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Becoming Language Professionals:
Identity Work and Pedagogical Decisions by Secondary School L2 Teachers of

Spanish and French

By

William Allen Heidenfeldt

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Romance Languages and Literatures

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Richard Kern, Chair

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Abstract

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Identity Work and Pedagogical Decisions by Secondary School L2 Teachers of
Spanish and French

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William Allen Heidenfeldt

Doctor of Philosophy in Romance Languages and Literatures

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Richard Kern, Chair

This dissertation examines the ways in which three focal high school teachers of second language (L2) French and Spanish in California construct and enact their professional identities as multilingual subjects with diverse linguistic repertoires. More broadly, this study captures how speakers of multiple languages learn to use and continue to use the languages in their lives, particularly in academic contexts. While the bulk of the scholarly literature on identity construction in classroom-based second language acquisition (SLA) has focused on the *learning* of foreign languages by *novice learners*, this dissertation focuses on the ongoing *use* of multiple languages by *expert instructors* of foreign languages, and emphasizes the impact of language teachers' linguistic histories, beliefs, and practices on their pedagogical decisions.

This research situates language teachers as users of language in particular contexts at the same time that it recognizes that all of them have their own unique linguistic and personal histories that impact their work and professional identities. By drawing from multiple disciplines, including sociolinguistics, psychology, and education, I examine how social and biographical factors influence language learning and teaching and also how language instructors participate in the construction of the social contexts of language acquisition. Specifically, I explore how L2 teachers of French and Spanish negotiate the impact of social structures on their language use and instruction, including their formal training, personal experiences in the target languages and cultures, and professional responsibilities in highly structured educational institutions. The exploration of language teachers' linguistic histories and professional beliefs provides a way to understand the complex interactions of language attitudes, instructional practices, and teacher reflections.

The study addresses the following research questions:

- (1) In what ways do teachers of Spanish and of French in California reflect on their identities as users and instructors of the language(s) they teach?

(2) How do the classroom lessons and behaviors of Spanish and French teachers compare to their own identities as multilingual subjects?

To investigate these questions, I designed four phases of data collection, conducted in 2013-2014: (1) an online survey which elicited responses from 92 California instructors of high school-level Spanish and/or French; (2) pre-observation interviews with three focal subjects (also respondents to the survey), documenting their personal and professional histories and their beliefs about language learning; (3) classroom observations and recordings of the three focal subjects; (4) post-observation interviews, comparing the classroom recordings with the subjects' reflections from the first interview, examining their pedagogical decisions and influences. In designing the online survey, I focused on three areas pertaining to L2 teacher education: teachers' own language learning histories; teachers' beliefs about language learning; and teachers' pedagogical practices in social and institutional contexts. Through subsequent ethnographic fieldwork and qualitative data analysis, I then studied how a sample group of three teachers (two of Spanish, one of French) constructed their own linguistic histories, discussed their beliefs about language learning and instruction, and enacted their pedagogical practices in their classrooms.

Through its online survey and case studies, this study focused exclusively on the voices and choices of teachers of L2 French and Spanish. In this way it contributes to the developing subfield of SLA that places second language teachers as subjects worthy of study. The analysis of the professional lives, personal histories, and linguistic repertoires of the survey respondents and focal teachers showed two key results:

1. Survey responses strongly showed the pleasure that L2 French and Spanish teachers took in their work, particularly in their interaction with students and their tracking of student growth.
2. These teachers' linguistic identification processes were dynamic and constructed over time, impacted by pivotal social and cultural experiences of the languages they teach.
3. A strong relationship was found to exist between the ways in which the teachers had learned to use the languages they taught and the pedagogical choices they made in their classrooms.
4. All of the focal teachers reported an experience of distinction connected to degrees of marginalization in the early years of using their native languages and then learning to use subsequent ones.
5. The focal subjects' use of the target languages formed linguistic communities in their classrooms that created groups of insiders and outsiders.

The dissertation concludes with several implications for theory and practice. Building on those, I propose that language teachers' support networks—academic, pre-service, and in-service—incorporate foreign language teachers' linguistic histories and beliefs about language learning into formal opportunities for professional reflection and dialogue.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Early Seeds

Teachers' lives have interested me for as long as I can remember. Several close family members are classroom teachers, and I always thought that I had privileged insight into teachers' professional lives through the personal reflections that these family members shared in front of me. Moreover, beginning in elementary school, I sought out my teachers' stories: I openly asked them about their families and personal histories. Where did these people who directed my daily intellectual activities come from? How did they come to be working with us in those particular places? What kept them in the classroom, doing what they were doing? I found that all of my teachers took my questions seriously, responding to my curiosity with narratives detailing their own learning and choices.

These narratives were as different from each other as the teachers themselves were, but they all shared a few elements. For example, through one teacher's stories, I learned that she taught in my Roman Catholic high school because she at first needed a teaching job where she did not have to have a California teaching credential. She stayed, however, because she had come to care deeply about the principles and people of that particular school. She eventually left the school because her salary and health benefits paled in comparison with what she could earn in public and non-religious private schools after having completed her credential and Masters. Within these tensions, she forged a path that was not entirely linear but that kept a love of students and subject content as its touchstones.

In designing and completing this dissertation, I realize how much of my own personal and professional narrative as a language teacher has informed this project. I, too, eventually became a classroom teacher, and the teaching credentialing process offered me many opportunities to think for the first time about the questions that drive this present study. One particular moment has nagged at me since that credentialing year, and it is the symbolic power of that experience that has provided the central motivation for this study. About halfway through the credential courses, my fellow teachers and I were assigned to different groups based on our subject content areas. For example, the teachers of mathematics were put into a best practices pedagogy and practicum course focused on mathematics learning, as were the teachers of history, laboratory science, English, and physical education into their own specific content areas. The foreign and second language (L2) teachers (including teachers of English as a Second Language) were not assigned their own content course focusing on L2 learning; rather, they were all placed in the English content course. That particular course focused on high school reading and composition skills as well as assessment with no focus on either L2 acquisition or L2 literacy. At that time, I wondered about the message that that placement sent to L2 teachers. What sense of value did it suggest to them about the work they did and its place in the overall school system? Since I was not part of that content area course, at that time I was not able to document responses to my questions and observations, which I made from afar. It was my observation of that administrative decision, and the potential in eventually doing this doctoral project, that has driven me all these years later to

investigate who L2 teachers are, what they know, how they teach, and the place of their instruction in their schools.

1.2 Why L2 Spanish and French in California?

In this study, I examine the relationships of L2 teachers of Spanish and French to those languages as users of those languages and the ways in which they present the languages and the cultures to students. Within K-12 foreign language education in the United States and in California, Spanish and French have historically been the most studied languages by students (Branaman and Rhodes, 1997, p. 4; CFLP, 2008). Spanish in particular occupies a complicated place since it is also the most commonly spoken first and heritage language for immigrant families in California. Moreover, in the field of Romance linguistics, Spanish has been described as a language with a polycentric standardization (Train, 2007), having “several interacting centers, each providing a national variety...with its own codified forms” (Mar-Molinero, 200, p. 206). I believe that these different varieties of Spanish have the potential to come in conflict in Spanish classrooms in California. In contrast, from an L2 instructional understanding, disparate varieties of global French remain lesser taught and, arguably, lesser valued in the classroom, compared to the arguably dominant metropolitan Parisian standard (Ager, 1999).

Unlike dominant contemporary discussions of Spanish as a pluricentric language, the historical nature of the relationship between Paris and the rest of France and the larger Francophone world continues to inform the idea of one standardized. This one variety of the language, itself linked to an imagined community of ideal native speakers, may in turn be reproduced in course curricula for L2 French learners. This study takes up the classroom implications of these different understandings of the perceived identities of the languages themselves and of their speakers and how those perceptions inform how L2 teachers present Spanish and French as languages taught in California schools.

L2 education itself is in flux as historically situated demographic and economic shifts have marked the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Within California, these shifts have introduced (or renewed) competing pressures on the status of foreign language study. As part of the humanistic tradition, K-12 schools have included foreign language study as a means “to gain access to another people’s culture” (Kramersch, 1993, p. 207)—typically presented as a symbolically powerful, standardized, unified culture. Although educators and school families have often perceived students’ successful study of a foreign language as a marker of academic prestige or part of an enrichment program for students, the linguistic diversity and socioeconomic differences of California’s K-12 student body may complicate this traditional picture. Specifically, learning Spanish in California is tied not just to learning about textbook-depictions of Spanish-speaking cultures but also to learning the language to interact with a vital immigrant population, whose movement in and around California has led to shifts in the state’s demographics. Learning French, on the other hand, is less linked to immediate social contexts and immigrant populations in California but to other historical contexts in which schools see French as a significant world language. By interacting with current Spanish and French teachers in their school settings, I hoped to record snapshots of locally situated practices by these instructors that

responded to shifting paradigms and power differentials in classroom-based L2 education.

