section.

Not wasting any time

The following sequence is taken from a lesson during which the class had a substitute teacher. Their task was to list phrases with verbs and objects starting with the letters of the noun Z-E-I-T-V-E-R-S-C-H-W-E-N-D-U-N-G [waste of time], the name of a song they had listened to before.

1 [*J joins K at her desk.*]
2 K: hulloh
3 J: hi okay did you hear the examples or no?
4 K: no i wasn’t paying {attention
5 J: i couldn’t hear them} i heard something about sister and something about
6 {chocolate
7 K: so} me too i don i don’t know i was i was i kinda zoned out [*unintel.*] on the
8 board
9 J: that’s what i heard
10 K: let’s see here z wait do we just think of verbs?
11 J: huh?
12 K: what are we doing?

13 J: oh z as in z i thought you meant z as in uhm see [*unintel.*] alright [*sighs*][*yawns*]
14 K: s play* sport
15 J: uhm uh g
16 K: a b c d e f g h [*turning pages in dictionary*] uhm g
17 J: gangster go wait that doesn't make sense
18 K: v uhm sleep a lot a lot oh i get it i thought you had to do
19 J: i don't know i couldn't hear anything
20 K: so okay
21 J: i'm just assuming we're doing it right i wanna do i'm gonna look for okay
22 gallery go oh and then each one has to have a different verb
23 K: uhm have {time uhm
24 J: we could do to something} go to something
25 K: but don't they all have to be oh forget it to {toooo
26 J: don't they all have to} what?
27 K: to be different verbs?
28 J: oh okay then
29 K: tooo
30 J: make summary
31 K: okay uhm drink uhm
32 J: nah
33 K: wear t-shirt
34 J: mkay
35 K: it means to wear {something
36 J: i know}
37 K: rrr
38 J: sssave what's e steal* a a book
39 K: uhm dinosaur find*
40 J: dinosaur?
41 K: find oh but she wants to have phrases
42 J: ours are phrases
43 K: okay uhm uuuhh train dri driv drive i mean
44 J: how do you spell that?
45 K: isn't subway the train that
46 J: yeah but how is it spelled
47 K: uh like that
48 J: oh whatever
49 K oh yeah whatever drive subway uhm hmmm mhm
50 J: b write a* letter
51 K: i will find an awesome i like
52 J: drink w water
53 K: oh oh we can do for i in the* in the school i mean in
54 J: we already used go/drive
55 K: ok let me think in buckery [*meaning bäckerei?*] eat
56 J: okay wait what is cake shop again wasn't that
57 K: i oh okay that yeah that was the cake shop okay win* win a* a beautiful car
58 J: car

59 K: win?* win
60 J: win?
61 K: yeah
62 J: but isn't that past tense?
63 K: no infinitive no win*
64 J: okay i guess
65 Sub [*stops at their desk and points at camera*]: what on earth is this?
66 J: camera
67 Sub: what do you use it for?
68 J: uhm videotape german work
69 Sub: oooh [*talks about her tutoring work*]
70 J: okay uhm c countrymusic sing
71 K: what?
72 J: you listening? name a food that starts with an n
73 K: nnnnnn nuts
74 J: in german?
75 K: oh nnnn nanananananooo i'll go here a little
76 J: oh h there's and h we can do wash hands
77 S1: [*in the background*]: yeah can you imagine all the gay marriages that are going
78 on right now?
79 S2 [*yells*]: S1!
80 J: oh they're talking about gay marriage
81 K: a disgrace to our country {that's all i can say.
82 J [*reading her notes*]: oh it is win}
83 K: uh-huh
84 J: well how was i supposed to know
85 K: riii- a bike wait nevermind nevermind nevermind uhm i can't think of any ns
86 words
87 J: name a uhm
88 K: uuuhhh how about n
89 J: {not
90 K: still*}
91 J: still* what?
92 K: again* again wait again
93 J: how about not understand
94 K: okay understand hmmm
95 J: name a class that starts with an n or an r
96 K: rrr eraser eraser loan* to loan the eraser
97 J: to what?
98 K: to loan it it's number 17
99 J: i see it
100 K: oh one more say again*
101 J: say again yeeeah took long but we got there

(November 7, 2012)

What is remarkable here is how much time both of the girls, but especially Jana, spent monitoring their work and making sure they are doing it right. Considering that many of their peers were doing something completely different (like discussing gay marriage), it is striking how engaged they were in their work and how important it was for them to follow the directions. Only about half of the girls' utterances were concerned with doing the actual task, the other half is used to fulfill the following meta-task functions:

- Talking about and giving directions: lines 3-6, line 10, line 12, line 21, lines 25-28
- Moving the task along: line 15, line 24, line 48, line 70, line 72, line 76, line 91, line 93, line 100
- Corrective feedback: line 40, line 60, line 82
- Asking for language input: line 44, line 46

These examples illustrate the following: First, Jana's and Karina's priority was to follow the teacher's directions and do the task efficiently. For example, both of them was irritated about not having understood part of the directions and Jana assumed the role of the "task supervisor": She evaluated Karina's statements, frequently rejecting them, correcting them, or asking for clarification. She also guarded their work against interruption from students as well as the teacher and moved it along when it seemed to linger. Even when the background noises from a neighbor desk interrupted their conversation or the substitute teacher asked them about the video camera, she moved on quickly and got right back to work without engaging in a discussion. Ironically, this focus on task fulfillment did not lead to meaningful language use. Although in her directions, the teacher tied language production to a particular theme, the phrases the twins listed under Jana's supervision were rather random and disconnected. All this shows that

instead of focusing on meaning, Jana and Karina were concerned with correct language use and, most importantly, understanding and following the directions. Second, using correct language had a high priority for the sisters. They positioned themselves as language authority and rejected ideas that might have threatened this identity (line 36, line 84). For instance, Jana went through the effort of double checking the verb forms of "gewinnen" to verify Karina's answers (line 82), thereby further illustrating the high priority that correctness had for her.

Overall, the example illustrates a dominant pattern in Jana's and Karina's discourse of legitimation, namely their high concern for following the teacher's directions and using language correctly. These legitimation efforts correlate with the teacher's emphasis on correctness and "academic" conduct as described above. In other words, Jana and Karina were not only complying with Frau Zeller's discourse of accuracy, they also aligned with her ideal student Discourse by displaying "'appropriate' ways of acting, interacting, participating … talking, listening, writing, reading" (Gee, 2011, p. 90). This is also highlighted in the next example.

At the assembly line

Jana and Karina were not only concerned with following directions, it was also important to them to produce language quickly and unceremoniously. The following example is an illustration of their orientation towards language production. In this sequence, the students were asked to produce mini dialogues with the phrases they had used incorrectly in their quiz. Especially Jana, who was working with Karina, wanted to get this job done as fast as possible

1 T: [*after giving instructions in English*]: and well we work for maybe 10 minutes as
2 soon as pay attention as soon as you have a dialogue you come to me and you act it out
3 yes? that means i stay here and you come you act it out and then i say yes great or no
4 try again yes? okay? so if you understood you can do this [*nods*] yes i understand this
5 is clear {what we do and if you don't understand this
6 K: yes i understand this is clear}
7 T: do this [*shakes head*] so then about 10 minutes long let's go
8 K: let's go
9 [*Groups are forming, Jana joins Karina at her desk.*]
10 J: did you get them right?
11 K: i had like a different definition for this one
12 J: oh agreed
13 K: i added a different definition so
14 J: my definition made sense but okay so i guess instead i would just have like make
15 this into a question uhm
16 [*Groups are still forming, there is loud background noise.*]
17 J: this one oh no wait let's use that one
18 K: i don't know some of that here
19 J: i'm gonna get a marker
20 K: do we have to memorize this?
21 J: no how many lines do each of them have to be?
22 K: i don't know
23 J: let's say three
24 [*Both start to write.*]
25 K [*negotiating the last line*]: uhm sounds good listen good
26 J: that sounds* good sounds right to me
27 [*They finish the first dialogue after 1 min and 45 sec.*]
28 K: damn it [*takes new pen*] hmm is this glittery
29 J: yeah no it's a highlighter
30 K: uh
31 T: hey class shhhhh as soon as you are done with your dialogue and the {lightnig
32 sketch
33 J: let's go}
34 T: the rest of you need to keep the volume low enough so that i can hear what you are
35 presenting to me
36 [*Jana and Karina walking to Frau Zeller.*]
37 K: okay
38 J: which one am i? should we just read the part we know?
39 K: kay
40 J: we have
41 K: we have a {dial-
42 J: dialogue}
43 [*They perform it by reading from the same sheet. They are the first ones in class to
44 present.*]

45 T: yes that sounds good that sounds good when you have forgotten nature then you
46 should go for a walk
47 K and J: yes
48 [*They go back to their desk.*]
49 J: okay i'll write
50 K: write it in a different color write it in pink
51 J: okay uhm jimmy uhm i have* with my friend agre* agreed that you are great
52 K: doesn't make sense
53 J: ok you think of something about the last one
54 K: i had something when you came up with that jimmy example i forgot oh wait
55 J: the weather doesn't look* so great oh heavens i want to uhm ski* oh i want*
56 something you do outside swim in the* swimming pool [*writing*]
57 K: is not wonderful
58 J: yeah
59 K: oh heavens i want to
60 J: yeah okay
61 K: i mean bad luck heavens i want to
62 J: go for a walk
63 K: yees you can go for a walk tomorrow in the morning there
64 J: okay you can videotape frau zeller
65 K: hm
66 J: okay i'm not quite done okay come on let's go let's go
67 [*After about one minute they walk off to present, Frau Zeller listens and makes a note*
68 *on her list. They are the only ones in the class who have finished two dialogues.*]
69 J: uhm okay name think of a name
70 K: bob
71 [*about 90 seconds of silent writing*]
72 J: how do you say anger?
73 K: fear
74 [*After another 25 seconds of writing, they get up and present the last dialogue.*]
75 T: i unfortunately did not understand the last part [*looks at their sheet*]
76 J: oops i forgot a t
77 T: heavens okay
78 [*Jana and Karina go back to their places.*]
79 J: winners winners winning so you wanna do history?
80 K: uhm
81 J: i found the stuff about the fort [*takes out her history book*]
82 K: what page?

(November 6, 2012)

Karina and Jana wrote and presented three dialogues in a very short amount of time. They were the first ones to present and the only ones who managed to do three. What is

striking in this sequence is that they worked without transitions or delays (e.g., lines 48-49). For example, Jana got right to work on the dialogues while other groups were still forming (lines 16-17). While it seemed important to Jana to clarify the directions, uncertainties about the process were solved quickly (lines 20-24). The two girls barely negotiated what to write about or how to present unless meaning and/or form were heavily compromised (line 52). Questions or requests for help were usually very to-the-point and allowed only for very brief answers, which were then not usually commented on (lines 69-70, lines 72-73). They did not proofread or practice their products before presenting them, assigned roles casually on the way to the teacher (lines 38-39) or not at all, and did not work the teacher's feedback into their dialogues once they had presented it. Towards the end of the activity, when the last dialogue was written, Jana cheered on Karina to move faster (line 66). After presenting it, she declared both of them winners (line 79), even though no one had announced a competition at any point. Finally, Jana immediately switched to preparations for the history class right after finishing the activity.

Again, the depth of content did not seem to play a big role for the students. Instead, what was important was to get things done quickly and produce as much as possible in a limited time. The twins seemed to derive linguistic legitimacy from being able to fulfill tasks. Without giving them too much thought, they got things done and moved on to the next task – as if working at an assembly line. This is certainly an approach that was, if not initiated, at least encouraged by Frau Zeller, who kept trying to speed up the class and put a lot of weight on finished products rather than on the process of creating them.

Using German and transforming the discourses of legitimacy

In rare moments, Karina and Jana broke out of their compliance with discourses of correctness, task fulfillment, and product-oriented language use. Then they found new ways of claiming and negotiating their legitimacy as German users.

Interacting with a German L1 speaker

At the end of October, a class of German high school students from Leipzig came to visit the German lesson. When they visited Jana's and Karina's classroom one Monday morning, Frau Zeller invited them to take part in the weekly "Was hast du am Wochenende gemacht?" ["What did you do on the weekend?"] – activity.

1 K: i don't feel like talking to like german people cause like it's like i feel like
2 they'll {judge us
3 J: they're gonna judge us}
4 K: judge our bad grammar our bad language
5 J: oh yeah i can hear people uh i feel like i can my classroom's overtaken
6 [*S1 joins J and K.*]
7 J and K [*chorally*]: hello what did you do on the weekend? [*giggling*]
8 S1: uhm i do* a lot of homework
9 J: uhhh
10 K: {good
11 J: like you} and S2
12 K: uh-huh hey S2 what di- you do on the weekend? i do* homework
13 S2: uh yeah
14 S1: yeah
15 J: yeeeeah
16 [*S2, S1, K, J talking loudly in English about studying on weekends*.]
17 J: i have* uhm trader joe's go*
18 S3: oh
19 K: yeah my brother came home for the weekend from college and we went to
20 trader joe's, they have the best kettle corn i always get it there
21 S3: we get like [*unintel.*]
22 K: oh yeah and they have this really good ice cream like we got this pumpkin ice
23 cream [*A conversation about ice cream follows. Then the topic switches to the*
24 *characteristics of people from a nearby suburb. Karina does most of the talking.*
25 *Her voice sounds loud and excited*.]

26 S4 [*joins*]: what did you do on the weekend?
27 K: oh trader jo's go*
28 S1: ooohhh
29 K: what did you do on the weekend?
30 S3: i have dance* done*
31 K: {wow
32 J: oh that} is a strong
33 K: a dance* shoe! what dance did you do?
34 S3: uhm uhm [*unintel.*]
35 K: what?
36 S3: i wanna go talk to the germans wanna come with me?
37 K: yeah sure [*to J*] wanna come talk to a german kid?
38 [*J nods.*]
39 K: haha we are awesome haha!
40 S3: i don't know who to talk to they
41 K: i feel like {i feel like
42 S3: they are all involved} in conversations so it would be rude to be like what
43 did you do on the weekend?
44 K: yeah yeah let's stalk a prey
45 S4 [*joins them*]: what did you do on the weekend?
46 K: i did homework oh yeah [*to the German girl*] what did you do on the
47 weekend?
48 German girl: i had my finger nails done [*holds up her hand*]
49 K: oh that is great!
50 [*Karina and German girl giggle.*]
51 Gg: i don't know i was at the museum valley fair
52 K: uhm yes
53 J: i've never gone there
54 K: yep that makes {sense
55 J: that makes} sense it does make sense
56 Gg [*to S3*]: what did you do on the weekend?
57 S3: i have dance* done*
58 Gg: what kind of dance?
59 S3: tap jazz and latin
60 J: all at the same time
61 K: and tap?
62 S3: yes
63 K: basically
64 [*Gg moves on.*]
65 K: i feel like frau zeller didn't make this a very
66 J: no she didn't
67 K: i feel like it's just like a random conversation
68 S2 [*mocking tone*]: what did you do on the weekend? what did you do on the
69 weekend?
70 J: yeah

(October 29, 2012)

This activity started out with Karina and Jana expressing their reluctance to talk to German students. Karina explained that she was worried about their judgment of her grammar/language, which was echoed by Jana (lines 3-4). With S1 joining the twin sisters, the atmosphere in the small group changed; it became cheerful and playful, which seemed to amuse the students and might have helped them overcome some of the awkwardness and embarrassment they might have been feeling during this task. For example, in lines 19-25, Karina used Jana's comment as an opportunity to engage in off-task conversation in English. She talked loudly, did impressions of people from a nearby suburb and laughed repeatedly. When S3 asked Karina if she would like to talk to a German student, Karina agreed without hesitation and seemed to find confidence and pleasure in the prospect of taking this risk (line 39: "Haha, we're awesome, haha!"). She even ignored S3's comment about not knowing how to start a conversation and instead encourages Jana and S3 to "stalk a prey" (line 44). In this moment, the discourse about German students changed completely: In the beginning of the task, German students were considered judges who would evaluate and possibly look down on their language. They were seen as a threat to the students' legitimacy as German speakers. However, in line 44, Karina positioned herself, Jana, and S3 as a threat to the German speakers, even if humorously. She labeled them as "prey" that they would "stalk", thus clearly putting them in a vulnerable and weak position. When they found a German girl to talk to, Karina initiated the dialogue and the German girl responded by showing her newly done nails and asking S3 about her weekend. S3's ungrammatical answer might be the reason why the German girl switched to English (line 58) to ask a follow-up question beyond the

prescribed dialogue. The whole group followed this language choice. With this move, English was identified as the language of authentic beyond-task conversation, whereas German remained limited to the assigned activity. After a few more turns and Jana's attempt to joke (line 60), the German student considered the conversation finished and turned to walk away, leaving the students disappointed. Their enthusiasm and giggliness had disappeared. Karina's criticism of the task and the teacher was immediate (line 65), and even though she did not finish her sentence, everyone agreed about the lack of authentic purpose behind the activity. Judging from their reaction, Karina, Jana, and S3 found the interaction with the German girl highly unsatisfying. Reasons might be the fact that they were not able to maintain a conversation after the prescribed dialogue was performed. Put differently, the German girl's switching to English might have made them feel delegitimized as German speakers.

Within a very short period of time (one activity), Karina and her classmates went through stages of feeling delegitimized, legitimized, and delegitimized again. This shows that legitimacy is not a stable state, but rather a highly contextual, ever-shifting state of being. Because of its fleeting nature, linguistic legitimacy needs to be negotiated in a moment-by-moment rhythm and has to be understood as an interactive concept: Van Leeuwen's (2008) concept of legitimation cannot meaningfully capture Karina's experience in the example described above. Only looking at the interaction between multiple speakers reveals the complexities and flexibility of legitimacy. As a concept that is constantly in flux, linguistic legitimacy is also it is permeated by the power structures and relationships of its particular context. For example, Karina's experience is dominated by a language ideology that positions so-called "native speakers" (NS) as owners and

judges of their language, whereas L2/FL learners (or non-native speakers, NNS) reside on the bottom of the linguistic hierarchy. Although this binary has been problematized (Doerr, 2009), it keeps seeping into FL classrooms (Rampton, 1990), confirming Bourdieu's (1991) observation that schools perpetuate and consolidate linguistic norms of dominant group (although here, the dominant group are L1 users of the target language rather than speakers of the socially dominant language). Seen in this light, the twins' attempt to break out of the NS-NNS binary is remarkable. Their failure to do so is, however, not surprising. If we are serious about changing the NS-NNS binary in FL context, we need to give students strategies to claim legitimacy and ownership as target language speakers and equip our learners with a critical view on language ideologies at societal as well as classroom levels.

Another example of how Jana and Kristina legitimized their language practices in ways that did not align with official classroom norms is presented in the following section.

Reading Cinderella

The following transcript stems from a lesson during which the class had a substitute teacher. Frau Zeller had sent a few tasks the students were supposed to do. After finishing these, Karina and Jana were looking for other things to do. First, Karina filmed some of the classroom decoration, stating that she was bored (Fieldnotes November 7, 2012). Then, she took the children's book *Aschenputtel* [Cinderella] from a shelf and started looking at the pictures and giving the characters voices. Jana joined her.

1 K: mhm pictures yeah yeah yeah [*high-pitched voice*] deedeedeedeedeedeedoodoo
2 [*high-pitched voice*] oh no
3 J [*high-pitched voice*]: oh no
4 K: [*deep voice*] hah-hah-hah-hah-haah [*high-pitched voice*] buks buh
5 K: mee[aoow
6 J: meeaoow]
7 K: heeheeheeheehee [*high-pitched voice*] oh no oh no woof woof [*barking*] i want
8 to {i have to
9 J: i have} i am looking fo- i am coming
10 K: i have to the thing doing
11 J: okay you trying to read the first
12 K: no i'm not reading
13 J: it's okay
14 K: [*high-pitched voice*] hello pretty girl oh hee hee [hee
15 J: [*high-pitched voice*] a ball [*meaning dance*]
16 K: [*high-pitched voice*] a ball? may i too?
17 J: [*deep voice*] no
18 K: [*high-pitched voice*] a {[*unintel.*]
19 J: are you sure?}
20 K: tweet tweet hah-hah-hah-hah-m
21 J: wash
22 K: [*high-pitched voice*] heeheehee blahblahblahblahblablahblah hi
23 J: [*deep voice*] the
24 K: [*high-pitched voice*] dress ooooooh [*deep voice*] heeheehee [*high-pitched voice*]
25 oooh aah this beautiful is uhhmm uh tweet tweet tweet tweet tweet tweet heee haaah
26 this is so beautiful lalalaa [*crying sound*] huhuhuuu [*whispers*] she's a ghost [*high-*
27 *pitched voice*] bibedibabediboo bibedibabediboo oh no a ghost
28 J: click clack click clack [*unintel.*]
29 K: the [*unintel.*]3
30 [*Substitute teacher introduces the next activity.*]

(November 7, 2012)

In this episode, Karina and Jana co-perform what can be described as language play. In contrast to Lantolf's (1997) concept of language play, which occurs in private speech and serves as rehearsal for later conversations, they engage in "ludic" form of it, as has been described by Cook (1997). He explains the ludic character of language play as focus on enjoyment, not communicating meaning or interacting with the environment. According to Cook (1997), language play further "occurs naturally and authentically when there is a

space to be filled“, often to bring about amusement and relaxation, and creates “a kind of carnival reality” in a Bakhtinian sense, i.e. “parallel to the real world but having its own meanings”. For example, in play “friends are enemies” and “losers become winners” (Cook, 1997, p. 227). Cook’s understanding of language play operates on two levels:

> At the formal level there is play with sounds … to create patterns of rhyme, rhythm, assonance, consonance, alliteration, etc., and play with grammatical structures to create parallelisms and patterns … At the semantic level there is play with units of meaning, combining them in ways which create worlds which do not exist: fictions. (Cook, 1997, p. 228).

Karina and Jana do both: On the one hand, they play with language forms by using rhythmic syllables, which they often repeat (deedeedeedeedeedeedoodoo, line 2) and sometimes combine into alliterations (bibedi-babedi-boo, line 27; das ding doing, line 10) or consoncances (click clack click clack, line 28). On the other hand, Jana’s and Karina’s language play is semantic in that it carries and recreates meaning. Many of their sounds are or resemble animal sounds or expressions of emotion (laughter, aggression, crying, etc.) and all of them are used to describe a character or an action in their very own rendition of the *Cinderella* story. Karina and Jana recreate large parts of the plot by representing meaning through sound words, pitch, and voice quality rather than through words or sentences. For example, a malicious-sounding “hah-hah-hah-hah-haah” (line 4) could be taken to mean “I am going to attack you” and a half-sung “lalalaa” (line 26) something like “I am happy.” Thus, the sisters’ language play happens not only on the formal level, but also fits Cook’s description of semantic language play.

Cook advocates for an approach to language teaching which recognizes that language learning “is sometimes play and sometimes for real, sometimes form-focused and sometimes meaning-focused, sometimes fiction and sometimes fact” (p. 231). In a

similar vein, Tarone (2000) and Broner and Tarone (2001) argue that even though because of its lack of attention to form, ludic language play might not directly act as opportunity for target language practice, it may affect L2 acquisition in that it provides emotional engagement, which can support memory, and in that its acts as "double voicing" (Bakhtin, 1981, cited in Broner & Tarone, 2001, p. 375), which may support appropriations of different registers: "[L]udic language play may facilitate L2 acquisition by enabling the learner to internalize many different voices appropriate to many different roles." (Broner & Tarone, 2001, p. 375). Most importantly, Tarone (2000) argues that the abundance of linguistic rules and norms has an important function in language development: It "can be a destabilizing force that provides a productive and dynamic balance to the stable force of adherence to standardized language norms and even to fossilization" (Broner & Tarone, 2001, p. 375). In other words, it can open up a so-called "interlanguage" for change and further development.

Karina's and Jana's way of engaging with the Cinderella story also opens up a space for them to be legitimate as German speakers. They seem to find agency in the act of abandoning most language norms and conventions. Although often linguistic legitimacy, also in the twin sisters' case, is based on high proficiency or compliance with a particular standard (e.g., Norton, 2000; Heller, 2006), their rendition of *Cinderella* seemed to imply the opposite. Seen in that way, Karina's and Jana's disconnecting of legitimacy and proficiency, an act from which they seemed to derive enjoyment and confidence, fulfilled an important role as social force, even though solely in the private space of their language play, as it disallowed language ideologies and discourses that overemphasize accuracy, devalue translanguaging practices, and promote "native

speakers" as sole role models for L2 learners. Further, in the students' production of sounds and speech, language borders became fluid or even non-existent, for which Karina claimed legitimacy quite explicitly by defending her actions against Jana's suggestion to do some more traditional reading (line 12).

Although Karina and Jana seemed to find pleasure and entertainment in the sequence, it differed from her male peers' discourse of entertainment that I described above in one important way: It was not directed at an audience. This is a critical point because in the sphere of the public (the classroom) discourses become politically charged and threatening to a status quo. In contrast, Karina's and Jana's legitimation discourse remained harmless to the teacher or other students. However, their language play showed resistance, though not on a public, on a personal level: It indicates that they have not bought into or internalized Frau Zeller's discourses completely. In other words, Jana's and Karina's abandoning of all linguistic rules in a private situation gives us reason to believe that their compliance with classroom discourses is not necessarily due to acceptance or affirmation. Another reason could be that they are simply unable to act against the linguistic domination of their environment.

Considering all of Karina's and Jana's legitimation discourses described above, we can synthesize that they were concerned about their legitimacy as German speakers, which they often related to the obeying of grammatical and lexical rules and the swift producing of written or spoken language. In addition, they seemed to see "native speakers" as legitimate authorities of German. However, they also found unexpected ways to legitimize themselves as German users by transgressing the borders of correctness and traditional power structures. This indicates once more that Jana's and

Karina's legitimacy as German speakers was highly contextual and fluid. Its basis oscillated between following and subverting of traditional linguistic norms, dicourses, and ideologies.

Using Latvian and being delegitimized

In interviews and informal conversations, the twin sisters expressed two main sentiments in connection with their languages: On the one hand, they felt a strong commitment and connection to Latvian, on the other hand, they talked about the limited opportunities for speaking it.