The site of the study is California, with data representing both teachers statewide and three focal teachers in the San Francisco East Bay. The San Francisco East Bay region provides a linguistically and culturally rich context in which teachers of Spanish and French work and live. Approximately 28 percent of the region's population identify as immigrants (approximately 700,000 immigrants), of which 25 percent (approximately 175,000) have arrived from Mexico.¹ East Bay residents speak a variety of languages in a variety of contexts, of which English and Spanish are the most commonly and widely spoken. Spanish has a unique significance as both a commonly spoken immigrant language and as the most commonly studied world language in California high schools.² Although casual observers may highlight a seemingly apparent continuity in the everyday use and academic study of Spanish due to its common occurrence in the Bay Area, teachers, students, and other users of Spanish sense a tension in the recognized prestige and power of Spanish in both local and global contexts. One sees this tension most clearly when one compares the Spanish(es) that teachers present to students with the variations of Spanish that exist in surrounding communities.

California high school students select French as the second most studied world language, trailing Spanish by a significant margin. The French culture and language (traditionally, a monolithic Parisian version of it) have inhabited the American imagination since the American colonial and Revolutionary periods, at which time France became prominent on the global stage politically, economically, and culturally. This history has left traces on the study of world languages in the United States because, as in California, French remains the second most chosen option for high school world language study in the U.S.³ The Bay Area is also home to the largest population of French speakers in the western United States, but their immigration rates are much lower than their Spanish-speaking counterparts.

Unlike Spanish's prevalence in California schools, society, and neighborhoods, French remains primarily an academic language in California.⁴ Teachers of French who follow a state-approved curriculum often focus on a specific variety of the language: a Hexagonal, metropolitan French standard based on an upper middle-class Parisian

¹ These statistics come from the University of Southern California's Dornsife College of Letters and Sciences: http://csii.usc.edu/documents/EASTBAY_web.pdf

² 871, 517 California high school students study a world language, based on the 2007-2008 California Statewide Foreign Language Course Enrollments data (California Foreign Language Project). Of that total number, 76.6 percent (667, 463 students) study Spanish (as either a non-native language or as native language). 117, 467 California students (13.5 percent) study French, the next most commonly learned language.

³ While French remains, after Spanish, the most widely available and studied world language in California, analysts of class enrollments have noticed that students have been selecting Chinese, Japanese, and American sign language (ASL) at an increasing rate for the past three decades. Their current enrollments nearly match the enrollments for German, often the third most studied world language in California.

⁴ This is not to say that there are not possibilities for students of French to find French interlocutors in the San Francisco Bay Area: the San Francisco chapter of the Alliance Française identifies approximately 40,000 French citizens as residents of the region (http://www.afsf.com/links_useful.shtml). This number does not include speakers of French from other parts of the Francophone world.

variety.⁵ Unlike much high school-level Spanish curricula, which situate Spanish as a pluricentric language with geographically based, different standard varieties, the most common high school-level French curricula present the French language as a homogeneous entity, although with geographically diverse cultures represented in cultural notes and in textbook maps. Teachers of French thus encounter a unique tension different from their Spanish colleagues when their lessons do not include an awareness of linguistic varieties of French that exist geographically (and historically) closer to California, especially Canadian, New England, and Louisiana varieties.

1.3 A Historical Gap

This question of language use and identity is central in a language learning classroom. The bulk of the scholarly literature on identity construction in classroom second language acquisition has focused on the *learning* of foreign languages and the *learners* of foreign languages.⁶ The role of identity in second language acquisition and use has inspired a rich field of study in applied linguistics for the past two decades (Duff, 2007; Kramsch, 2009; Norton Peirce, 1995; Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000). These scholars in particular have situated the ongoing construction and negotiation of identity and subjectivities within a poststructuralist framework, rooted in the study of the multiple nature of the subject and of subjectivity as a site of struggle (Weedon, 1987). In examining the dynamic processes involved in subjects' daily lives, researchers in applied linguistics have been able to show the complexity of language use and speakers' abilities to manipulate linguistic systems (Kramsch, 2009; Kramsch and Whiteside, 2008, 2011; van Lier, 2004) in multilinguals whose social and/or professional interactions demonstrate the continual linguistic and cultural negotiations that they perform (Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000).

In this current research project I seek to expand upon this research by analyzing the ongoing use of multiple languages by teachers of non-English foreign languages, and studying the impact of L2 teachers' linguistic identities on their pedagogical decisions. The call for such research, rooted in an emic perspective, has grown as conceptualizations of American foreign language education and of instructor's roles and responsibilities have shifted in the past decade to include notions of neoliberal, economic value of L2 learning (esp. in Byrnes, 2009; Donato, 2009; Feryok, 2012; Heller, 2003; Johnson, 2006; Morgan, 2004).

What had once been seen as a mostly uninterrogated field, second language teacher education and professional learning has become topical in applied linguistics and education:

“within second language teacher education (SLTE), we know that teachers typically ground their understandings of teaching and learning as well as their notions about how to teach in their own instructional histories as

⁵ “Hexagonal French” and “the Hexagon” derives their geometrically based names from the physical shape of France, which is roughly defined by a combination of six borders or coasts.

⁶ Although work by Crookes (1997), Duff and Uchida (1997), Varghese et al. (2004; 2005), Johnson (2009), Feryok (2005; 2012), and Freeman (1996; 2002), focusing on language teacher identity, are notable exceptions to the majority of SLA research within the field of classroom learning.

learners... They thus enter the profession with **largely unarticulated, yet deeply ingrained, notions about what language is, how it is learned, and how it should be taught** (Freeman, 2002)” (Johnson and Golombek, 2011b, p. 1, emphasis mine)

It is exactly these “largely unarticulated, yet deeply ingrained notions,” which Kramersch (2009, 2012) and Kramersch and Ware (2010) begin to address, that I hope to probe through an online survey of teachers’ beliefs and attitudes about L2 learning. The larger study thus situates teachers of L2 French and Spanish in California as language users whose language attitudes and language use in different contexts informs the ongoing construction of their linguistic identities.

The exploration of the personal and professional identities of language teachers provides a way to observe “instantiations of discourses, systems of *power/knowledge* ... that regulate and ascribe social values to... forms of human activity” (Morgan, 2004, p. 173, original emphasis). The recording of the working lives and personal reflections of language teachers will have bearing on the practical work of educating and preparing future language teachers and begin to respond to the call for “a learning—and learner-centered—view of language pedagogy” (Ellis, 2008, p. xxiv). This lack in the literature of examining the lives and professional behaviors of Spanish and French L2 teachers inspired my desire to document and interrogate the relationships between Spanish and French L2 teacher activity and identity. This led me to formulate the following research questions:

1. In what ways do teachers of Spanish and of French in California reflect on their identities as users and instructors of the language(s) they teach?
2. How do the classroom lessons and behaviors of Spanish and French teachers compare to their own identities as multilingual subjects?

To investigate these questions, I designed a project including four types of data, collected in 2013-2014: (1) an online survey of California instructors of high school-level Spanish and/or French; (2) pre-observation interviews with focal subjects (also respondents to the survey), documenting their personal and professional histories and their beliefs about language learning; (3) classroom observations and recordings of the focal subjects; (4) post-observation interviews, comparing the classroom recordings with the subjects’ reflections from the first interview, examining their pedagogical decisions and influences.

In designing the online survey, I focused on three areas that are underrepresented in previous research on L2 teacher education: teachers’ own language learning histories; teachers’ beliefs about language learning; and teachers’ pedagogical practices in social and institutional contexts. Through ethnographic fieldwork and subsequent qualitative data analysis, I then explored how a focal group of three teachers (two of Spanish, one of French) constructed their own linguistic histories, discussed their beliefs about language learning and instruction, and enacted their pedagogical practices in their classrooms.

1.4 Classroom-based SLA as Key to Understanding

The field of sociolinguistic second language acquisition (SLA) within applied linguistics invites research that sheds light on how speakers of multiple languages learn to use and continue to use the languages in their lives. To respond to the complex questions in this branch of SLA research, I situate this study within a poststructuralist understanding of second language instruction at a nexus of several disciplines, namely linguistics, education, anthropology, sociology, and critical theory. I stake the current research project in the applied linguistics branch that focuses on classroom-based instructed SLA, heeding R. Ellis's (2008) claim that

...the study of SLA provides a body of knowledge that teachers can use to evaluate their own pedagogic practices. It affords a learning—and learner-centered—view of language pedagogy, enabling teachers to examine critically the principles upon which the selection and organization of teaching have been based and also the methodological procedures they have chosen to employ (Ellis, 2008, p. xxiv)

This applicability of SLA research to pedagogic reflection links directly to my research history in the L2 teaching of the Romance languages. By adopting poststructuralist theoretical frameworks emerging from critical theory, anthropology, and education, I have foregrounded the ongoing and non-linear construction of identities and subject positions of foreign language teachers of Spanish and French while documenting their impact on these teachers' pedagogical design and practices.⁷ In recording L2 teachers' narratives and pedagogic practices, I am able to examine critically the ways in which the teachers understand themselves, the languages they use, and their teaching behaviors.