> K: It's kind of, throughout school we haven't we have not been speaking so much Latvian as we did when we were younger, I would say, because with school we are more accustomed to English […] and it's like school equals English and home equals Latvian
> JEK: So school is like –
> J: It's like an English zone […], like there is a time and a place for each language and there is a community where you can like speak that
> JEK: And outside of that community you can't {speak Lat-
> J: No, it} doesn't make sense, like, it's just, I don't know, people get confused or something, like, why would you do that?
> JEK: Mhm so do you have a favorite language?
> J: I don't know, I think I like Lativan more because, because there's more, I feel like there's more, the culture's more like interesting and because uhm there's so few people who speak it that uhm it's a really unique language rather than like English there's like so many countries that speak it uhm and Latvian is only spoken in Latvia, so I think it's kind of when I speak Latvian it's more like uhm I feel like it's more like to uphold the language and like when Russians invaded Latvia and they kind of like didn't want anyone to like speak Lativan and now like people want to to uphold it to make sure it doesn't die out because I know that, so it's like it's a small community, so you're obligated to know it, so it doesn't die out, so you gotta kind of pass it down
> JEK: Do you think you'll pass it down one day?
> J: I guess so.
>
> (Interview with Jana, October 10)

> K: When I was in like in kindergarten like, I would like, I sorta like assumed that like everybody like would also know Latvian I guess, so sometimes I'd like start speaking it and then people would act confused and then I would say it in English […]
> JEK: What would you speak if uhm if you could choose and every- everyone would understand you?
> K: If I could choose uhm I would speak Latvian in school just because it like comes kind of natural to us I guess and it's like, it's the language we're supposed to speak like like if it wasn't for the war we would be speaking it.
>
> (Interview with Karina, October 15)

In these interviews, Jana and Karina's talked about their experiences of causing "confusion" when speaking Latvian outside of their community. In contrast to this disruption, they claimed to feel that Latvian was the language they were "supposed to" speak as part of their identity. Their self-reported commitment to Lativan did not correspond to an experienced legitimacy of speaking Latvian. In other words, even though they claimed ownership and legitimacy of speaking Latvian, they repeatedly told stories of how such legitimacy was withheld from them. The incident at the end of the following sequence about a family dinner at a restaurant was mentioned three times throughout the semester:

1 J: I mean sometimes we talk Latvian in school when we need to talk about
2 something and we don't want other people to hear what we're saying, but usually
3 it's in, we do everything in English.
4 JEK: Have people reacted to you talking in Latvian at all?
5 K: Yeah, they give us like {strange looks or –
6 J: Mhm} sometimes people, I know my mum someone asked her like why do you
7 speak like other languages when other people are around? Are you talking about
8 other people? But it's more like, it's, you want to it's your culture and it's like you
9 wanna be with people who can speak the same language as you.
10 K: And I know that's also kind of a thing like I know that also this has probably
11 come across other people's minds too that like a lot of people that speak another
12 language are like aren't white {sooo
13 J: Yeah, like}

14 K: So people sometimes are like ooh why are those people speaking cause I think
15 in this {country
16 JEK: Oh.}
17 J: People who speak a different language are usually Asian or Hispanic like look a
18 certain way.
19 K: Or they are like dressed in a certain way.
20 J: Yeah
21 JEK: Oh so languages other than English are associated with looking a certain
22 way of looking like uhm
23 J: Yeah like I know if you go to California you think most people that speak
24 another language would be Hispanic {or but it's more
25 JEK: Mhm}
26 J: Associated with stuff like like Asian languages here.
27 K: Yeah.
28 JEK: Okay so and because you look really you don't look like that you
29 K: Yeah uhm my aunt and uncle they live in New Jersey and they say they
30 sometimes like they go to the mall or something and they are like talking in
31 Latvian and like it's like normal but everybody looks at them like strangely and
32 they think it's like sort of like funny to freak some people out {so
33 J: And} people get even more confused when it's like a sentence that is mixed
34 between two languages cause then you're just like integrating this between two so
35 easily that they get confused when you're saying something and then you say
36 [*Latvian word*] and they are like, 'What are you talking about?'
37 JEK: Yeah, I see [*laughs*]. So would you say that it almost would be easier or less
38 confusing if you looked differently? Then people would more expect –
39 J: Yeah.
40 K: Yeah, yeah.
41 J: Yeah or I know lots of people are like from like Asian people and people
42 assume that you're from China like, people get things mixed up too, like with
43 people who are Hmong they are like, 'Oh aren't you from China?' and {speak
44 Chinese.
45 K: Yeah, yeah.} One time we were in this restaurant in [*name of city*] because we
46 were visiting our brother and uhm like we were eating and at this table next to us
47 there were two Muslim women and they were talking in English and we were
48 talking in Latvian and they were like looking at us soo we found this was kind of
49 like interesting.
50 J and K: Yeah, yeah.
51 JEK: Cause you would expect – ?
52 K: It's usually the other way around, yeah.
53 J: Yeah.

(Interview with Jana and Karina, December 12, 2012)

What is striking here is the sisters' mentioning of race as reason for their illegitimacy as Latvian speakers. The argument seems to be that their whiteness identifies them as monolingual English speakers, which would be interrupted by their Latvian identity and is therefore not expected or not approved of, in short, not socially legitimized. Karina was clearly aware of the weight of their statement, as their hesitation and hedging in the introduction to it show (lines 10-11). In their statement, the sisters addressed a monolingual ideal that is related to a white mainstream identity. They seem to describe what Schmidt (2002) calls "a conjunction of the hegemonic position of the dominant English language and the socially constructed normalization of *whiteness*" (p. 142). Schmidt explains that the marrying of English-only and whiteness solidifies both in their hegemonic positions, excluding any other ways of being from the sphere of legitimacy. In the process of deconstructing the underlying assumptions of this dominant English-only/whiteness discourse, Schmidt (2002) describes the nature of its dominance as racial, and the discourse itself as racialization, i.e., he identifies an adding of racial meaning to a previously non-racial understanding of English-only. To be more precise, his analyses tie the English-only/whiteness discourse back to the hegemonic role of Anglo Saxon and later Anglo American or European racial superiority as it manifested itself in racist practices from "enslavement of African Americans" to "occupational stratification" (pp. 147-148). What is interesting about Jana's and Karina's statements is their appropriation of racialization discourses: They seem to make an argument that the conjunction of whiteness and English not only discriminates against non-white, non-English speaking groups and individuals, but also against white multilinguals. Thus, their experience aligns with Schmidt's theories in that it points to a racialization of monolingualism: Speaking

English only is identified as white, from which follows that being white should exclude speaking other languages than English. However, Jana and Karina deviate from Schmidt's analyses in that they connect their whiteness to marginalization, rather than dominance. Thus, when Schmidt explains that a conjunction of English and whiteness "creates an ideological context within which Americans speaking languages other than English, and whose origins lie in continents other than Europe, are racialized as alien outsiders, as *Others*" (p. 142), Jana and Karina might argue that a naturalization of monolingual whiteness also others them based on their white European American identity.

Jana and Karina's experience of being othered goes beyond issues of race. In the interview from December 12, Jana explains that non-English speakers are usually expected to "look a certain way" in the US (lines 17-18). Although one of the examples she gives for this way of being different is skin color (e.g., line 12), the twins' understanding of being different certainly transcends that. This is evidenced by Karina's remark "Or they are like dressed in a certain way" (line 19). Overall, Karina and Jana describe their experience of being different than the mainstream. Skin color, dresscode, but also language use are examples they use for enacting this non-mainstream identity. In addition, they distinguish between difference that manifests itself in look (skin color, clothing) and difference that is expressed through non-English language use. Their argument is that the expected way of being different for both of theses differences to co-occur, for example when Hispanic-looking people speak Spanish. However, in their case, both types of being different do not appear together, which, they seem to argue, makes it difficult for them to be different. In other words, not only do Jana and Karina share their

experience of being outside of what is considered mainstream society (monolingual, white), they also position themselves as marginalized within the non-mainstream populations because their way of being different does not fulfill the expected criteria. What the twin sisters seem to imply here is that there is a socially expected way of enacting difference, which comprises looks/race and language. Their inability to fulfill the criteria for this expected way of enacting difference positions them in a space between mainstream and non-mainstream, or in a non-accepted space within the non-mainstream group. Thus, their comments can be read as experience of not belonging into either category or not being legitimate in any context.

Using English with fleeting legitimacy

As the following excerpt illustrates, Karina and Jana had conflicting feelings about their identities as "ELLs" (English language learners). This episode was taken from a group work phase in a Psychology class. Karina and Jana were working on a poster with their friends Sarah and Elisa, a Latina student who immigrated to the US from Mexico as a child.

1 K: in kindergarten through third grade i was in ell uhm {i was
2 J: me too-oo}
3 K: i was in speech in fourth and fifth grade {and i
4 J: can't} forget title one
5 K: title one i was in there in first and second grade uhm what else did they make
6 me do?
7 E: what did they make *me* do
8 K: what *didn't* they make me do
9 J: remember teae-testing
10 E: that was that was just like
11 J: that was {stupid
12 K: that was like} here's a picture write about it

13 E: or like do you remember like
14 K: or like square what is this? [*laughs*] yeah it was like an online test it's like what
15 is this? fork what is this? straw
16 J: i remember this was after we weren't even in ell anymore {it was like
17 E: mhm}
18 J: mhmm like memories tell me about it
19 E: i remember uhm mister m {and
20 J: i liked} him
21 E [*in disbelief*]: you liked him?
22 J: i don't know i feel like i remember him being like funny or something
23 E: you weren't in it anymore when you guys weren't in it {anymore
24 K: oh my god}
25 J: we were just playing games when we went there
26 E: exactly and i don't even know why i was in there in like in first grade this one
27 teacher helped me who was like bond like james bond
28 K: we always read stories {about
29 E: but}
30 K: like people like there was some kid in as in a wheel{chair
31 J: wheelchair} yeah a kid wheelchair kid a black kid it was like seriously like this
32 is a politically correct reading for you you ell children
33 S: what do you guys [*unintel.*] talking about?
34 K: englis enlish language learner well now it's english as a second languages
35 that's where we met
36 S [*to E*]: oh you were in that too?
37 E: yeah
38 [*laughter*]
39 J: she was born in {mexico what do *you* think?
40 S: you were?}
41 E: yeah
42 S: weren't you born here?
43 K: wow you don't listen to her i guess
44 E: {i've never told her
45 K: oh
46 S: can you become president?}
47 E: i don't wanna become president [*unintel.*] become president next [*unintel.*]
48 K: {don't you find that funny
49 E: i can become president in mexico}
50 K: like what i've noticed every single time i someone's like i wasn't born in the us
51 they're like oh you can't be president
52 E: yeah like you're gonna be one of
53 J [*sarcastically*]: yeah like everybody wants to be president it's such {a high
54 demand job
55 K: horrible job}
56 S: can you guys become president?
57 K and J [*loudly*]: yeah!

58 S: so you guys were born here?
59 K and J [*loudly*]: yeah!
60 S: i thought you were from latvia or something
61 K: everybody assumes we weren't born here
62 S: i wasn't questioning

(December 5, 2012)

Several things are noteworthy about this exchange: First, the general agreement between Jana, Karina, and Elisa was to distance themselves from ELL (English language learner) instruction. The only positive thing said about their ELL experience was Jana's statement about liking her teacher, for which she earned disapproving replies from Elisa and Karina. All of them criticized TEAE Tests (Test of Emerging Academic English) for not reflecting their higher proficiency level. They further expressed frustration with the material. Jana's sarcastic comment in lines 31-32 suggests that through their ELL materials, they were identified with other marginalized populations (disabled people, people of color), which they disapproved of. Second, all three former ELLs rejected the idea of becoming US president or of the eligibility for presidency being a relevant or desirable consequence of citizenship. In this sequence (lines 46-58), Jana and Karina did not only support Elisa's declaration of line 47 that she did not want to become president, they also spoke from an immigrant's/non-citizen's perspective. By declaring US presidency undesirable, they rejected a reason for potential exclusion or sympathy and claimed agency in the name of immigrants. At the same time, Karina and Jana emphatically declared their US citizenship (line 59), and Karina seemed to resent any other assumptions (line 61).

These observations illustrate the in-between identity Jana and Karina enacted: While they rejected being marginalized as ELLs and claim US identity, they also spoke

from an outsider's perspective about what they felt to be a commonly held US American view.

Thus, on the one hand Jana and Karina claimed rightful ownership of the English language and thereby position themselves as legitimate English speakers through their rejection of ELL and other minoritized identities. At the same time, these data suggests that they perceived their legitimacy as members of the mainstream and English speakers to be something they needed to negotiate frequently and that they could not take for granted. This is therefore an example of the dynamic, flexible, and at times even contradictive nature of linguistic legitimacy.

In all, Jana and Karina seemed to be unable to claim social legitimacy for their L1 in mainstream contexts, and also have some trouble to legitimize themselves as English speakers. This could shed a new light on their legitimacy claims in the German classroom.

In comparison to their peers, Karina's and Jana's investment in Frau Zeller's discourses is much more consistent and almost uninterrupted. In addition, their Discourses line up more closely with the "academic" climate Frau Zeller promoted than the ones of their peers. Their receptiveness for the teacher's promoted identities and discourses could potentially be related to the lack of legitimacy they received as speakers of Latvian and English. In other words, they might be more willing to follow the Frau Zeller's implied promise of legitimation because of their experiences as delegitimized or under-legitimized L1 and L2 users.

Karina's and Jana's legitimation discourses were context- and participant-dependent, fluid, and created in moment-by-moment interaction. Thus, they were

strongly influenced by who they interacted with and under which circumstances. They were partly contradictory (i.e. encompassing contradictive practices and perspectives) and seemed to interact with their Discourses or ways of being. Most importantly, legitimation was always co-constructed by two or more agents. Jana's and Karina's experiences were deeply permeated by interactions with their environment, which could deny or accept their legitimation claims in any given situation. Their experiences cannot be captured by concepts of legitimation that exclude this interaction and merely focus on legitimation effort and claims. The receiving parties who accept, affirm, withhold or deny legitimation need to be part of the picture.