1.5 Organization of the Dissertation

I have organized the dissertation around three principal case studies that focus on three key themes that emerged from the collected data. Those themes are the following: subjects' language learning histories, subjects' beliefs about language learning and instruction, and subjects' pedagogical practices in social and institutional contexts. In the second chapter, I review relevant literature and provide a theoretical overview, which together situate the study. In the third chapter, I present a detailed description of how the study was conducted. In the fourth chapter, the online survey and its results are presented and analyzed. The fifth chapter presents case studies of the three focal teachers that focus on the first research question, while the sixth chapter focuses on the second research question. In the final chapter, I summarize the findings of the study and discuss the impact of those findings in the fields of classroom-based second language learning,

⁷ A potential distinction may emerge in my data collection between teachers of Spanish-as-a-foreign language and teachers of Spanish-as-a-heritage language. Such a distinction will undoubtedly entail a different set of questions regarding teacher identity as well as that of learners and the positionalities of all classroom participants towards Spanish (both as linguistic system and as academic subject).

applied Romance linguistics, and teacher education. Additionally, I reflect on the limitations of the study and consider avenues for further research.

Chapter 2 Literature Review and Theoretical Overview

[T]o speak is to create oneself.
(Swain and Deters, 2007, p. 830)

2.1 Introduction

This study focuses on language instruction and use as well as identity construction by teachers of French and Spanish in California. Specifically, I draw on theories of identity and identification processes in second language acquisition (SLA) in order to understand how teachers of L2 Spanish and French use their linguistic repertoires in their classrooms to (re)create themselves and position the languages vis-à-vis their students.

A rich body of scholarly work on classroom-based second language acquisition already focuses on language learning and use as well as identity formation by language *learners* (in particular, Duff, 2007; Kramsch, 2009; Lantolf and Thomas, 2007; Norton Pierce, 1995; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000), but it is not entirely germane to the particular questions in this study. In this study I chose to document the lesser studied but complementary aspect which concerns L2 *teachers*. In the bulk of the existing literature, L2 learners are distinguished from L2 instructors, although many of the latter are themselves L2 learners of the languages that they teach. Moreover, both groups are L2 *users* in the classroom, learning, teaching, speaking, writing, and hearing the target languages alongside other languages. I thus draw from relevant research from both L2 learner and teacher research in order to understand in what ways the teachers in this study use their linguistic repertoires and classroom practices in constructing their linguistic identities.

In order to explore the relationship between L2 French and Spanish teachers' histories and their pedagogical practices, I consider the following interrelated fields and topics in this chapter:

- Theories of Identity and Identification Processes in Second Language Acquisition
- Ecological Theories of L2 Use
- Theories of Agency and Activity Systems
- Linguistic Attitudes about Spanish and French in the Context of L2 Teaching

In order to understand the different uses of language in the L2 classroom, and histories of those uses, we need to review ecological theories of L2 use that take speaker agency into account. Adopting an ecological approach allows for the analysis of diverse material and historical artifacts that influence L2 instructors.

2.2 Theories of Identity and Identification Processes in Second Language Acquisition

2.2.1 Identity and Identification Processes

The very use of the term *identity* is troublesome, as a debate continues about how to define and exemplify the term, particularly within the field of applied linguistics. Fundamental to research in poststructuralist studies is a contemporary definition of

identity that is deceptively simple yet still provocative: “how individuals know and name themselves [combined with] how they are recognized and regarded by others” (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 3). In an SLA context, Kramsch (2009) reformulates these ideas, with the addition of agency, as expressed through “identification with a social or cultural group” (p. 25: n. 10).

Within a poststructuralist understanding, identities are produced, negotiated, and recalibrated through a speaker’s engagement in discourse (especially in Danielewicz, 2001; Kramsch, 2009; Norton Peirce, 1995; Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000). This participation is dynamic and ongoing, as individuals’ knowledge and naming of themselves occurs in the moment-by-moment use of discourse both through their interactions with others and through their own internal negotiation. For example, as a new classroom teacher joins a new school community, he reflects on what he has learned and knows about what school is, he discovers how people are and how systems work at his new site, and he interacts with school community members who wield different symbolic power at and hold varying understandings of the school. That new teacher’s identity emerges from the tension among these negotiations, both internal and external. For the language teacher, these negotiations often manifest themselves in the discourse in their classrooms. Consequently, this (re)production of identities through discourse, through both internal and external dialogues, is crucial for gaining insight into how L2 teachers understand themselves, the languages they use, and the work they carry out.

Bucholtz and Hall (2004) invite us to examine identity through comparisons of “contextually relevant sociopolitical relations of similarity and difference, authenticity and inauthenticity, and legitimacy and illegitimacy” (p. 382). It is in these last sets of antonymous pairs—and the spaces between those poles—where this study captures the *identification processes* (as defined by Danielewicz, 2001, p. 35) emerging from teachers’ reflections. Danielewicz (2001) found in her research on English teacher narratives and identity construction that, as participants framed and reframed their lived experiences through the process of telling of their own narratives, they made observable their processes of identifying with different communities and with different ways of learning. Likewise, applying Bucholtz and Hall’s sets of antonymous pairs to L2 teachers’ identification processes is fruitful for this study, especially in analyzing the subjects’ narratives of learning and teaching language. Prior findings (Hidalgo, 1990; Kramsch, 2009; Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000) revealed that L2 users, including teachers, understood their linguistic identities through comparisons to other L1 and L2 users of the target language. Thus, in response to this study’s first research question, I hypothesize that French and Spanish L2 teachers’ understandings of their identity construction result from their sense of being similar to and different from other speakers and instructors, of being authentic or inauthentic voices of the classroom languages, and, consequently, legitimate or illegitimate speakers-representatives of the target languages and cultures.

2.2.2 Individual, Self, Subject

Embedded within these notions of identity—what I call the description of the “I” of a person—are principal concepts of *individual*, *self*, and *subject*. While all three of these terms may specify the same focal person, each word delimits a different inquiry perspective. According to Kramsch (2009), an *individual* is “distinct from the group or

collective community” and is a “sociological or political entity that is guaranteed rights and obligations under a democratic constitution and a certain social and cultural identity” (p. 17). This understanding provides for an external, etic perspective that situates the individual within specific contexts. Succinctly, Danielewicz (2001) explains that *individuals* are “empirical selves” (p. 66), able to be described through both an individual’s and an observer’s experience of that persons. These understandings of the term *individual* are important to account for the different participants in this study, although a focus on the *individual* alone does not provide the deepest way to understand the relationships between the lived experiences and observed practices of the subjects in the present study.

The term *subject* implies a more emic perspective, focused on the inner workings of the individual. As described by Kramsch (2009), a *subject* is a “symbolic entity that is constituted and maintained through symbolic systems such as language[,]” an entity that is “not given, but has to be consciously constructed against the backdrop of natural and social forces that both bring it into being and threaten to destroy its freedom and autonomy” (p. 17). Morin (2005) defines the *human subject* (*le sujet*) within an organic universe but distinguishes it from *human subjectivity* (*la subjectivité humaine*):

Être sujet, ça ne veut pas dire être conscient ; ça ne veut pas dire non plus avoir de l’affectivité, des sentiments, encore qu’évidemment la subjectivité humaine se développe avec l’affectivité, avec des sentiments. Être sujet, c’est se mettre au centre de son propre monde, c’est occuper le site de « je » [...] Personne ne peut le dire pour l’autre (p. 88)

To be subject does not mean to be conscious; nor does it mean to have affectivity, feelings, even though human subjectivity obviously develops with affectivity, with feelings. To be subject is to put one’s self at the center of one’s own world; it is to occupy the site of “I” [...] No one can claim that for another. (my translation)

For Morin, studying the isolated subject is not enough; rather, it is richer to put the subject at the center of the subject’s world. In this networked model of subjectivity, subjectivity—and the construction of the “I”—can be understood through the subject’s experiences of affective and emotional reactions to stimuli in the environment. For example, to understand what L2 teachers are (and are not), we must see them at the center of their social and professional networks. This network would likely include the specific instructional sites, home life, past learning experiences, and past teaching experiences. Likewise, in the present study, it is this “I,” which each of this study’s focal subjects occupies, that I investigate through different research methods (Chapter 3).

Both distinct from and sharing some overlap with these two notions of an individual and subject is the *self*, a “psychological entity that is given to each human being at birth and is to be discovered, respected, and maintained” (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 12) by both the individual person and the surrounding communities in which the self participates. This process of self-discovery and self-maintenance, while primarily internal and psychological, can be observed empirically through the recording of an individual’s network of activities. Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) propose that the *self* can be studied by

first identifying a person's (1) location in space/point of view; (2) location in time; (3) location of responsibility/agency; and (4) social location or status. This understanding of the *self* allows for a complex and layered comparison of this study's focal subjects since subjects (namely, multilinguals) move between these loci over the course of a lifetime. Pavlenko and Lantolf continue, claiming that in the end the self shifts positions in response to their ongoing "need for repositioning vis-à-vis [their] own life and experiences" (p. 168). I am interested in rearticulating Pavlenko and Lantolf's spatial and isolated situation of the object of study, for it is in the *relationships* among these networked loci that elements of the self emerge and are observable. For example, we can examine how the L2 *self* is constructed by analyzing the connections and disconnections between a person's present L2 uses and their prior ones, including the social and cultural contexts of those uses.