Chapter five: Conclusions and implications

The findings presented in the previous chapter have twofold implications: First, several aspects of current theories need to be expanded or revised in order to incorporate a new understanding of linguistic legitimacy and legitimation processes in educational contexts. Second, conclusions for teaching and teacher education with the overall goal to turn L2 classrooms into multilingual spaces.

Theoretical implications

As I have built my study on other scholars' work, I speak back to them and show new aspects of their concepts and understandings. In particular, I offer reflections on "translanguaging" (García, 2009), legitimation (Van Leeuwen, 2008), investment (Norton, 2000; Byrd Clark, 2009), racialization (Schmidt, 2002), language play (Cook, 1997), and language policies (Schiffman, 2006).

Facilitated translanguaging

The most striking and at the same time potentially the least surprising finding of this study is Jana's and Karina's way of compartmentalizing their language use: They had completely banned their L1 Latvian from the school context. Even though recent theories point to the hybridity and fluidity of multilingual language use, as far as their L1 was concerned, the twin sisters did not engage in codemixing, codemeshing (Canagarajah, 2011), translanguaging (García, 2009) polylingualism (Jørgensen, 2008), or metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010), all of which describe the fluid and hybrid

character of multilingual language practices. For example, García and Woodley (forthcoming) explain that …

> translanguaging is rooted in the belief that bilingual speakers select language features from one integrated system and "soft assemble" their language practices in ways that fit their communicative situations. That is, bilinguals call upon social *features* in a seamless and complex network of multiple semiotic signs, as they adapt their languaging to suit the immediate task environment. (para 29)

In this paragraph, García and Woodley describe translanguaging as natural and almost effortless linguistic pracice for multilingual speakers. Similarly, Dailey-O'Cain and Liebscher (forthcoming) argue that "allowing emerging bilinguals to alternate between the language they are learning and the language they use every day allows them to behave as fluent bilinguals do naturally around the world" (n. p.). This does not seem to capture Jana's and Karina's experience.

My data show that even when the communicative situation of the immediate environment called for it, for example when the twins did pair work together or walked the school's hallways together, Karina and Jana refrain from using their L1. Instead, they had declared school an "English zone", from which only the German classroom, and within it only the German language, were exempt. Even within the German classroom, it seemed difficult to interrupt the students' English-only policy, as instances of sticking to English, even when it meant more effort, showed. If we view Jana's and Karina's school environment as a linguistic market place, in Bourdieu's sense, it seems that their L1 Latvian has little to no "purchasing power". Their non-engagement in translanguaging (or other forms of multilingual language use) with Latvian suggests that for them such practices did not come "naturally", but were rather dependent on agency and capital. In a marketplace that is permeated by the hegemonic position of English, Jana and Karina

were subject to the “symbolic violence” (Bourdieu, 1977a) of linguistic ideologies. As the word “symbolic” suggests, the dominance of English was naturalized, so that the twin sisters did not feel compelled to resist it. If this normalization had been interrupted, for example through the presence of more multilingual students or role models in the classroom, maybe Latvian would have found a way into Jana’s and Karina’s “English zone”. Without those, using Latvian, or even features of Latvian, and thereby embrittling persistent monolingual ideologies, would not only take tremendous effort and courage, it would also require Jana and Karina to see through the processes of naturalization. Instead, they were following the English-only ideology throughout the school day. Their experience thus calls for a close investigation of translanguaging (and similar practices) as “(not) facilitated”, i.e. (not) legitimized by its environment, rather than “natural” form of language use. The adjective “facilitated” redirects our view from the individual’s behavior to the social environment, thus reminding us that the use of multiple language practices are not so much a question of “nature”, but rather of power.

<u>Interactive and fluid legitimacy</u>

Both Bourdieu and Van Leeuwen have theorized legitimation processes in meaningful ways. Most importantly, they have uncovered power dynamics as part of these processes (Bourdieu, 1977a; Van Leeuwen, 2008) and categorized different ways of claiming legitimacy (Van Leewen, 2008). However, while Bourdieu’s work underlines the symbolic violence of legitimizing a particular language over others, and Van Leeuwen illustrates in detail how legitimacy is claimed and consolidated in discourse, both of their theories fall short of taking the audience of legitimation claims into

consideration, so that their concepts of legitimation can never be truly interactive. Expanding on their work, I suggest therefore, based on my data, that it is not enough to just claim legitimacy. Rather, it seems, legitimacy is co-constructed in moment-by-moment interaction and therefore not only a claimer's product, but negotiated among all participants of a discourse. An example is Jana and Karina's attempt to claim legitimacy in their conversation with a German L1 speaker. When the German speaker switched to English, she rejected the sisters' legitimacy claim and denied them their right to speak German. In Bourdieu's (1977b) sense, Jana and Karina had no "power to impose reception" in that moment. Such instances show that linguistic legitimacy is a co-construction of all participants in an interactive situation. As such, it is also ever-changing, dynamic, and fluid. The same data sample exemplifies this: Within a few turns, Jana and Karina legitimized themselves and each other, only to lose that legitimacy moments later. This shows how fleeting and unstable linguistic legitimacy can be.

In addition, my data have illustrated how entertainment can be used to claim legitimation. Because entertainment is usually directed at an audience and thus invites reaction from other members of the discourse, it matches my understanding of legitimacy as jointly and interactively constructed.

As a further extension of Van Leeuwen's theory, I suggest considering legitimation through controlled spaces. As my data show, Frau Zeller frequently offered very limited spaces for students to produce German, for example as in written or oral gap filling activities. These spaces made producing German not only easy but also legitimate for the students because it did not require them to appear invested in learning German. Further research could investigate how such controlled spaces promote or impede

language development. Naturally, the goal is to carve out large spaces for legitimate student output to support language development as well as linguistic legitimacy.

Conflicting investments

In her seminal work, Norton (e.g., 2000) framed L2 identities in her concept of investment. With this important move away from an overfocus on L2 learners' intrinsic motivation, she prepared the ground for a power-sensitive understanding of L2 learning and using. Byrd Clark (2009) expanded on Norton's work in important ways. Based on her study with Canadian youth of Italian origin she explains:

> My proposed conceptualization of investment is one that conveys a more complicated (and at times, contradictory) notion and … a more inclusive account for ideological processes, discourses, representations of language, cultures, and identity/ies, personal significations/resonance, engagements, and interdisciplinarity. (pp. 9-10)

With this extended understanding of investment, she moves away from a sole focus on linguistic investment towards one that includes investments in ideologies, discourses, identities, etc. I would like to give more attention to something Byrd Clark only says in parentheses: the idea of contradictory, or conflicting, investment. The investment in contradictory discourses and loyalties is what trapped the students in my study in a net of multiple bonds. In this sense, the German classroom was a much more complex linguistic market place than Bourdieu's (1977b) metaphor suggests: Several languages and language practices were traded at the same time, and their capital or purchasing power was constantly negotiated. For example, students had to balance what was legitimized by the teacher (standard German) with what was legitimized by their peers (mostly English)

and adapt their language use to particular situations (e.g. low proficiency German for performances).

Considering the contradictive discourses in the classroom, finding this balance becomes an even more complex task. It is thus maybe not surprising that the students' multiple investments often had a paralyzing effect on them. Performances of German (in front on an audience) for entertainment were one way out of this paralysis. They created a space where they could comply with the teacher's instructions and policies, while at the same being loyal to and legitimate within their peer group.

Also Jana and Karina were caught in a multiple investment trap, however, performing German for fun was not an available option for them. This might have been due to their investment in languages in general and in German in particular. In contrast to their peers, as speakers of multiple languages, they did not have the option of putting on an uninvested learner identity, like their peers, and use performance to satisfy conflicting language policies. Their experience illustrates how their multilingualism was an obstacle rather than a resource for them because of restrictive policies and practices that were in place in their educational environment, and ironically, in a language classroom. Even though at times Jana and Karina enacted agency, their overall alignment with teacher discourses was striking. The key take-away from this observation is that how languages are taught has an impact on how legitimate mutlilinguals are. In other words, how we teach learners to become multilingual affects how they can be multilingual.

Racialized monolingualism

As I have shown in the last chapter, Jana and Karina make a connection between their whiteness and their difficulties to position themselves as multilingual speakers: In their environment, speaking one language was white, whereas being multilingual was associated with being of color. Unlike students in Spotti's (2007) or Rampton's (1995, 1996) studies, Jana's and Karina's experience suggests that transgressing or even blurring such racial and linguistic boundaries would not only be extremely difficult but also a great social and academic risk and cause negative reactions (e.g., "confusion"). The marriage of English only and whiteness, a process theorized by Schmidt (2002), consolidates the dominance of English as well as whiteness and made it extremely difficult for Jana and Karina to use all their languages. Jana's and Karina's statements about the association of whiteness and monolingualism show that they were aware of social hierarchies that are created on the basis of racial and linguistic affiliations. Considering the twins' way of compartmentalizing their languages, this seemed to be especially true for school English. Their ban of Latvian from the school grounds reflects the ideology that they felt to be at work that white people need to speak English at school. In order to maintain their social and academic status, Jana and Karina had to compromise the Latvian part of their linguistic resources and identities. This illustrates the power, relentlessness, and restrictive character of racialization processes and raises questions about the interaction of English and whiteness in schools, such as: Does academic English need to be white? Follow-up studies are needed to further enlighten the symbiosis of monolingualism and English (or other power languages) and the effects of such dynamics on school discourses, policies, and practices.

Legitimizing language play

As shown in my analysis, the language play Jana and Karina performed in the Cinderella episode occurred on the formal as well as on the semantic level. While the twin sisters seemed to enjoy the intonation and prosody of their language productions, they also recreated the plot of *Cinderella* through their sounds and words. Their own enjoyment of the German language might have served similar functions as their peers' performance discourse, namely entertainment, but differed from it in that it was strictly private between the two sisters and did not involve an audience. Quite the opposite, it only existed in the space between two activities that needed "to be filled" (Cook, 1997, p. 227). In this space of their private play, a new reality was created, like Cook (1997) argues, "parallel to the real world but having its own meanings" (p. 227). In this space, language did not need to follow rules or norms and emotional engagement or invested relationships with a language are legitimate. Although this space cannot be in direct opposition with Frau Zeller's discourses as long as it remains private, it can be seen as breeding ground for subversive discourses. Most importantly, in their space, Jana and Karina were legitimate German users. Based on my data, I thus argue for a socio-political understanding of language play that describes it is a site of legitimacy construction, non-conformity, and beginning subversion.

Overt language policies – covert motivations

The way Frau Zeller presented her German-only and correctness policies in her classroom suggests that she used these language policies as instruments for self-

legitimation. Schiffman (2006) distinguishes between covert and overt policies, of which the latter are characterized by their “ulterior motivations” (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 160). He warns us that

> it is important to view language policy as not only the explicit, written, overt, de jure, official and “top-down” decision-making about language, but also the implicit, unwritten, covert, de facto, grass-roots, and unofficial ideas and assumptions, which can influence the outcomes of policy-making just as emphatically and definitively as the more explicit decisions. (Schiffman, 2006, p. 112)

Interestingly, both categories seem to apply here: On the one hand Frau Zeller’s language policies were overt, in that she introduced them explicitly, de jure, and top-down and affirmed them frequently. What was covert about Frau Zeller’s policies were their “ulterior motivations”: She seemed to use such German-only and correctness standards in order to consolidate or recondition her authoritative status. This goal was not only “unwritten” and “de facto”, it was also most likely beyond Frau Zeller’s sphere of awareness. In cases like this, where restrictive overt language policies originate from a covert motivation, it is necessary to uncover this motivation in order to be able to change the policies. The case of Frau Zeller shows that the overt-covert dichotomy is not always applicable in Schiffman’s sense. Although the characterization itself is meaningful and important, different aspects of language policies can be either overt or covert, or potentially something in between, on a continuum between overt and covert. Future investigations could aim to complicate and thereby update Schiffman’s model.

Implications for teaching and teacher education

As the main purpose of this study was to promote multilingualism in education, it would be incomplete without implications for practitioners and teacher educators. The following points are intended to inspire and encourage teachers and teacher educators to reflect on and adapt their work for the benefit of (emergent) multilingual language users.

Towards mutlilingual foreign/second language classrooms

First, my study shows that language proficiency does not necessarily lead to language use. For this reason, it is critical that teachers do not only teach proficiency in the target language, but also legitimize the language they teach. In addition, in order to promote multilingual education, students' first and second languages need to be actively legitimized, especially in language classrooms, which otherwise run into danger of becoming monolingualized spaces.

Second, an essential part of a multilingual educational experience is to provide students with a critical lens for language norms and policies. Teachers could empower students by modeling critique of harmful ideologies and showing how they can result in restrictive policies and practices such as monolingual biases and an overemphasis on correctness or production.

Teachers can further create productive learning environments by being sensitive to their students' contradictive investments. Close observation of and open conversation about classroom climate, language practices, and student beliefs can help create inclusive classroom environments, in which students have the opportunity to be invested in multiple discourses, languages, and ideologies, without feeling paralyzed and unable to work. Such an approach to multiple investment might solve many issues that are often

superficially termed “classroom management”. In terms of performances of languages, ways have to be found to design such activities to promote, not impede, language learning. Such an approach would encourage students to identify with the target language and feel personally invested in it.

Opening up spaces for language play or other non-conventional ways of using (multiple) languages might carve out spaces for linguistic legitimation that are student-driven and enjoyment-oriented. Such spaces could serve to undermine harmful language ideologies and discourses and help bring about alternative ways of constructing and negotiating linguistic legitimacy.