The distinct but related terms *individual*, *self*, and *subject* provide a framework that allows me to make nuanced characterizations of how the study's participants reflect on their identities as users and instructors of the language(s) they teach. Alongside those characterizations, following an ecological, networked understanding of *subjects* (Lemke, 2002; Morin, 2005; van Lier, 2004), I can map how the classroom lessons and behaviors of Spanish and French teachers compare to their own identities as multilingual subjects.

2.2.3 Subjectivity, Subject Positions, and Intersubjectivity

I adopt Kramsch's (2009) terminology, seeing *subjectivity* as a sense of self that comes to be through mediation by symbolic forms (p. 18) and that emerges, as Danielewicz (2001) suggests, through processes of ongoing discovery, maintenance, and negotiation. These symbolic forms are primarily produced in language use in my research but also include non-linguistic cultural practices, socioeconomic systems, and memory and emotions. Participation in social events allows for subjects to develop subjectivities discursively through the creation of and reflection on "memories and fantasies, identifications and projections" (Kramsch, 2009, p.18), which in turn provides subjects the ability to compare some of their experiences with others as well as to others' experiences. The discursive construction of subjectivities, through engagement with others as well as with beliefs and memories, leads to the momentary enactment of *subject positions*, less fixed than identities may be, contingent on immediate circumstances and interlocutors, and part of a large repertoire that subjects employ in identity work. Here, I use *identity work* to refer to "an ongoing dialectal process" of confirmation, evaluation, and establishment of identity (Danielewicz, 2001, pp. 53-54). Additionally, rather than limiting it to Danielewicz's situating of this work as occurring only between people, I seek to examine this dialectal process within subjects themselves. How do the timescales that act upon subjects affect their own development of identity and sense of self? As Lemke (2002) claims, "To some extent, whatever I am doing, I am also doing 'identity work'" (p. 76).

This ability to create connections to others' experiences—thus, to others—is fundamental to *intersubjectivity*, the means by which subjects make shared meanings of symbols and co-create new meanings through shared artifacts. These two ideas are central to both the research design of this project as well as the analysis of subjects' narratives. Since much of the data will come from face-to-face interviews between

individual subjects and a researcher, the subjects' narrations will afford them the opportunity not only to reflect on and reframe their own lives ("self-translation") but also to imagine a space where their identities are (re-)constructed (Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000, p. 162). The interactions between researcher and subjects may lend themselves to moments of intersubjectivity as our negotiations of meaning and coherence will entail symbolic border crossings and shifts in time and context. These symbolic border crossings occur whenever subjects move between subject positions and remembered or imagined events, and they can be encoded in changes in linguistic behavior, body hexis, and emotional state. Since I inhabit identities as *language learner*, *language teacher*, and *researcher* and share some of these with my interlocutors, our interactions reflect the complex negotiation of personal as well as shared meaning that talk seeks to achieve. In turning presently to approaches to the study of second language acquisition, we keep in mind these questions of how L2 users perceive themselves, perceive others, and are perceived by others.

2.2.4 Poststructuralist SLA Theory and L2 Use

The field of second language acquisition (SLA) is broadly interested in how people learn languages other than their native ones. Because my study explores what L2 teachers, whose identities undergo ongoing changes, know and what they do in their classrooms, I need a theoretical orientation that highlights potential sites and objects of study (i.e., the classroom space, classroom participants, classroom languages) as undergoing ongoing and fluid constructions that are rooted in specific histories and cultures. Among the different theoretical strands of SLA and possible sites of inquiry, I thus root this study in classroom-based poststructuralist SLA in order to respond to broader questions emerging from SLA. Recent works call for more emic, ethnographically oriented studies that are interested in transformations of L2 learning, knowledge, and use as well as transformations of identities over time (e.g., Duff, 2007; Kinginger, 2004). It is this call, rooted in the theory that L2 users are negotiators—of potential life pathways, stances, and identities (Ortega, 2010)—that underlies how I approach and seek to understand the L2 teachers in this present study.

An early generation of SLA theories was most strongly rooted in psycholinguistic theories of language acquisition, especially Krashen's (1982) five hypotheses of the role of input and listeners' monitoring of input. This input-based model, fitting a generativist understanding of language acquisition grounded in the work of Noam Chomsky (1957), inspired models offered by contemporary and subsequent researchers, including Long's (1996, 1977) face-to-face interaction hypothesis and Gass and Selinker's (2008) underscoring of interaction as a "priming device" (p. 350) for second language acquisition. In these understandings of how learners acquire language, the researchers pay attention uniquely to the psychological behaviors and effects that frame language as speakers interact. In other words, they do not investigate the social contexts and histories of participants nor do they ask questions about the linguistic and social variations that the languages themselves may present.

This noticeable absence of social and personal dimensions of language learning thus limits the suitability of these theories to illuminate the histories and practices I seek to capture in the present study. I am most interested in examining the unpredictable,

dynamic uses of language that occurred in L2 teacher classroom talk and teacher narratives. It is thus in the subsequent generations of SLA theories and not in the purely psycholinguistic foundations that I find ways to understand L2 teachers' situated language use and their ongoing identity construction through language use.

In reaction to the theoretical and research constraints that the purely psycholinguistic tradition placed on SLA as a field, a later generation of researchers called for a "social turn" in order to include sociolinguistic and sociocultural theories into the field. For instance, Firth and Wagner (1997) mark a turn in the discussion of fundamental concepts in SLA, situating the field as "part of the nexus of approaches to the wider, interdisciplinary study of language, discourse, and social interaction" that critique "an individualistic and mechanistic" view of SLA (p. 285). Firth and Wagner remind SLA researchers that research in the field, which they identify as a hybrid, that focuses on discourse and communication (language use) is consequently multitheoretical, ultimately calling "for a reconceptualization of SLA as a more theoretically and methodologically balanced enterprise" (p. 286). This type of interdisciplinary research enterprise within the social turn in SLA, calling for a hybrid of theories and approaches thus informs how I employ models and methods from general linguistics, Romance linguistics, cultural studies, anthropology, and educational linguistics in order to tailor this project to the central research questions.

Firth and Wagner's seminal article called for new types of research, to which many SLA scholars responded. The studies that are most germane to the present study are the following: Pavlenko's (2002) poststructuralist definition of SLA, Duff's (2007) exploration of second language socialization (SLS) as sociocultural theory, Swain and Deter's (2007) development of sociocultural theory and SLA, and Kramsch's description of the multilingual subject and teacher (2009, 2006). These works emphasize the ongoing, not fixed, processes of L2 learning and use, while highlighting the significant role of social and cultural practices in that process.

For this present study, I employ Pavlenko's (2002) poststructuralist understanding of SLA that posits the following:

1. language itself is a form of symbolic capital and the site of ongoing identity construction for language users;
2. language acquisition **is** language socialization; and,
3. L2 users are "agents whose multiple identities are dynamic and fluid" (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 283).

Pavlenko emphasizes the dynamism of both language and language users: neither is static nor easy to pin down as a neat object of study. Furthermore, according to Pavlenko, a poststructuralist theory of SLA promotes "multilingualism without imposing 'acculturation' or 'native-like ability'" (p. 299) on subjects being studied. I employ this understanding because of its applicability to link language and language use to dynamic systems of power and prestige for speakers whose own identities are in flux. For example, when I look at one of the focal teacher case studies, of an L1 Spanish speaker who is simultaneously a teacher of L2 Spanish, her data reflects a nonlinear relationship with Spanish, English, and Catalan, one that a purely psycholinguistic or sociolinguistic approach would not capture.

Emphasizing the nonlinearity of L2 use, Duff's findings clarify what processes of second language socialization (SLS) may look like. In Duff's (2007) study, Korean L2 users of English experienced different levels of personal success in learning English based on their statuses within Canadian English communities of practice. Duff found that socialization of the Korean L2 English users into the socially and culturally embedded ways that local users of English used the language led to meaningful L2 learning and literacy. These findings and their implications—that research in this subfield should examine transformations of L2 users' learning, knowledge, and identities over time—point to the need for this present study. Duff identifies indexicality in language learning as her object of study, namely how language learners use their personal pronominal systems (e.g., *we/us* and *they/them*) to construct speech communities to which they belong or do not belong. Although Duff's study provides a replicable model for this study, it does not ask the exact same questions nor does it examine the same population. Duff limits her study to primarily early L2 learners, whereas I apply her work to older, classroom-based L2 teachers-users. My study thus responds to Duff's ultimate call, which is for a better understanding of how SLS affects learners in their future (2007, pp. 317-318).

Norton (1997) stakes her description of ESL/EFL learners' and teachers' language use and identity on these users' "desire—the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety" (p. 410). Additionally, Norton amplifies the call to switch the focus from terms such as *native speaker* and *mother tongue* to *language expertise*, *language inheritance*, and *language affiliation* (p. 418) in order to describe speakers' language use and beliefs over the course of their lifetimes. These latter terms provide useful descriptors of the speech communities, linguistic repertoires, and linguistic identities of the focal teachers in the present study.

Since Norton's article only treats prior research in ESL/EFL user identity construction, its scope is quite limited. It does call for further research to collect "individual accounts of learners and teachers in different parts of the globe [...] to ensure that debates on language and identity have taken the voices of learners and teachers seriously" (p. 427). In making this call, however, it does not provide immediately accessible models nor does it distinguish L2 learning of non-dominant languages (e.g., the study of L2 French in a U.S. high school) from L2 learning of the dominant language (e.g., ESL in a U.S. high school). The present study's findings will show that there is a meaningful difference between those two L2 learning and teaching experiences, responding to Norton's useful but restricted summary.

Classroom research that focuses on teachers of languages other than English in their English-dominant schools can provide rich data in line with Swain and Deters's (2007) "'New' Mainstream SLA Theory." This theory of second language acquisition (SLA) seeks to "prioritize sociocultural and contextual factors [of second language use]" and to highlight "the importance of individual agency and the multiple identities in the process of learning and using an L2" (Swain and Deters, 2007, p. 821). Amplifying Duff's (2007) findings, theirs include the centrality of an L2 user's community of practice in understanding SLA. Additionally, and key to my analyses in the present study, are their findings that call for a shift from terms like "individuals" to "agents," emphasizing research subjects' activities and will. Again, alongside Duff (2007), Swain and Deters (2007) find that shifting the object of study from "acquisition" to

“participation” foregrounds language use within communities of practice. These authors’ extension of SLA from *learning* an L2 to *using and operating within* an L2 sets up a theoretical framework that the present study’s data focusing on L2 teachers can test. A limitation to both studies in the context of the present one is the predominance of ESL learning and teaching in Anglophone contexts. The present study tests their findings in a related but different field: the instruction of L2 French and Spanish in traditional U.S. schools, which are predominantly Anglophone contexts.

Using a poststructuralist theoretical model is not in itself a model to replace all others in SLA research, however. Ellis (2008) summarizes certain criticisms of poststructuralist studies of L2 acquisition. These critiques include the scant deep description of linguistic forms in such studies and the demonstration of the influence, if not direct impact, of social context on L2 acquisition. Ellis does not define what the description of linguistic forms in those studies might look like, but it is understood to include the traditional objects of linguistic studies, especially phonological, lexical, morpho-syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic use.

Indeed, some studies in poststructuralist SLA (including Kaplan, 1994; Kinginger, 2004; Norton Peirce, 1995; Pavlenko, 2007; Swain and Deters, 2007) showcase analyses of large written and oral texts created by L2 users which focus mostly on the pragmatic or symbolic dimensions of language use and little on phonological and morpho-syntactic production. For instance, Kaplan (1994) and Pavlenko (2007) look at the identity constructions that emerge from L2 learners’ written reflections (including published ones) on learning and living with new languages. Their studies examine the texts as whole objects of study without an emphasis on the individual linguistic components that form the text. Kinginger (2004) and Norton Peirce (1995) examine primarily oral data of L2 learners, collected through interviews, observations, and field notes, in order to understand how those learners construct and reconstruct themselves as their learning, living, and work contexts change. Like the two other studies, these latter two do not analyze the production of linguistic forms. The present study responds to the critique in Ellis (2008) of this underdeveloped area in poststructuralist SLA by adapting applicable models found in prior studies (i.e. case studies built around recorded interviews and observations) to specific linguistic forms employed by this study’s subjects in their classrooms in order to uncover connections between language use and identity construction.

The combination of these perspectives from prior research allows the present study to respond deeply to its central research questions about L2 teachers’ language use, linguistic identity, and pedagogical practices. The most similar studies to the present one have focused their lenses in the ESL classroom, which, while a similar learning environment to that of other language classrooms, is still politically, socially, and linguistically distinct from a foreign language classroom in a U.S. high school.

2.2.5 Theorizing L2 Teacher Identity

The present study seeks to add to the scant literature in the field of classroom-based SLA that focuses primarily on non-English L2 teachers. The more traditional studies in teacher-focused, classroom-based SLA have been on error analysis and correction, instructional methodologies and techniques, and lesson form and content

studies, primarily in English-medium classrooms, all of which focus in the end on one set of participants in language acquisition: the learner. Possibly in response to Firth and Wagner's (1997) critique of the limitations of previous SLA research, a current crop of researchers has turned the lens on the other participants in the L2 classroom: the L2 teachers.

Three broad ways of theorizing L2 teacher identity, suggested by Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson (2005) and Johnson and Golombek (2011), provide foundational research models that are relevant to this current project: social identity theory, identity formation through situated learning, and identity as pedagogy. In the first two parts of the study by Varghese et al., focusing respectively on these first two theories of identity, the researchers conduct ethnographies of ESL teachers, following them in professional development settings and then apply the theoretical models to their data. They found that teachers' professional identities are strongly influenced by changes in their settings as they move among diverse professional learning activities. In their final study, they compare an ESL teacher's classroom lessons and personal stories with adult students' reactions to them. In that study, the researchers found that ESL learners participated more, using more English, in classes where their ESL teachers used their own life experiences explicitly as part of their instruction. Their studies support the poststructuralist framework that all three theoretical models espouse, but question the completeness of any one of them on its own. These findings, although limited to the ESL classroom, and the three models offer this study theoretical models that can apply to this study's dynamic contexts of L2 classrooms in California high school.

Another model, incorporating Activity Theory, is proposed by Johnson and Golombek (2011) to delineate ways of documenting how ESL/EFL (English as a foreign language) teachers enact, develop, and perform their identities through their classroom practices and activities. For L2 users, activity theory considers an entire activity system involving language use, including schools, classrooms, home life beyond just one language user. In this edited volume, the different studies take place in ESL/EFL classrooms and use classroom observations as well as teacher and student narratives to argue for a sociocultural theoretical perspective on professional development. Activity Theory is not being explored deeply in this review of the literature because it is insufficient because it provides an ultimately insufficient and static description of ESL teachers, even with descriptions of the teachers' dynamic histories and movements. The volume, in the end, presents teacher identities as outcomes or achievements rather than still in flux and unfinished. Nonetheless, important for the present study are their notions of *mediating artifacts* (such as assessment tools, lesson plans, teachers' beliefs) and *community of practice* (most significantly, the L2 classroom), which in the context of my study provide observable units of analysis.

In their 2011 call to rethink and recontextualize L2 teacher education, Johnson and Golombek claim that we could know what L2 teachers' classroom activities were and the reasons for them "[i]f we consider [their] cognitive development as an interactive process, mediated by culture, context, language, and social interaction" (p. 1), especially within their professional development settings. This call positions L2 teachers in a poststructuralist model, as observed in Ritchie and Wilson's (2000) descriptions of an L1 English teacher as a dynamic "guide, facilitator, and a model of a more experienced writer and reader, one who continues to learn" (p. 45). In that study, the authors followed

a cohort of pre-service, mainstream English teachers at the high school level. They were interested in examining the connections, if any, existed between their pre-service training and their first years of classroom teaching. Through case studies using interviews with and classroom observations of the focal teachers, Ritchie and Wilson concluded that pre-service preparation had an effect on the formation and retention of long-term teachers of English, but that the effect was mitigated primarily by the financial needs of the teachers and the support offered by their school sites. Ritchie and Wilson's case study model is immediately applicable to the present study since it allowed them to compare teachers' narratives with their classroom activities and experiences. Nonetheless, parts of their design model do not apply to this study. First, the authors were the master teachers who originally trained and supervised the cohort; their study grew out of an already established hierarchical relationship. Second, the context of the study differed from that of the present study: theirs was of mainstream English classrooms focused on literature and composition, not on L2 learning. Thus, the research model is productive, but their central research questions about teacher education and career longevity as well as their study's context diverge significantly from those in this study.

Danielewicz (2001) echoes Ritchie and Wilson's poststructuralist stance, positing a language teacher's development as unstable and transformative over time (p. 9) and their identities as produced through participation in discourse (p. 11). Danielewicz explicitly links identity and pedagogy in the lives of her study's subjects, who are pre-service and novice English teachers, arguing that the teachers' identities are produced through their participation in a variety of discourses. These discourses emerge as they learn to become teachers and as they perform the actions associated with teaching. This study provides sample, open-ended questions intended to elicit narratives of teachers' autobiographies, although Danielewicz does not conduct a controlled study of specific teachers in which the questions are tested and their responses analyzed. Parallel to Bucholtz and Hall's (2004) subsequent theoretical description of identification processes, this study finds that teachers develop their identity through community affiliations and identifications, performance of being a teacher, (dis)harmonies between individual and group identity, and institutions' actions upon identities (Danielewicz, 2001, pp. 115-125). These findings, alongside Danielewicz's sample questions used to elicit teacher narratives, provide adaptable methodological vocabulary and tools for the present study. The study, however, limits the depths of its inquiry, providing illustrative but not fully developed examples of its arguments about teachers' identification processes.