Lastly, a self-critical view on instruction can not only be a first step towards identifying harmful and helpful language policies for emergent multilingual students, it can also help put familiar teaching strategies and classroom policies in a new light for the benefit of multilingual students. Keeping in mind that how we teach becoming-multilingual affects how students can be multilingual, it is essential to reflect on what practices are (not) and should (not) be legitimate in a language classroom.

Towards teacher education that promotes multilingual language classrooms

Teacher education can help shape teacher beliefs about classroom language policies. Frau Zeller’s example of monolingualizing the language classroom is part of a common practice, especially in foreign language education (Train, 2003). However, as Dailey-O’Cain and Liebscher (in press) synthesize, recent research pushes back against such practices and promotes the integration of first languages in foreign language classrooms:

> [W]e feel compelled to argue in favour of the value of allowing the use of the primary language in foreign language classrooms, on the basis of three sets of findings that emerge from the existing body of literature on the subject. First, the most reliable research evidence suggests that principled use of the primary language can be a cognitive tool in the learning of the target language; second, allowing emerging bilinguals to alternate between the language they are learning and the language they use every day allows them to behave as fluent bilinguals do naturally around the world; and third, using two languages in the same conversation both accords more naturally with bilingual identities in general and affords learners a tool that they can use to construct identities in conversation. (para 2)

Based on such research (e.g., Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, in press; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2004; Littlewood & Yu, 2009; Macaro, 2005; Macaro, 2009; Tian & Macaro, 2012), teachers could design more flexible models of student and teacher classroom language use in pre-service as well as in-service workshops.

In general, the importance of addressing and rethinking teacher beliefs in a systematic way in teacher education programs can't be underestimated. Frau Zeller's example suggests that she felt obligated to have her students produce as much target language as possible, often under a lot of time pressure. Underlying beliefs about the acquisition of L2 fluency or the need to provide student productions for accountability's sake might be playing a role in her instruction. Teacher education could help unearth such beliefs and rethink them as questions like "How can we create space and time for process-oriented language learning in L2 classrooms?". This question is especially relevant in an education system that is permeated by neoliberal practices and policies.

Part of a language teacher education program that promotes multilingualism should be to show how classroom language policies promote or impede particular student identities. Understanding this connection, rather than seeing classroom language policies merely as a set of behavior rules, is critical for teachers who aim to create classroom

spaces where students can use all their linguistic resources and feel legitimate as (emergent) multilinguals.

In all, many pedagogical beliefs and practices need to be newly assessed with an eye on mutlilingual language learners. Part of language teacher education for multilingualism could be to show that well-known pedagogical principles receive new urgency in the light of a mutlilingual audience. For example, an overemphasis on correctness or the issue of authenticity of text and tasks versus inauthentic practices like gap filling tasks could be reassessed through a legitimacy/investment framework. The latter would likely show that while such activities might create legitimacy, they impede students' identification with and investment in a language, which is detrimental to practicing multilingualism.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Transcription conventions

{} – overlap

blue – translation, original in German

[*laughter*] – descriptions of actions or additional comments

? – rising intonation, like at the end of questions

! – yelling

T – German teacher, Frau Zeller

S1, S2, … – students (Students who played an important role throughout the semester have pseudonyms.)

JEK – me

[…] deleted elements

* – incorrect

J – Jana, K – Karina: focal students

M – Miles

C – Christopher

unintel. – unintelligible word(s)

For analysis that focused on content, data were transcribed using standard orthography. For more language-focused analyses, I used only lower-case letters (adapted from Walsh, 2002).

Appendix B: Original transcripts

Teacher discourses

1 Teacher: und das [*the domino game*] machen wir ein paar minuten und bitte ganz
2 ganz genau aufpassen dass ihr die richtige wortstellung habt und wenn du ein wort
3 siehst das du nicht kennst dann schlag es nach du sollst nicht einfach spielen ja ich
4 hab keine ahnung was das heißt aber ich sag es trotzdem
5 {[*Miles laughs.*]
6 T: du sollst nachschlagen} ja du lachst aber das sehe ich jeden tag so
7 [*Students start to work. After one minute:*]
8 T: okay und bitte jetzt deutsch oder nichts und achtet jetzt wirklich auf die sprache
9 so und alles was ihr braucht steht hier

(October 17, 2012)

1 T [*pulls out a destiny stick*]: danielle okay so danielle bitte was hast du am
2 wochenende gemacht?
3 D: uhm wir wir gehen ins kino*
4 T: okay wir uhm let's look at this sentence more closely [*writes on board and reads*
5 *along*] wir ins kino
6 S1: wir haben ins kino gegangen*
7 T: ok gegangen mag ich [*writes gegangen into second slot*]
8 S2: hat
9 *Several students guessing*: hatten*
10 T: oje oje naja [*writes first letter s in first slot]*
11 S3: sind
12 T: okay so machen wir heute deutsch zwei statt deutsch drei? es sieht so aus i'm i'm
13 taking a deep breath here because i'm trying really hard not to tell you i told you so
14 these are things you should have lear- and in fact we did learn last year a year ago at
15 least when we built the foundation of your the grammatical basis if you want of
16 your german and you should really know so we can move forward and these
17 mistakes i know mistakes happen even to me i'm not an exception i'm not perfect
18 but this you know this basic stuff should be engrained in your minds already from
19 last year but okay let's just okay repeat after me wir gehen
20 Class: wir gehen
21 T: wir gingen
22 Class: wir gingen
23 T: wir sind gegangen
24 Class: wir sind gegangen
(November 5, 2012)

Frau Zeller announced "Wir sprechen heute miteinander Deutsch" while introducing the daily agenda, and repeated a little later while kicking off an activity: "Natürlich dürft ihr jetzt kein Englisch sprechen sondern Deutsch okay? Okay". … She interrupted the activity and stepped on a chair (which made a couple of students giggle or role their eyes) to warn students "Wer ständig Englisch spricht muss jetzt gehen wer Englisch spricht muss 30 Sekunden vor der Tür stehen wie beim Eislaufen [*she means ice hockey penalties*] also Mund zu Deutsch oder nichts".

(Fieldnotes, October 22, 2012)

1 T: was heißt das? achtung?
2 Miles: children crossing
3 T: und wie sagt man auf deutsch?
4 M: uh {kinder
5 T: wie heißen} sie? kinder
6 M: kinder gehen
7 T: ja die es gibt kinder in der nähe man soll aufpassen

(October 17, 2012)

1 T: so uhm moment jetzt so uhm i'm sorry i was a little mem- mesmerized by the
2 snappy answers but now i wanna take a minute to go over a couple of the questions
3 okay to focus your attention on a few things so sh when you start a question with a
4 w word like this [*writes on board*] wohin there is certain things okay [*writes on*
5 *board*] that have to go in certain places and i want you to pay attention to that so
6 wohin oder uhm there was a question right at the end der geht nicht [*referring to a*
7 *marker*] … okay [*writes on board*] was passiert mit dem auto? uhm so here is a
8 question that was asked perfectly was passiert mit dem auto? okay so what element
9 is this guys this is the part i wanna get over quickly but i need you to see it because
10 you just had all this time writing questions and then you were asking some and so
11 i'm focusing pst if it if it helps you actually turn your chair a couple of degrees so
12 that your shoulders and your knees are facing where you are supposed to watch that
13 sometimes helps to focus your attention as well okay human beings have a big
14 visual cortex and so if you're looking at something you are more likely to pay
15 attention to it okay very very smart adults who work with young children always
16 make them look at them when they try to send a message right so you actually need
17 to look here so sh sh sh sh sh sh so here is a question that was asked at the very end
18 that was just everything was correct about this question right okay so was what
19 what element if we had to name this element of the question [*underlines was*] what
20 is it?
21 [*For the next 28 turns, the teacher discusses the grammar of questions in a back-*
22 *and-forth dialogue with s few students.]*
23 T: i heard a few things where people were saying something uhm goofy and and i
24 don't remember the exact words now i i didn't i didn't do the best job today with

25 remembering cause i was caught up in the moment of the press conference was
26 passiert mit sh sh sh sh right now i need two minutes to describe the homework and
27 then you will have one minute to look at your own questions and seeing if you have
28 the question word and the verb right next door okay if you have anything else in
29 here you have to fix it

(October 15, 2012)

1 my philosophy is uhm as a teacher that i wanna have an opportunity for you every
2 day to engage with the german language something you are expected to do like grab
3 a partner and exchange three words and then do lightning skits or uhm you know
4 here is some blanks and you need to fill them in exactly correctly right here is some
5 news of the world and uh we're just gonna try to figure out as much as we can using
6 the german that we have so every single day there is something and i really
7 appreciate having this group of fine young people who are willing to do this with
8 me like every day you have no idea what i have in store for you but you jump right
9 in you know and i think that's really wonderful now the other side of that is that
10 usually anything you do if you have done something anything it's like yay good for
11 you i mean think of how far you've come from when you started okay but there's a
12 couple of things that need to need to change a little bit i really my hope for you in
13 my heart is that you are willing to use german and we will have more time where
14 we can say englisch ist verboten and and i don't know sometimes i go through these
15 crises and i think oh my gosh have i done things right you know like i walk past
16 other classes and there's de absolutely quiet and and trust me that's not what i'm
17 after cause that just creeps me out a little bit everyone sitting there absolutely still
18 especially in first period how do i know they're even awake? okay? so i like having
19 sh sh sh a little bit of activity plus you know it's first hour let's face it that'll keep
20 you active at least just a little bit uhm the the other thing the the other thing i'm just
21 gonna say this out loud these are two of my goals for you as students uhm we're
22 sort of approaching we're coming toward the middle of the school year and uhm
23 what i would hope to accomplish toward the end is actually using more actual
24 german in the classroom where you're able to like even if you're turning to say
25 something to someone like there's something like you need to borrow a marker you
26 can say that in german you can do that you can do a lot more than you think you can
27 and because i'm always asking you to do something new maybe it feels like gosh
28 every time she asks me to do something i don't know how to say it and then you're
29 uh and you're always i always often said and some of you have known me for a
30 long time that learning language is like walking on the side of a cliff if you've ever
31 gone hiking some place high you know you feel fine you know you're on solid
32 ground but you know just a little bit that way there's a big cliff and it could be
33 dangerous and if you're just watching each step and you're just you know making
34 sure that you're good then you'll be alright but but when your mind wraps around
35 that idea that oh my gosh i'm gonna fall off and then it's pretty scary uhm but i feel
36 like always when i'm asking you to do new stuff it's always it's like you're always
37 walking on the side of a cliff and maybe you just never feel confident enough but
38 after a while if you look back how far you've come it really [*unintel.*] so uhm so the

39 goal that i have going forward are this uhm using more german in the classroom just
40 knowing that you can do it i need you to have the confidence that you know you
41 could walk around on a campus and not use much english and uhm the other thing
42 is we really start i really wanna to master some of the basics of grammar i want you
43 to move forward and the issue with while we're practicing grammar is you not
44 always you don't always need to have everything perfect but but there's certain
45 things you should know okay so we practice them and then we do other stuff for a
46 while and we practice them again and then we do other stuff and we practice them
47 again and over time it doesn't take as much effort and your writing becomes more
48 natural for you and more [*unintel.*] so uhm anyway why i am talking about all of
49 this today is because i wanna hear your stories today i wanna hear just a couple and
50 as i said normally everything i do is like yay you did it you did that whole thing in
51 german wooo there are mistakes and everything and that's okay that's what i want
52 for you but we're kind of kind of ready with german to three to turn the corners and
53 i think you're ready for it too i today want to hear a couple of stories and i want you
54 to be open to this idea that if you have certain mistakes in your story i'm gonna
55 correct you okay right so you're gonna hear from me oh stop and you'll have a
56 chance to fix it and if you need to you know like phone a friend or something aahhh
57 phone a friend somebody in class can help you fix that good uh uh i have to say that
58 this is like a philosophical challenge for me because we always have people
59 standing out here and presenting some stuff and i almost never correct your
60 mistakes so uhm i try to do that in a more [*unintel.*] area but but why not you've had
61 the chance right we went through the whole grammar right grammatik mit der maus
62 we did that on thursday practicing specific structures that you use in a story and you
63 had a chance to work on it you had a model that was correct and a chance to put
64 your own twist on that model so uh for all intents and purposes you had everything
65 you needed to to really be successful and to really do this assignment with a great
66 deal of precision sort of there's two sides of the coin one is just try a lot of stuff and
67 like i said you're the right people to try out everything whatever i come up with
68 whatever i invented for today you're like okay frau zeller i really like that about you
69 and so the other side of the coin is to try and get uhm focus on some details about
70 you've had a lot of experience so try to focus on that so i'm gonna stop talking and
71 let you talk to your partner one more time read your story through i suggest this i
72 suggest looking at the model that you copied down from thursday's lesson right and
73 if you're wondering whether one of your sentences is correct then look back at the
74 model to see hm does mine look a lot like that one and i know you know how to do
75 this you do this in other areas of life in sports for sure where you watch a good
76 player and you try and do what that player does all the time you can right uhm or or
77 i have a son in sixth grade and he is always like even as a three year old tries to take
78 a crayon like he never ever wanted to use a crayon an he is gonna and he he is
79 gonna do his drawings but he doesn't enjoy it but what he does is he looks at
80 something and he tries to do what another artist did and he'll say i did this and it
81 looks like a tree and his arts teacher is like and he is trying at least to look at
82 something that he knows is right and his tree doesn't look much like the one the arts
83 teacher made but at least he is using some of the concepts the arts teacher wanted
84 him to he is trying so that's what i'm saying you should be trying to do so for today

85 i wanna hear three volunteers and you don't have to volunteer just because you
86 think you're perfect you can volunteer just because you are willing to jump in so so
87 i'll give you two more minutes and then we'll hear some stories and then we'll
88 move on for today

(December 3, 2012)

Frau Zeller introduces the activity with the words "So jetzt sehen wir ein paar Fotos und ihr werdet so viele Fragen stellen wie möglich okay?" and goes on to repeat "so viele Fragen wie möglich". After this, the students have ten minutes to write down questions. After about one minute she mentions during a check-in with a group "Da kannst du ganz viele Fragen schreiben" and tells the whole group a few seconds later "Let's move through this quickly". Hardly a minute passes without the teacher saying "Let's go!" and "so viele wie möglich" or asking students "Wie viele hast du schon geschrieben?". After about eight minutes, towards the end of the activity, she tries to speed up the general work pace by saying "Sh sh sh viele Fragen schreiben, viele Fragen" before she ends the activity with "Okay stop".