Understanding L2 teacher identity and pedagogic practices can also be understood through analyzing the relationship between the constraints placed upon them and their responses thereto. For example, in their investigation of Spanish-national, L2 English teachers' perceptions of the objectives of foreign language education, Castro et al. (2004) found the following:

Teachers stated that there were not enough teaching periods (only three hours a week) for covering both language and culture, which affected their decision to turn to language teaching mainly. Another reason that teachers mentioned for not teaching culture more often was 'lack of suitable material'. Spanish teachers stated that the textbooks they used did not include enough cultural information. They asked for additional materials and mainly for suggestions of activities

specifically designed for teaching culture. Teachers also referred to their lack of preparation for teaching culture. They exposed a lack of confidence in themselves, and stated they had only limited contacts with the foreign culture. (pp. 100-101)

How might Castro et al.'s results from Spain look, ten years later, in California foreign language classrooms? What are the administrative constraints (and possibilities) that currently frame the professional activities and identification processes of California's high school L2 teachers?

All together, these studies shed light on the inner workings of ESL teachers through the exploration of their identity construction in the context of language teacher education. The significant limitation of these studies, with regards to the present one, is that most focus on teachers of English in the United States, where English is the dominant, mainstream language in state-sponsored, public education. The classroom-based studies in particular provide replicable models for conducting similar ethnographic research on L2 teachers of languages other than English. Indeed, the gap in this particular body of literature using these classroom-rooted approaches comes from the few similarly structured studies of non-English L2 teachers in the United States. Creating such studies responds to the many calls for research in second language studies that focus on L2 teacher decision-making (Allbright, 1988), L2 user narratives (Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000); the praxis of L2 learning (Lantolf and Thorne, 2007), and L2 socialization processes (Duff, 2007).

The call at the end of Kramersch (2009) in which she theorizes about L2 teacher identity and pedagogical practices (Chapter 7) sets the stage for classroom-based, empirical research that captures the beliefs and practices of multilingual L2 instructors. It is this call, which Kramersch briefly addresses, to which the present study directly responds.

2.3. An Ecological Framework for the Present Study

2.3.1 Ecological Framework for Data on L2 Users

Because this study aims to understand subjects and their activities in relation to their L2 use, an ecological framework is needed. Since teacher identities are neither static nor categorical but dynamic and complex, it is essential that I detail the situated contexts in which my focal subjects act. If indeed identities are constructed "in reference to larger, frequently inequitable social structures...reproduced in day-to-day social interaction" (Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 13), applying an ecological framework to my data permits identification and explanations of the factors that mediate the relationship between subjects and the social structures in which they act.

An ecological (or *ecolinguistic*, per van Lier, 2004) framework supports analyses that identify relationships between activities (or events) and their context and the ways in which subjects understand (or not) these relationships. Where ecolinguistics differs is in its primary research emphasis: such a multi-level framework looks at *social process* as the (non-static) unit of analysis (Lemke, 2002, p. 69) and foregrounds *relations* between people and the world, *patterns and systems, value, and activity* (van Lier, 2004, pp. 5-6).

To perform an empirical analysis of these social processes, I will need to look at the activities and events in subjects' lives, provided through their recorded narratives and observed behaviors. In Lemke's description of data analysis within an ecosocial/ecological framework, the researcher performs the analysis on three scales. On the first scale (foundational), the researcher identifies the social processes in which the subject participates, for example, the interactions between L2 instructors and their students. At the next higher scale exist the more stable structures or units that the social processes have constructed, such as departmental descriptions of L2 programs. At the third scale, processes that result from the interaction of social processes and the structures in a subject's life, over the course of a lifetime, become the object of study. This is precisely the scale in which the researcher can point to patterns and dissonances in identity during the subject's life, such as how an L2 teacher of Spanish navigates her work at a particular school. This central notion of relationality—of time, selves, space to and among each other—provides for an ecological study of physical multilingual spaces (as advocated in Kramsch, 2011), such as L2 classrooms in urban California, in which we can identify language use as exemplary of “a complex, dynamic system” (Kramsch, 2011, p. 125).

The challenge in employing an ecological framework is in identifying these social processes and linking them to the more stable, potentially emblematic structures that they construct over time. Examples of these more stable structures include curriculum frameworks, language teacher job descriptions, external language histories, and entrenched language attitudes. The potential richness of creating a project examining the beliefs and practices of teachers of Spanish and French may encounter challenges in the micro-level analysis of selecting the key relationships and activities that detail these subjects' identification processes. For instance, the unpredictable content of each subject's personal narrative brings different relationships and activities into focus, such as a subject's first experience learning an L2 or the political climate in which a subject is born and raised. Moving through Lemke's (2002) scales of analysis, in response, affords ways to move between different levels of analysis without disregarding the relationships among activities.

2.4 Linguistic Variation in and Attitudes about Spanish and French in L2 Teaching

In tracing some of the language external histories and linguistic variation in French and Spanish, I propose that these interact with the linguistic attitudes and practices of this study's focal teachers. In responding to the study's second research questions, I explore the ways their attitudes towards the communicative and symbolic possibilities and limits of these languages, in comparison to English, might inform their pedagogical choices and classroom activities. Those beliefs, choices, and activities will then contribute to an understanding of how they position themselves as users of these Romance languages in California. These notions greatly affect the role of language in public establishments, and specifically for my interests, in the language classroom.

2.4.1 Spanish

The global movement of Latin American speakers of Spanish into the United States has impacted the role of the Spanish language classroom in California, particularly one with heritage speakers. The Spanish classroom has become a space with sociopolitical demands placed upon the instructor, in addition to the linguistic and pedagogical ones (Mar-Molinero, 2000). Mar-Molinero (2000) identifies Spanish as a polycentric language with different important linguistic and cultural centers throughout the Hispanophone world, including Madrid, Seville, Mexico City, Lima, Buenos Aires, and Bogotá. In labeling Spanish thus, she subsequently addresses the issue of language and power from a variationist perspective, one that recognizes the inherent dynamism of and tension within a living language.

It is this type of complexity that Pountain (2011) seeks to document in analyzing a syllabus for a Spanish linguistics course. This scholar charts the historical archetypes of linguistics courses offered in Spanish departments and argues for a course that focuses on sociolinguistic studies of varieties of Spanish and on issues that have made Spanish “a ‘big’ language” (Pountain, 2011, pp. 2-3). This notion of a big language includes understandings the external history of the language as well as the internal changes and varieties that have existed diachronically and synchronically. Similar to Mar-Molinero (2000), he references the notion of the pluricentricity of Spanish as a key factor to its continued vitality.

These understandings of Spanish are testable in L2 Spanish classrooms in a linguistically diverse setting such as the San Francisco Bay Area. I contend that Mar-Molinero’s hypotheses about the migration of diverse Spanish-speaking people and the forms of Spanish that travel with them form potential conflicts in the L2 classroom. If, indeed, Spanish is “a ‘big’ language,” as Pountain describes it, how big are the affordances in the L2 classroom for the various standard and non-standard forms of the language that instructors and students may produce? For example, a likely disconnect may arise between heritage speakers of Spanish in California and a Spanish curriculum framed by the tourist gaze (Kramsch and Vinall, 2015). In examining the linguistic forms and metalinguistic commentary that the study’s teachers and students of Spanish provide, we can examine the validity of these hypotheses in the context of California classrooms.

2.4.2 French

The study of French in California at the high school level does not easily parallel that of Spanish. Although it is the second most studied non-English language other than Spanish in California, it trails Spanish in a ratio of 1:6 students at the high school level (California Foreign Language Project, 2008).⁸ The French that is taught, moreover, as evidenced in state-approved textbooks, favors a standardized monocentric linguistic norm, described as metropolitan or Parisian French. This differs from the Spanish(es) presented in different state-approved textbooks, in which vocabulary lists and grammatical structures reflect, at the very least, diatopic, or geographical, variation. Although Posner (1997), Gadet (2007), and Pooley and Armstrong (2010) all describe the

⁸ According to the California Foreign Language Project’s 2008 enrollment data, 667,463 high school students studied Spanish as compared to 117,467 studying French.

diachrony and synchrony of rich sociolinguistic variation in spoken French, many published pedagogical materials in the L2 French classroom do not reflect that sociolinguistic reality (Rehner et al., 2003, p. 127).

In particular, Gadet (2007) and Pooley and Armstrong (2010) emphasize the importance of diaphasic variation in linguistic forms and usage, or the stylistic and situational linguistic choices made by speakers (Gadet, 2007, p. 17). In describing the postmodern era of French language use, these scholars place stylistic and situational variation as “le plus saillant” (“the most salient” in Gadet, 2007, p. 250) marker of language use and as a source of rich linguistic variation (cf. Pooley and Armstrong, 2010, pp. 249-250). Their concluding hypothesis—that speakers of French have agency in their selection of linguistic forms due to their pragmalinguistic resources—echoes in many ways how Pountain (2011), Mar-Molinero (2000), and Silva-Corvalán (1994, 2000) describe contemporary Spanish usage. This comparison weakens, however, in the U.S. context, where perceptions of the two languages and their speakers, vary .