(Fieldnotes, October 15, 2012)

Peer discourses

1 T: jetzt sollt ihr in der gruppe den text lesen und die antworten vergleichen jetzt in
2 der gruppe zuerst lesen vorlesen und dann antworten vergleichen
3 Jana: mkay so first one i got e
4 S1: yeah
5 J: first this and second one i got c
6 S1: that's what i got
7 S2: yeah
8 S1: {i got b
9 J: what you got? second one?}
10 S1: b yeah
11 J: i got c cause i thought that the third one would be b cause it makes she can't use
12 she isn't allowed to use her dad's car
13 S1: yeah that's right
14 J: and uhm fourth one i got i uhm and fifth one i got d yeah
15 S1: then?
16 J: h yeah then f and j for the last one okay so i got for i got e c b i d h f j
17 S1: okay

(October 3, 2012)

1 S1: okay so what are we doing?
2 S2: we're writing a list a to-do list for a football coach

3 S3: soccer
4 S2: soccer coach
5 S1: get the balls [*laughs*]
6 S3: okay do you know how to say that?
7 S1 [*to S2*]: do you know how to say that? you're quite good at that german stuff
8 S2: whaaat? [*shakes head*]
9 K [*eagerly*]: yeah yeah you are
10 S1: okay come on what's balls [*laughs*] we know how to say balls
11 S3 [*starts to write*]: okay
12 S1: guys they have such an easy job like with everything [*keeps talking about guys*
13 *and balls*]
14 S2: okay uhm laufen? laufen is to run i think
15 S4: {i'll get a dictionary
16 S3: look up whistle} for me like with p with p
17 *{S1 talks with S4 about a phone she borrowed.*
18 S2: okay how do you say uhm blow the whistle}
19 S3 [*to K*]: hey do you wanna help too? [*hands dictionaries to K and S2*]
20 S4 [*looking into dictionary*]: so pfeife* [*pronounced fi:fə instead of pfaifə*]
21 S3: spell it please
22 S4: p-f-e-i-f-e [*pronounced English*]
23 K: [*looking into dictionary*] okay blow is sch- schlag [*noun*]
24 S3: schlag [*noun*]?
25 K: yeah schlag [*noun*]
26 S3: no schlag [*noun*] that's not a verb see noun [*points at page in dictionary*]
27 K: oh yeah makes sense
28 S3: blasen? [*pronounced bleisən*]
29 K: yeah blasen [*pronounced bleisən*]
30 S1: blasen blasen [*pronounced bleisən*] [*laughs, starts to talk about gum*]
31 K: we can do like instruct the players
32 S2: or like organize the team?
33 S3: yeah ein mannschaft ergänzen*
34 S4: doesn't ergänzen mean complete?
35 S2: laufen mit die mannschaft running with the team
36 [*The teacher ends the groups phase by clapping. During the share-out phase, she*
37 *asks the group to present their to-do lists so that the class can guess what job*
38 *description it fits.*]
39 S1: i'm gonna read the list [*reads*] findet viele fussball* laufen mit dem* mannschaft
40 ein pfeifen* [*pronounced fi:fən*] blasen [*pronounced bleisən*] ein* mannschaft
41 ergänzen* [*pronounced with ʌ instead of æ*]

(October 3, 2012)

1 S1 [*to K*]: was für musik hörst du?
2 K: [*unintel.*] uhm ich hab keine ahnung {nicht rap und ich habe ein bisschen
3 deutsch

4 S2 [*to J*]: was für sport treibst du?}
5 K: musik [*unintel.*] und ein klein klein klein klein bisschen rap
6 {[*All laugh.*]
7 K: klein klein klein} uhm und ich [*unintel.*]
8 J: ich mag kein* sport aber ich mag spazieren gehen uhm
9 S1 [*to J*]: was für pizza isst du gern?
10 J: uhm alle pizza
11 S1 [*to J*]: uhm was für musik {hörst du gern?
12 J: uhm klassich* rock}
13 K: was für ein uhm was für ein instru-instrument möchtest [*pronounced with* ʌ*] du
14 spielen?
15 S3: saxophon
16 K: okay
17 J [*to S4*]: hello uhm uhm uhm was was was für ein* film magst du sehen?
18 S4: uhm [*unintel.*] was für ein buch magst du lesen?
19 J: uhm ich mag realistic fiction und uhm [*unintel.*]

(October 8, 2012)

1 S1[*reads*]: interest* du dich für musik?
2 S2: ja interes interesi interest* du dich für musik?
3 S1[*reads*]: ja spielst du ein instrument?
4 S2: ja
5 S1[*reads*]: welche art von musik hörst du gerne?
6 S2: uhm alles? alle?
7 S1: uhm alles uhm [*reads*] wann hörst du musik?
8 S2: jeden tag
9 S1: ich auch uhm [*reads*] wie hörst du musik?
10 S2: uhm wie is how?
11 S1: yeah
12 S2: ipod
13 S1[*reads*]: gehs du gehst du zu konzerten?
14 S2: nein
15 S1: ich auch nicht [*reads*] hast du eine lieblingsgruppe?
16 S2: ich habe eine* lieblingssinger* so uhm you know bruno mars? hast du eine
17 lieblingsgruppe?
18 S1: ja aber sie sind nicht in der [*unintel.*] uh beast oder b zwei s – t [*te:*] s – t [*ti:*]
19 that's what they're called
20 S2 [*reads*]: sind die texte der lieder wichtig für dich?
21 S1: uhm
22 S2: uhm hm not sure i like the words of the songs
23 S1: uhm ein bisschen?
24 S2: uhm ja
25 S1: uhm anyway sind die texte der lieder wichtig für dich you said ein bisschen
26 uhm [*reads*] hörst du dieselbe musik wie deine eltern?

27 S2: nein
28 S1: uhm [*reads*] hast du schon einmal davon geträumt in einer band zu spielen?
29 S2: nein
30 S1: nein? [*laughs*] uhm something okay then what? [7 sec] i guess uhm should i write
31 ja? uhm [*reads*] nenne drei dinge die du am leben eines popstars toll findest uhm
32 [*T ends the activity.*]

(October 8, 2012)

1 T: wir wollen jetzt ganz viel wissen was hier los ist mit dieser baustelle ja kommst du?
2 C: ja [*walks to front*]
3 T: ja wir wohnen hier in der stadt und es gibt eine baustelle und das sieht ganz gefährlich
4 aus die straßenbahn fährt und die autos fahren und wie und wo und wohin und so und ihr
5 stellt jetzt ganz viele fragen und der verkehrsminister das ist der {expert
6 S1 [*yells*]: christopher, christopher, christopher,} christopher, christopher wo ist das?
7 C: uhm mm wait a sec let me get my [*runs to his desk*]
8 S1: it's a press conference people come one we're supposed to yell
9 C: to get my attention [*runs back to front*]
10 S1: yeah you wanna yell every time i watch the presidential stuff and they're trying to ask
11 questions {sir sir sir sir
12 T: jeder jeder möchte} die fragen stellen ja
13 C: das ist die stadt ja
14 T: und noch eine {frage?
15 S1: mister president} mister president
16 S2: welche stadt?
17 C: uh berlin
18 [*laughter*]
19 C: ja
20 S3: warum das auto nicht fahren?*
21 C: es tot ist*
22 S3: oje
23 S4 [*quietly*]: es ist kaputt
24 T [*laughs*]: das auto ist tot
25 S5 [*quietly*]: bought in russia
26 S4 [*quietly*]: what is this smell?
27 S6: wer in das auto sei wer in das auto sein?*
28 C: uuhmm deutschlands president
29 {S1 [*quietly*]: sarkozy no that's [*unintel.*]
30 T: oh yeah that's actually} we didn't even learn the word for that yet
31 S6 [*whispers*]: just asking questions?
32 S7 [*whispers*]: yeah
33 S8: wie spät bist du?
34 [*T laughs.*]
35 C: uhm
36 S5: no the car
37 C: oh

38 T: oh meinst du das auto oder die straßenbahn?
39 S6: das auto
40 C [*quietly*]: did she ask me how late i was?
41 S5: yeah
42 C: uh fünfzehn [*pronounced with u*] minuten
43 T: oje
44 S1: oh schade
45 C: das ist pech
46 T: das ist pech ja
47 S8: uh wie schnell sind die train fahren?*
48 C: uh einhundert kilometer pro stunde
49 [*laughter*]
50 S7: die straßenbahn ist schnell
51 S9: wohin ist die straßenbahn gehen?*
52 C: uhm sein elternhause*
53 [*laughter*]
54 S9: alright
55 S10: uh was für auto ist das?*
56 T: aha
57 C: uh mazda uh
58 S1: just call it a prius
59 C: {uh five
60 S1: just call} it a prius
61 C [*laughs*]: just call it a prius es ist zu groß für ein prius
62 T: noch zwei fragen
63 S11: wohin geht das auto?
64 C: nowhere right here [*points at curb*] hast du {noch eine frage?
65 T: noch eine frage} noch eine frage
66 S1: mister president mister president
67 C: ja
68 S1: hi
69 T: das ist aber nicht der präsident das ist der vekehrsminister
70 S1 [*yells*]: verkehrsminister!
71 T: ja genau
72 C [*rolls eyes*]: ja hi
73 S1: what's verkehrsminister?
74 S12: wie viel jahre alt ist das auto?
75 C: uh zwanzig oder einundzwanzig
76 S13 [*quietly*]: how do you say what happened to the car?
77 S14 [*quietly*]: was passiert
78 S13: uh okay was passiert mit das auto?*
79 C: uh uh die [*circular motion*]
80 T: räder?
81 C: die räder sind [*explosive sound*]
82 [*laughter*]
83 T: und die letzte frage herr minister

84 C: ja?
85 S14: no i'm taking mine back
86 C: {ja?
87 T: vergiss es} du sagst vergiss es S14 S14 [student's name] vergiss es
88 S14: vergiss es
89 T: ja
90 S15: wie alt ist die straße?
91 C: wie alt? uh [*quietly*] based on the construction say [*to class*] zehn jahre alt
92 T: danke danke herr minister
93 [*applause*]

(October 15, 2012)

1 T: so uh bist du der verkehrsminister oder bist du der erfinder?
2 M: i wanna be the erfinder
3 T: erfinder das ist der erfinder so ihr stellt fragen unsere pressekonferenz beginnt
4 M: yes
5 S1: wie heißt du?
6 M: ich bin jürgen van strangle und ich komme aus switzerland
7 T: aus woher kommen sie?
8 M: switzerland
9 T: {aus der?
10 S2: schweiz}
11 M: schweiz
12 T: aus der schweiz
13 M: schweiz oh schade
14 S3: ist das ein rennwagen?
15 M: yes ja ja mhm
16 T: ein rennwagen ist das mhm
17 S4: warum steht das fahrrad nicht in die straße?
18 [*T and M laugh*.]
19 T: das ist ein bisschen frech {von dir
20 M: noch einmal} bitte
21 S4: warum steht das fahrrad nicht in die straße?
22 M: nein
23 T: nein [*laughs*]
24 [*M laughs*]
25 T: klasse ist das ein fahrrad?
26 M: ja
27 T: ein fahrrad?
28 M: ja like es ist eine*
29 [*noise and laughter*]
30 M: ja das ist wa- das ist*
31 T: okay naja nächste frage
32 S5: ist das eine* auto oder ein fahrrad?

33 M [*loudly*]: eine* fahrrad!
34 T: ein fahrradauto
35 M: ich bin ein fahrradauto ja [*makes driving and pedalling moves*] deine flintstone auto
36 mit einem ja?
37 [*laughter*]
38 T: oh hey klasse ist das das auto von fred feuerstein?
39 M: ja
40 S6: vielleicht
41 S5: nein
42 M: das ist eine neue fred
43 T: feuerstein ok nächste frage
44 M: yes S7 [*student's name*]
45 S7: was steht auf die* poster?
46 M: was? [*looks at picture*] ah gute frage [*points at poster*] das ist meine kersminister*
47 von die* schweiz da ja und das ist [*laughs*] das ist eine poster von das [*points at car*] ja
48 das ist how do you say miles and hour again?
49 T: uhm
50 S8: k h m* [*pronounced kei hei em*]
51 T: km/h [*pronounced kei em ha:*]
52 M: km/h? [*pronounced kei em ha:*]
53 T: km/h [*pronounced ka: em ha:*]
54 M: huh? km/h [*pronounced ka: em ha:*][*roles his eyes*] das auto kann zum* zwanzig
55 km/h fährt
56 T: fahren
57 M: fahren fahren okay
58 T: okay nicht schlecht
59 S8: hat es eine* radio?
60 M: nein
61 T: was was war die frage?
62 S9: was ist das?
63 T: was war seine frage?
64 M: hast* es eine {radio
65 T: noch einmal bitte}
66 S8: hat es eine* radio?
67 M: nein
68 T: oh schade ich höre so gerne radio beim autofahren
69 [*some students talking*]
70 T: habt ihr eine frage?
71 S9: nein
72 T: ihr habt viel zu sagen aber keine frage?
73 M: [*unintel.*]
74 S10: was ist das?
75 M: das ist eine* fahrradauto
76 S11: wie viele* geld kosten* das fahrradauto?
77 M: oh a million dollars no uh das ist ja uh das ist* fünf fünf
78 T: fünf?

79 S11: euro? [*pronounced ju:ro*]
80 M: fünf euro [*pronounced ju:ro*]
81 T: fünf euro?
82 {[*laughter and chatting]*
83 T: das ist aber ein günstiges angebot}
84 S12: wer hat es gemacht?
85 M: paris
86 S12: wer hat es gemacht?
87 M: auf die schweiz gemacht auf die schweiz auf neuschwanstein gemacht das gemachte*
88 das
89 S13: wohin geht* das?
90 M: uhm in deinem* garage
91 [*laughter*]
92 T: aha für für {fünf euro
93 M: für fünf euro} in deinem* garage
94 S13: uhm wo ist das?
95 M: uhm heh heh was heißt das?
96 T: wo ist das das ist vielleicht ich denke mir das ist eine messe die leute die kommen hier
97 ist ein neues fahrradauto und die leute kommen und sie wollen wissen ja? was das ist
98 woher das kommt wieviel kostet das ja wie funktioniert das und das hat man eine messe
99 M: und für deine turbo hast das eine* cells hydrogen cells
100 T: aha wasserstoffzellen zellen?
101 M: ja für den turbo ja nicht nicht pedal [*pedalling motion*] beep pshhht
102 T: aha da muss man nicht treten
103 S14: wie viele kilos wiegt das?
104 M: oh boy [*laughs*] uh keine ahnung
105 T: keine ahnung
106 M: untested
107 T: und vielleicht noch eine frage
108 M: eine frage ja
109 S15: hast* es power steering?
110 M: ja ja
111 T: hat hat es?
112 M: da das hast* power steering
113 T okay ja danke bitte bedanken wir uns bei dem verkehrsminister
114 {[*applause*]
115 M [*yells*]: fünf euro für in deinem garage!*}

(October 17, 2012)

1 T: wer bist du?
2 M: i'm the mum
3 T: die mutter? okay und {du bist der vater?
4 M: die mutter von [*pronounced vʌn*] who?}
5 T: okay so
6 M: who whose mutter am i?

7 S1: stefan
8 M: am i am i stefan's mother?
9 C: {stefan
10 T: stefan's mother}
11 To: uhm ja
12 M: oh man i had that?
13 {[*laughter*]
14 L: oh my god}
15 T: miles du kannst ok so {sh sh sh sh
16 M: i had this?}
17 T: maria und stefan wollten zum homecoming ball gehen
18 L: wait am i i think i'm supposed to be there [*runs to the other side of the room*]
19 T: was sagst du? was sagst du zu ihm? hey maria was sagst du? [*whispers*] hey psst
20 [To *points at text on board.*]
21 L [*reads*]: du sollen
22 T [loudly]: nein nein stopp so
23 [*laughter*]
24 T: hey so ihr sagt was das steht nicht hier im text
25 L: {oh ok
26 T: und was sagt} ihr {ihr wollt jetzt zum homecoming ball gehen
27 L: ich liebe dich} [*takes To's arm*]
28 C: ich liebe dich
29 [*laughter and cheering*]
30 C: ich liebe dich [*laughs*]
31 M: ich liebe shame on my boy
32 [*laughter*]
33 T: schön er liebt sie und? hey aber sie konnten nicht hinfahren weil maria ihr vaters
34 auto nicht haben dürfte* so maria du musst dein* vater fragen
35 L: du musst dein* vater fragen
36 T: liam frag dein* vater ob du das auto haben kannst
37 [*C points at himself repeatedly, indicating that L needs to talk to him.*]
38 L: hey dad deine auto haben*?
39 T [*shouts loudly*]: nein! was sagt man?
40 [*laughter*]
41 T: [*sings liam's name*] li-am du musst dein* vater fragen ob du das auto fahren
42 kannst du fragst
43 L: du fragst
44 T: kann ich?
45 L: kann ich
46 T: auto fahren?
47 C: uhm uhm [*whispering with liam*]
48 S2 [*whispers*]: nein
49 T: und was sagst du vater das steht nicht hier
50 M: he just said it
51 C: uhm uhm ja aber
52 L: yes [*makes fist*]

53 T [*to C*]: du sagst nein
54 C: oh nein
55 L: oh
56 [*laughter*]
57 T: warum warum?
58 L: warum warum?
59 M: shouldn't he ask his his wife now?
60 *[unintelligible comment from the audience]*
61 M [*yells*]: no!
62 C: du bist ein irresponsible fahrer und ja
63 [*laughter*]
64 T: klasse sagt es mir nach unverantwortlich
65 Class: unverantwortlich
66 T: verantwortlich?
67 Class: verantwortlich
68 T: unverantwortlich
69 Class: unverantwortlich
70 T: er ist unverantwortlich er darf das auto nicht fahren oje okay jetzt gehst du wieder
71 zu
72 stefan und du sagst
73 [*L approaches To and hugs him.*]
74 T: maria du denkst stefan der soll seinen seine mutter fragen
75 L [*to To*]: oh i wish du sollst deine mutter fragen
76 [*laughter*]
77 T: wir haben nicht gehört wir haben nicht gehört
78 To [*puts his hand on his chest*]*:* ich will take one for the team
79 [*laughter and talking*]
80 To: hallo mutter
81 M: hallo no wait [*high-pitched voice*]: hallo
82 [*laughter*]
83 To: darf ich darf ich deine car
84 M: nein
85 T [*loudly*]: wie heißt das? wie heißt das?
86 [*laughter*]
87 To: uhm auto dein auto uhm
88 T: darf ich
89 To: darf ich dein auto uhm [*looks at board*]
90 T: yeah you don't have to see it you have to make up something
91 To: deine auto fahren*
92 M: nein
93 To: warum say yes
94 L: say yes i wanna go
95 M: okay
96 T: okay aber
97 To: yeah [*makes fist*]
98 M: oh there is an aber in there

99 T: ja siehst du das steht hier aber sie dürfen nicht schnell fahren und sie müssen ganz
100 früh zuhause sein so das musst du irgendwie ausdrücken
101 To: oh schade
102 C: say that [*points at text*]
103 M [*puts hands on To's shoulder*]: ja stefan aber du nicht zu zwanzig* what? [*trying*
104 *to read from the board*]
105 T: nicht schneller
106 M: nicht schneller zum zwanzig*
107 T: zwanzig
108 M: nicht schneller zum zwanzig*
109 T: km/h
110 M: km/h fahren
111 C: get her my boy
112 L: yeah
113 T: so stefan sagte {stefan
114 L: yes?} [*making car sounds*] meeoouu
115 T: stefan sagte aber wir dürfen das steht hier im text aber wir dürfen
116 C: aber wir dürfen uhm
117 M: am i a single mother?
118 T: okay jetzt sagst du das
119 C: you have to read it
120 To: alright [*reading from board*] das ist ein deal
121 T: aber wir dürfen?
122 To: [*reading from board*] aber ich wir könnte nicht als zwanzig km [*laughs*] zwanzig
123 km/h fahren*
124 T: und?
125 L: und wir müssen zwanzig zwanzig dreißig uhr* nach* hause sein
126 T: das war nicht ideal aber {aber sie gingen trotzdem zum ball
127 M: you're driving on the wrong side}
128 L: {we're in germany
129 [*laughter*]
130 T [*loudly*]: sie gingen trotzdem zum ball} maria und stefan hatten viel spaß auf dem
131 ball
132 C: in germany
133 [*laughter*]
134 T [*loudly*]: shhh sie wollten die ganze nacht tanzen aber sie dürften nicht sie sie
135 [*noise*, *laughter*]
136 T [more loudly]: shhht die geschichte geht jetzt weiter sie wollten die ganze nacht
137 tanzen aber sie konnten nicht sie mussten das auto zurückbringen
138 [*L and T make dancing moves.*]
139 To: oh schade wir müssen zuhause* gehen
140 L: boom boom boom
141 [*To makes high-pitched car sounds.*]
142 C: [*unintel.*]
143 [*laughter*]
144 M: no

145 T: dann sagten stefan und maria nächstes jahr sollen wir?
146 [*C and To hug.*]
147 C: sollen wir in ein taxi auf gehen*
148 [*laughter*]
149 T: ein taxi fahren oder
150 To, C [*reading*]: sollen wir ein taxi anrufen
151 T: ja danke drei applause* bitte
152 [*clapping and high-fives*]
153 T: so das ist die geschichte von stefan und maria
(October 3, 2012)

Focal students' discourses

1 K: das auto
2 J: okay
3 K: das auto uhm how do you say [*unintel.*]
4 J: the train
5 K: uhm
6 [*Teacher speaks loudly.*]
7 K: schneller als die
8 J: die train i don't know how to say train
9 K: kannst das auto schneller
10 J: als
11 K: als die train [*both laugh loudly*]
12 J: fahren
13 K: fahren
14 J: uhm
15 K: uhm warum warum ist
16 J: die auto das auto nicht fahren
17 K: yeah die auto
18 J: das auto
19 K: uhm we can say wie viele minute hast die auto
20 J: yeah
21 J: das auto uhm warum uhm we have already
22 K: wo
23 J: wo ist das
24 K: was wo ist das
25 J: or wo hast das passiert
26 K: uh-huh
27 K: uhm wohin gehst die auto oh nein! [*hectically erases some words in her*
28 *notebook*]
29 J: what? what is the where is the car? das auto
30 K: i know i didn't hear you
31 J: mhm
32 K: i think it's gehst, gehst

33 J: geht?
34 K: uhm i don’t like this [*takes camera and starts to film*] i’m not filming you don’t
35 worry warum hat das auto nicht warten? nicht warten?
36 J: yeah like wait till the why didn’t it wait till the train went by
37 K: ok [*unintel.*] everything wait we have that one already don't we kann das auto
38 fahren oh uhm was ist der sign saying sign?
39 J: like what does the sign say? was ist das
40 K: yeah what is the sign for
41 J: was was you can say was bedeutet
42 K: bedeutet das
43 J: how do you say sign
44 K: das sign i feel like we should have learned that das sign
45 J [*looks it up in dictionary*]: schild oh
46 K: oh wow see this happens to me a lot
47 J: das schild
48 K: ja it’s das schild i knew it i knew it
49 J: i think we’re running out of questions
50 K: there’s only so much you can ask i want to film i’m just gonna film where frau b
51 goes
52 J: we have like seven so
53 *T [approaches their desk]*: ihr habt schon viele fragen
54 J: oh wie sagt man train auf deutsch
55 T: zug
56 K: oh wow
57 T: aber das ist die straßenbahn
58 J: oh ok
59 K: wow i feel stupid alright then straßenbahn it sounds cooler to me
60 T: [*to the whole class*] okay stop

(October 15, 2012)

1 [*J joins K at her desk.*]
2 K: hulloh
3 J: hi okay did you hear the examples or no?
4 K: no i wasn’t paying {attention
5 J: i couldn’t hear them} i heard something about schwester and something about
6 {schokolade
7 K: so} me too i don i don’t know i was i was i kinda zoned out [*unintel.*] on the
8 board
9 J: that’s what i heard
10 K: let’s see here z wait do we just think of verbs?
11 J: huh?
12 K: what are we doing?
13 J: oh z as in z i thought you meant z as in uhm see [*unintel.*] alright
14 [*sighs*][*yawns*]

15 K: s sport spielen
16 J: uhm uh g
17 K: a b c d e f g h [*turning pages in dictionary*] uhm g
18 J: gangster gehen wait that doesn't make sense
19 K: v uhm viel viel schlafen oh i get it i thought you had to do
20 J: i don't know i couldn't hear anything
21 K: so okay
22 J: i'm just assuming we're doing it right i wanna do i'm gonna look for okay gallery
23 gehen oh and then each one has to have a different verb
24 K: uhm zeit {haben uhm
25 J: we could do zu something} gehen
26 K: but don't they all have to be oh forget it zu {zuuuu
27 J: don't they all have to} what?
28 K: to be different verbs?
29 J: oh okay then
30 K: zuuu
31 J: zusammenfassung machen
32 K: okay uhm trinken uhm
33 J: nah
34 K: t-shirt tragen
35 J: mkay
36 K: it means to wear {something
37 J: i know}
38 K: rrr
39 J: rrretten what's e ein buch stellen*
40 K: uhm dinosaur findent*
41 J: dinosaur?
42 K: finden oh but she wants to have phrases
43 J: ours are phrases
44 K: okay uhm uuuhh bahn fahr dri fahren i mean
45 J: how do you spell that?
46 K: isn't u-bahn the train that
47 J: yeah but how is it spelled
48 K: uh like that
49 J: oh whatever
50 K oh yeah whatever u-bahn fahren uhm hmmm mhm
51 J: b ein* brief schreiben
52 K: i will find an awesome i like
53 J: w wasser trinken
54 K: oh oh we can do for i in das* in der schule i mean in
55 J: we already used gehen
56 K: ok let me think in buckery [*means bäckerei?*] essen
57 J: okay wait what is konditorei again wasn't that
58 K: i oh okay that yeah that was the cake shop okay eim ein schönes auto winnen
59 gewinnen
60 J: auto