These sociolinguistic studies, however, have met with resistance in the L2 French classroom when confronted by what Valdman (2000) calls the “norme pédagogique” (“pedagogical norm”), which, Valdman argues, is necessary in teaching French as a foreign language. This norm, codified in published instructional materials for L2 learners, remains a reflection of a standardized, written variety of Parisian French, even in Francophone areas outside of France (cf. Ager, 1999). An example of the tension between sociolinguistic descriptions and pedagogical prescriptions of contemporary French is in the personal pronominal system, namely variation in the use of “tu/vous/on” (*you*, singular, informal/ *you*, singular formal, plural formal or informal/ indefinite reference). Pooley and Armstrong (2010) document the continuum of usage of these pronouns, first arguing that the “tu/vous” selection can reflect not just social intimacy or distance but also power differentials or solidarity (p. 94). Their emphasis on speakers’ pragmatic choices therein do not find equivalents in many pedagogical resources, where the distinction remains on questions of formality and informality based on social status. Likewise, they argue that selection of “tu/on” exists on a continuum of indefinite reference, in which “on” marks a more formal or distant reference whereas “tu” marks a less formal, closer relationship (p. 94).⁹ This presentation of the singular personal pronouns is absent in standardized curricula for the instruction of French as a foreign language.

Thus, a tension emerges in the L2 French classroom that distinguishes that context from L2 Spanish ones. Teachers of L2 French use standardized curricula that present a uniform, pedagogical norm of one variety of French, yet the teachers themselves may speak other varieties of French that reflect Gadet’s (2004) description of diatopic, diastratic, and diaphasic variation (pp. 13-17). In analyzing data of L2 French teachers, we can observe to what degree this tension presents itself, if at all. Additionally, we can analyze L2 teachers’ linguistic identification processes by applying Gadet’s description of sociolinguistic variation and of speakers’ “savoir élocutionnel” (knowledge of how and when to speak) (p. 52) to the focal subjects’ interview data and recorded

⁹ Pooley and Armstrong (2010) offer the following minimal pair, arguing that sentence 2 indicates a less formal, more intimate relationship between interlocutors:

1. Parfois on tombe sur des gens sympas.
2. Parfois tu tombes sur des gens sympas.

language use. The recorded data can also test the use of a singular pedagogical norm in the French classroom.

These sociolinguistic studies provide useful in providing vocabulary to describe the language use and linguistic repertoires of the L2 teachers in this study. The Spanish and French sociolinguistic studies summarized here provide a vocabulary to describe contemporary issues that teachers and users of the two languages encounter in their classrooms in California.

Chapter 3: Methods and Context

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the study's project design, including the initial pilot study, recruitment of focal subjects, data collection, data handling, and data analysis. It also details the methods of transcription and translation. I will also comment on my role as researcher (and as language teacher and multilingual) and its bearing on the research.

The following research questions led me to select the project's design and research methods:

1. In what ways do teachers of Spanish and of French in California reflect on their identities as users and instructors of the language(s) they teach?
2. How do the classroom lessons and behaviors of Spanish and French teachers compare to their own identities as multilingual subjects?

3.2 Educational Context of the Study

Data collection between 2012 and 2014 occurred at a significant moment in California's educational policy process. Public schools statewide were preparing to implement the Common Core State Standards Initiative by the academic year 2014-2015, and many private and independent schools were evaluating the ways in which the Initiative might affect their learning goals. This standards-based initiative thus provides a contemporary backdrop to the ongoing struggles that world language teachers may sense as they negotiate the competing goals of language and culture learning and education, formal schooling and statewide assessment, and their lived, multilingual experiences. With the development and future adoption of this initiative, it is possible that teachers would feel the divide among a bureaucratic directive, administrative ignorance or lack of awareness, and the specific classroom work that they do daily. The data collection methods, including both quantitative and qualitative measures, offered participants opportunities to respond to these possible tensions.

3.3 Considering The California Foreign Language Framework and the Common Core Standards

3.3.1 The California Foreign Language Framework

“If California students are to become world-class business leaders, they will require an education comparable to their overseas peers.” (*Foreign Language Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve: 3*)

The authors of the framework—administrators, teachers, corporate advisors, and professors from both private and public universities—base the curriculum's rationale and content on three goals which appear as motifs throughout the publication:

- academic achievement
- educational reform
- leadership in the global economy (*Foreign Language Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve: 2-3*)

The authors of the foreword situate these goals within the context of California's importance in the global economy (p. v). They link this importance to student proficiency in a language other than English. This proficiency develops students' intellectual skills and cultural understandings and, ultimately, "provides access to the world's marketplaces" (p. v). Language proficiency is thus an asset that, like a passport or bankcard, can help students succeed on the global playing field.

The belief that language is a commodity, a skill that can be measured and valued, has influenced administrators', teachers', and learners' opinions about language education (Johnson and Golombek, 2011, p. 37). This commodification of language is an understanding of language as comprising assessable skills, a commodity that can be acquired, improved, and then used publicly as a form of economic, social, or symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1979, pp. 326, 331). Understanding language in this way enables it to be subject to rigorous assessment, with a set list of objective categories that assessors (administrators, teachers, and learners) can use to determine its usable value.

3.3.2 The Common Core Language Arts Standards in California

With the adoption and implementation of the Common Core Language Art Standards in California in 2012-2015, L2 teachers have found themselves rethinking the status of their programs in the context of the various skill-based areas that make up "language arts." As indicated in the U.S. Department of Education's Common Core Language Arts Standards, the language arts include broad definitions for reading, writing, speaking, and listening, all in the context of English acquisition and literacy. Since the adoption of the standards in California in 2012, the Common Core authors have created a document that addresses the links between English language arts/literacy and history/social studies, science, and technical subjects (*California Common Core State Standards*, 2013). As of this writing, the Common Core Standards do not yet directly address language learning for languages other than English, programs that also develop students' language and literacy skills.

In order to qualify for new or continued funding, school districts and individual schools must account for students' total learning in the language arts through results-based student assessments that do not examine the means of student learning. The results from standardized assessment are eventually linked to funding and support for language arts programs. This tension around the possible invisibility of the L2 classrooms in administrative discussions of language learning in light of Common Core becomes quite real when school departments compete for limited funding sources coming from state and federal boards. Consequently, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) and L2 teachers themselves are currently imagining how their programs fit into this understanding of a student's total language and literacy development.

3.3.3 The State Framework and Common Core Together

The vocabulary in the State Framework, in the Common Core Standards, and in the World Language Content Standards all points to learning language primarily for “developing global competency” (Zaslow, 2012, p. 2). In this understanding, linguistic ability is a “value added” (Heining-Boynton and Redmond, 2013, p. 53); that is, it represents additional social and linguistic capital that learners can exchange for economic gain in the global marketplace.¹⁰ This perspective on language and its use has altered administrative expectations for language education. In their call to language teachers to support the implementation of the Common Core standards, Heining-Boynton and Redmond (2013) argue that “[t]he language education community must step up to the plate, primed to do its part to prepare productive global citizens” (p. 56).

As evidenced in the California Foreign Language Framework and in response to Common Core, this understanding of language as an economic commodity drives the creation of assessable, clearly defined learning outcomes at individual schools. To demonstrate how students achieve their school’s student learning outcomes, administrators and faculty create formal checklists and narratives that summarize the relationship between student performance and the school’s target outcomes. This type of assessment then shows the success to which schools achieve the expectations established by the Foreign Language Framework. This trickle-down approach (from California’s Department of Education to individual school sites) reifies language as a set of skills that students need in order to have something additional to bring to the global marketplace.

Together, the State Framework and the Common Core standards lay out the plans for California schools’ language programs, both explicitly and implicitly, including suggestions for curriculum design, assessment tools, and professional development, all of which support student achievement and leadership in the global economy. Each district implements the foreign language program, and then monitors each school’s performance through standardized test scores and submission of program materials that align with the framework. Second language teachers thus receive the structure of the framework and approved textbooks to guide their curriculum planning. Nonetheless, this framework and the approved curricula can conflict with teachers’ professional beliefs and knowledge about language learning and use, with the classroom becoming a space of conflict between the state’s expectations and teachers’ beliefs and practices. Given this context, I selected different research methodologies in this study in order to illuminate L2 teachers’ beliefs about and practices of L2 instruction.

¹⁰ Heller (2012) looks specifically at this issue in a critical analysis of French immersion schools in Québec, where Anglophone students found a strong option in their access to jobs through “a kind of super-immersion allowing for a deeper, more ‘authentic’ experience” that provided them linguistic and cultural access to the French-speaking minority in Canada (p. 109).

3.4 Research Methodologies

3.4.1 Mixed Research Methods in the L2 Classroom

In this project, I explore how teachers of French and Spanish construct their identities as multilingual teachers who use language in specific ways in these specific sociohistorical contexts. Through survey results, ethnographic fieldwork, and qualitative data analysis, I capture how these teachers use language in their professional lives. I designed a multipart project that highlighted the specific reflections and activities of three teachers of Spanish or French alongside broader reflections of a sample group of 92 Spanish and French teachers statewide.