61 K: winnen? gewinnen
62 J: gewinnen?
63 K: yeah
64 J: but isn't that past tense?
65 K: no infinitive no winnen
66 J: okay i guess
67 Sub [*stops at their desk and points at camera*]: what on earth is this?
68 J: camera
69 Sub: what do you use it for?
70 J: uhm videotape german work
71 Sub: oooh [*talks about her tutoring work*]
72 J: okay uhm c countrymusic singen
73 K: what?
74 J: you listening? name a food that starts with an n
75 K: nnnnnn nuts
76 J: in german?
77 K: oh nnnn nanananananooo i'll go here a little
78 J: oh h there's and h we can do hände waschen
79 S1: [*in the background*]: yeah can you imagine all the gay marriages that are
80 going on right now?
81 S2 [*yells*]: S1!
82 J: oh they're talking about gay marriage
83 K: a disgrace to our country {that's all i can say.
84 J [*reading her notes*]: oh it is gewinnen }
85 K: uh-huh
86 J: well how was i supposed to know
87 K: rad faaa wait nevermind nevermind nevermind uhm i can't think of any ns
88 words
89 J: name a uhm
90 K: uuuhhh how about n
91 J: {nicht
92 K: nocht*
93 J: noch what?
94 K: mal* noch mal wait noch mal
95 J: how about nicht verstehen
96 K: okay verstehen hmmm
97 J: name a class that starts with an n or an r
98 K: rrr radiergummi radiergummi leichen* to loan the radiergummi
99 J: to what?
100 K: to loan it it's number 17
101 J: i see it
102 K: oh one more nocht ma sagen
103 J: noch mal sagen yeeeah took long but we got there

(November 7, 2012)

1 T: [*after giving instructions in English*]: und naja wir arbeiten vielleicht 10
2 minuten lang sobald pass auf sobald ihr ein dialog habt kommt ihr zu mir und ihr
3 spielt das vor ja? das heißt ich bleibe hier und ihr kommt ihr spielt das vor und
4 dann sage ich ja toll oder nein nochmals probieren ja? okay? so wenn ihr
5 verstanden habt könnt ihr so machen [*nods*] ja ich verstehe das ist klar {was wir
6 machen und wenn du das nicht verstehst
7 K: ja ich verstehe das ist klar}
8 T: mach so [*shakes head*] so dann ungefähr 10 minuten lang los geht's
9 K: los geht's.
10 [*Groups forming, J joins K at her desk.*]
11 J: did you get them right?
12 K: i had like a different definition for this one
13 J: oh einverstanden
14 K: i added a different definition so
15 J: my definition made sense but okay so i guess instead i would just have like
16 make this into a question uhm
17 [*Groups are still forming, there is loud background noise.*]
18 J: this one oh no wait let's use that one
19 K: i don't know some of that here
20 J: i'm gonna get a marker
21 K: do we have to memorize this?
22 J: no how many lines do each of them have to be?
23 K: i don't know
24 J: let's say three
25 [*Both start to write.*]
26 K [*negotiating the last line*]: uhm sounds good höre gut
27 J: das hört gut an sounds right to me
28 [*The finish the first dialogue after 1 min and 45 sec.*]
29 K: damn it [*takes new pen*] hmm is this glittery
30 J: yeah no it's a highlighter
31 K: uh
32 T: hey klasse shhhhh as soon as you are done with your dialogue and the
33 {blitzskizze
34 J: let's go}
35 T: the rest of you need to keep the volume low enough so that i can hear what you
36 are presenting to me
37 [*Jana and Karina are walking to the teacher.*]
38 K: okay
39 J: which one am i? should we just read the part we know?
40 K: kay
41 J: wir haben
42 K: wir haben ein* {dial-
43 J: dialog}
44 [*They perform is by reading from the same sheet. They are the first ones in class*
45 *to present.*]

46 T: ja das klingt gut das klingt gut wenn man die natur vergessen hat soll man
47 spazieren gehen
48 K and J: ja
49 [*They walk back to their desk.*]
50 J: okay i'll write
51 K: write it in a different color write it in pink
52 J: okay uhm jimmy uhm ich habe mit mein freund einverstehe einverstanden dass
53 du bist toll
54 K: doesn't make sense
55 J: ok you think of something about the last one
56 K: i had something when you came up with that jimmy example i forgot oh wait
57 J: das wetter sieht nicht so toll donnerwetter ich möchte uhm skien oh ich möchste
58 something you do outside schwimmen in das schwimmbad [*writing*]
59 K: ist nicht wunderbar
60 J: yeah
61 K: donnerwetter ich möchte
62 J: yeah okay
63 K: i mean pech donnerwetter ich möchte
64 J: spazierengehen
65 K: jaa du kannst spazierengehen tomorrow am morgen there
66 J: okay you can videotape frau zeller
67 K: hm
68 J: okay i'm not quite done okay come on come on come on let's go let's go
69 [*After about one minute they walk off to present, T listens marks it on her list.*
70 *They are the only ones in the class who have finished two dialogues.*]
71 J: uhm okay name think of a name
72 K: bob
73 [*about 90 seconds of silent writing*]
74 J: how do you say anger?
75 K: angst
76 [*After another 25 seconds of writing, they get up and present the last dialogue.*]
77 T: ich habe den letzten teil leider nicht verstanden [*looks at their sheet*]
78 J: oops ich forgot a t
79 T: donnerwetter okay
80 [*Jana and Karina go back to their places.*]
81 J: winners winners winning so you wanna do history?
82 K: uhm
83 J: i found the stuff about the fort [*takes out her history book*]
84 K: what page?

(November 6, 2012)

1 K: i don't feel like talking to like german people cause like it's like i feel like
2 they'll {judge us
3 J: they're gonna judge us}
4 K: judge our bad grammar our bad language

5 J: oh yeah i can hear people uh i feel like i can my classroom's overtaken
6 [*S1 joins J and K.*]
7 J and K [*chorally*]: hello was hast du am wochenende gemacht? [*giggling*]
8 S1: uhm ich machen viele hausaufgaben
9 J: uhhh
10 K: {good
11 J: like you} and S2
12 K: uh-huh hey S2 was has du am wochenende gemacht? ich haben hausaufgaben
13 gemacht
14 S2: uh yeah
15 S1: yeah
16 J: yeeeeah
17 [*S2, S1, K, and J are talking loudly in English about studying on weekends.*]
18 J: ich habe uhm trader joe's gehen
19 S3: oh
20 K: yeah my brother came home for the weekend from college and we went to
21 trader joe's, they have the best kettle corn i always get it there
22 S3: we get like [*unintel.*]
23 K: oh yeah and they have this really good ice cream like we got this pumpkin ice
24 cream [*A conversation about ice cream follows. Then the topic switches to the*
25 *characteristics of people from a nearby suburb. K does most of the talking. Her*
26 *voice sounds loud and excited*.]
27 S4 [*joins*]: was hast du am wochenende gemacht?
28 K: oh trader jo's gehen
29 S1: ooohhh
30 K: was hast du am wochenende gemacht?
31 S3: ich habe tanzen gemacht
32 K: {wow
33 J: oh das} ist ein starken
34 K: ein tanzen shoe! what tanzen did you do?
35 S3: uhm uhm [*unintel.*]
36 K: what?
37 S3: i wanna go talk to the germans wanna come with me?
38 K: yeah sure [*to J*]: wanna come talk to a german kid?
39 [*J nods.*]
40 K: haha we are awesome haha!
41 S3: i don't know who to talk to they
42 K: i feel like {i feel like
43 S3: they are all involved} in conversations so it would be rude to be like was hast
44 du am wochenende gemacht?
45 K: yeah yeah let's stalk a prey
46 S4 [*joins*]: was hast du am wochenende gemacht?
47 K: ich habe hausaufgaben gemacht oh yeah [*to german girl*] was hast du am
48 wochenende gemacht?
49 German girl: uhm ich hab meine fingernägel lackiert bekommen [*holds up her*
50 *hand*]

51 K: oh das ist toll!
52 [*K and german girl giggle.*]
53 Gg: i don't know ich war im museum valley fair
54 K: uhm yes
55 J: i've never gone there
56 K: yep that makes [sense
57 J: that makes] sense it does make sense
58 Gg *to S3*: was hast du am wochenende gemacht?
59 S3: ich habe tanzen gemacht
60 Gg: what kind of dance?
61 S3: tap jazz and latin
62 J: all at the same time
63 K: and tap?
64 S3: yes
65 K: basically
66 [*Gg moves on.*]
67 K: i feel like frau zeller didn't make this a very
68 J: no she didn't
69 K: i feel like it's just like a random conversation
70 S2 [*mocking tone*]: was hast du am wochenende gemacht? was hast du am
71 wochenende gemacht?
72 J: yeah

(October 29, 2012)

1 K: mhm pictures yeah yeah yeah [*high-pitched voice*] deedeedeedeedeedeedoodoo
2 [*high-pitched voice*] oh nein
3 J [*high-pitched voice*]: oh nein
4 K: [*deep voice*] hah-hah-hah-hah-haah [*high-pitched voice*] buks buh
5 K: mee[aoow
6 J: meeaoow]
7 K: heeheeheeheehee [*high-pitched voice*] oh nein oh nein wuff wuff [*barking*] ich
8 möchte {ich muss
9 J: ich habe} ich such ich komme
10 K: ich muss das ding doing
11 J: okay you trying to read the first
12 K: no i'm not reading
13 J: it's okay
14 K: [*high-pitched voice*] hallo schönes mädchen oh hee hee [hee
15 J: [*high-pitched voice*] ein] ball
16 K: [*high-pitched voice*] ein ball? kann ich auch?
17 J: [*deep voice*] nein
18 K: [*high-pitched voice*] ein {[*unintel.*]
19 J: are you sure?}
20 K: tweet tweet hah-hah-hah-hah-m
21 J: waschen

22 K: [*high-pitched voice*] heeheehee blahblahblahblahblablahblah hi
23 J: [*deep voice*] das
24 K: [*high-pitched voice*] kleid ooooooh [*deep voice*] heeheehee [*high-pitched voice*]
25 oooh aah das schön ist uhhmm uh tweet tweet tweet tweet tweet tweet heee haaah das
26 ist so schön lalalaa [*crying sound*] huhuhuuu [*whispers*] she's a ghost [*high-pitched*
27 *voice*] bibedibabediboo bibedibabediboo oh nein a ghost
28 J: click clack click clack [*unintel.*]
29 K: das [*unintel.*]
30 [*Substitute teacher introduces the next activity.*]

(November 7, 2012)

Appendix C: Interview questions

Jana and Karina

- Introduce yourself please: name, age, grade, German grade you would give yourself
- How do you usually introduce yourself?
- How are you special? How are you different/similar to other students?
- Tell me about how you use your languages. What do you do in which language?
- What's difficult about your languages? What's easy about your languages?
- Tell me about development from ELL to and Honors student of Language Arts.
- Tell me more about the development from mainly Latvian to mainly English speaker.
- How does it feel to speak German/English/Latvian?
- How does it feel to read and write in Latvian?
- When would you not speak Latvian/English?
- What languages do you hear on a regular school day? How do you feel about it?
- Can you describe the last time you used Latvian (at school)?
- What do you like about languages? What do you like about English/German/Lativan? What do you not like about them?

- When does speaking a language like Hmong or German not feel good. For example, when does it feel exhausting, frustrating, embarrassing, difficult, etc? Maybe you remember a situation when that happened.

- What languages would you speak if everyone could understand you all the time?

- How important is grammar to you?

- Which languages are "yours"? Who owns English/Latvian/German?

- Compare speaking Latvian to speaking German – which one is easier in terms speaking it in public?

- Keeping Latvian heritage alive – how is this easy/difficult? What helps, what hinders it?

- What are your views on having an accent?

- What is your advice for students who are in a similar situation as you?

  - About keeping languages separated or mixing them:

  - About speaking a foreign language in public:

  - About keeping your heritage alive:

  - About teachers and languages:

  - About grammar:

Peers

- Introduce yourself please: name, age, grade, German grade you would give yourself

- Why did you choose German? Would you choose it again?

- What would you change about your German classroom if you could? (Content? Language? Teacher? Peers? Time and space? Pedagogy? Materials? …)

- When is German (not) fun?

- What is "your" language? Who owns German/English?

- What are your opinions about the following statements:

- “Students and teachers should only speak German in the German classroom.”
-
- “Mixing languages means you don’t speak either one well.”
- “Playing with language means you don’t know the “real” words.”
- “Everyone should be allowed to speak any language they want at all times.”
- “School/life is easier/harder for those who speak more than one language.”

- What feelings/associations does German evoke for you? How about English? Other languages like Chinese, Hmong, Spanish, French, Latvian.

Frau Zeller

- Please introduce yourself.
- How did you learn German? How did you come to be a German teacher? How do you like it?
- What is the most difficult/easiest part about teaching German?
- Is there anything you would like to change about your German class?
- What languages do you hear on a typical day at school/in your classroom?
- Are there any language policies in your school or classroom?
- Can you describe a situation that made you happy while teaching?
- What is important to you as a teacher? How important is correctness?