These particular research methods provided a multi-dimensional picture of L2 teachers in California in 2013-2014. In order to illustrate their personal linguistic histories and their pedagogical beliefs and practices (i.e., the first research question), I created an online survey to elicit responses from teachers of Spanish and French statewide. The online survey would serve to illustrate their personal linguistic histories and their pedagogical beliefs and practices. In developing an online survey, a primarily quantitative tool, I was able to see tendencies in the participants' responses globally. This tool provided a breadth of responses from throughout the state, offering a backdrop to the more individual experiences that data collection for the second research question would elicit.

The second research question—focused on the relationships between language teachers' identities and their classroom activities—demanded research strategies that would show both the reflective and active parts of their professional lives and that would fit into the heavily scheduled lives of teachers. In this ethnographic part of the study, I captured very specific narratives and behaviors of three participants, which the online survey did not do in depth. These narratives and behaviors occurred in real-world interactions with students or with me; thus, more qualitative tools provided ways to analyze these interactions.

In highlighting the specific experiences of the three focal subjects, I employed ethnographic means of data collection using van Lier's (1988) model of educational ethnography. The guiding activities for the data collection that I performed as researcher in the classroom were *asking* and *watching* (Erickson, 1981 *via* van Lier, 1988, p. 56). These activities led to the specific instruments that I employed in these educational ethnographies: interviews and classroom observations. I conducted semi-structured, individual interviews with teachers, during which I asked questions about their biographies, beliefs and practices. When I conducted classroom observations, I watched the teachers' linguistic and pedagogical behaviors. In follow-up interviews, I used those in-class observations as the basis for new questions to ask the focal subjects.

3.4.2 Case Studies in Ethnographies

My study revolves around three case studies. This research method provided the means to gain insight into the relationship between language teachers' linguistic development and their context through the study of a focal subject using multiple methods. Since case study research involves the exploration of a bounded system,

something set within time and circumstance, its strategic value lies in its ability to draw attention to what can be learned from individual cases (Schram, 2006). The types of “focal subjects” for these case studies were high school teachers of L2 Spanish and French. Using case studies allowed a focus on specific experiences of their L2 learning, beliefs, and practices, which helped me to understand in context their behaviors and perceptions about language learning and instruction.

As van Lier (2004) points out, case studies “focus on context” and “change over time” (p. 195), reflecting a sort of “contextualized research” model (p. 205). For this present study, this focus on context and of longitudinal study aligned with the use of ethnographic methods to investigate patterns, correlations, and changes over time in L2 teachers’ lives. Over the course of my time in the schools of the focal subjects, it became clear to me that I had to focus on the professional contexts in which these teachers worked in order to argue eventually for the applicability of my findings in other, related contexts.

Using a case study design was not simple, nonetheless. Caveats included the following:

- the time-consuming process of collecting, organizing, classifying, and analyzing data;
- accounting for the depth, rather than the breadth, of information that results from case studies;
- the difficulty in summarizing a subject’s experiences and in creating the contextual narrative; and
- the accounting for potential researcher-observer bias in reporting the case study.

In order to respond to these potential limitations, I adopted a critical ethnographic approach for these sites and subjects. Following Schram (2006), critical ethnography requires a commitment to acknowledging the researcher’s responsibility and identity, examining the questions chosen and why they were chosen, considering what information is reported and what information is not reported, and identifying who is protected and who is not. By maintaining fieldnotes that indicated both my observations and my reactions as well as by monitoring my dynamic role throughout the research process (see Section 7), I attempted to minimize the effect of these limitations.

Nevertheless, case studies afforded the opportunity to capture particular histories, beliefs, and practices that the survey responses only outlined. Case studies focusing on three individual teachers of Spanish or French illuminated the three themes that emerged from the survey of teachers’ linguistic histories; language and pedagogical beliefs and practices; and, beliefs about the place of their program. Additionally, case studies provided opportunities to investigate the beliefs and practices of these teachers through structured interviews and classroom recordings.

3.4.2.1 Linguistic Ethnographies

Some basic implications on which ethnography is based include the fact that through experience, participant observation, and interviews, the researcher can observe and identify patterns of focal subjects’ social behavior (Schram, 2006). For this study, I

employed ethnographic research methodologies in the classrooms in order to provide insight “into the phenomenological complexity of the world, where connections, correlations, and causes can be witnessed as and how they enfold” (Adler and Adler, 1998, p. 81). The world that I sought to illuminate from an emic perspective was that of teachers of second language (L2) French and Spanish in California. An ethnographic approach allowed me to capture the practices of these teachers in their professional environments. If the ethnographic enterprise “attempts to combine close detail of local action and interaction as embedded in a wider social world” (Creese, 2008, p. 233), then a linguistic ethnography “draws on the ‘relatively technical vocabularies’ of linguistics” to accomplish these detailed descriptions. Thus, I adapted van Lier’s (1988) model of educational ethnography to focus on the linguistic ethnographies of the focal subjects. For example, in analyzing data in this study, I frequently turned to speakers’ intonations, stress patterns, code-switching, and use of gesture (the local action) to draw connections and correlations to larger contexts.

3.4.2.2 Narrative in Ethnographies

Both in our interviews as well as in their classroom presentations, the teachers of French and Spanish used narratives as ways of organizing information. Ritchie and Wilson (2000) call for narrative as a research methodology that captures the relationship between an individual’s reflection and activities: “in forcing us to compose, articulate, and reinterpret our lives, [narrative] can move us toward action” (p. 21). Using narratives as a central part of an ethnographic approach provides focal subjects ways to “produce, represent, and contextualize experience and personal knowledge” (Schram, 2006, p. 104). Vitanova (2005) points out the transformative power of personal narratives: “By evaluating and naming the world around them, the participants in [the] study have claimed their voices and signed their own acts of authoring” (p. 156), leading to the possibility for them to act—to have and demonstrate their own agency. This potential for transformations echoes Labov’s (1972) structural description that narrative study offers “one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (inferred) actually occurred” (p. 218). Narrating their linguistic stories to others, whether researchers, colleagues, or students, allows storytelling subjects to build an intersubjectivity with other interlocutors, creating a space in which they can co-construct their identities through remembering, retelling, imagining revising, and editing themselves (van Lier, 2004, pp. 151-152).

Furthermore, consistent with Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism, narratives offer language teachers imagined spaces to embrace or resist outside positionings of what they should do (Schirmer Reis, 2011, p. 33), becoming “the intertextual ground for contesting others’ voices, re-accentuating their utterances with new meaning, and re-interpreting the self through [dialogue with] another” (Hall et al., 2005, p. 156). The teachers’ stories created a space in which, as researcher, I sought to contemplate “the multiple ideologies of schooling and personhood as they intersected” in their narrated lives (Ritchie and Wilson, 2000, p. 12).

As Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) describe, these narrative spaces offer subjects the possibility “to cross the border into the domain where selves and worlds are reconstructed” (p. 157) and to literally talk their experience into meaningfulness (p. 160).

Pavlenko and Lantolf conclude that these narrative spaces offer the storytellers the opportunity to navigate linguistic and cultural border crossings through *transgression*, the Bakhtinian notion of “the ability to perceive interactional events from outside of the event itself and in which attention is focused on the resources and identities involved in the events” (pp. 174-175). It is these moments of transgression that also contribute to personal transformations that this study’s subjects have undergone throughout their linguistic histories.

3.5 Project Description

3.5.1 Data Collection

The data collection itself consisted of seven overall phases, occurring from fall 2012 until spring 2014:

1. initial pilot study in order to develop the survey tool (fall 2012);
2. recruitment of subjects for the survey (fall 2012);
3. a statewide survey distributed to California instructors of kindergarten-high school (K-12) Spanish and French (summer and fall 2013);
4. recruitment of subjects for classroom observation (spring 2013 and 2014; fall 2013);
5. pre-observation interviews with three Bay Area-based focal subjects, documenting the subjects’ personal and professional histories (spring 2013 and 2014; fall 2013);
6. classroom observations and recordings of focal subjects (spring 2013 and 2014; fall 2013);
7. post-observation interviews with focal subjects, discussing subjects’ pedagogical decisions and influences while reviewing specific events from the classroom recordings (spring 2013 and 2014; fall 2013).

3.5.2 Survey Questionnaire

The first step in designing this project was to design and circulate an online survey aimed at K-12 instructors of Spanish and French. Dörnyei (2003) provided a flexible model in creating, constructing, administering, and processing a questionnaire that targets specifically data collection in L2 research. He provided explanations and examples of question types, mapping them to the types of data they would elicit. For example, he explained the usefulness of multiple-choice items in a survey context and then provided a sample from Gardner (1985, p. 181, *via* Dörnyei, 2003, p. 44) about a French learner’s attitude about language use in the classroom.

Thus, using this guide to L2 research questionnaires as a starting point, I selected four main themes that I could use to classify and label similar questions and responses, to anchor the survey. The four themes were the following: (1) language usage background; (2) practices and beliefs about language use and study; (3) language teaching history and practices; and (4) the place of language instruction in local school sites. I identified these themes based on the project’s central research questions about L2 teachers’ linguistic

identity construction and pedagogical practices. I then created a Google-based survey of 35 items that were divided into sections around these four constructs with a final section on the respondents' personal backgrounds (see Appendix, "World Language Teacher Survey Reflections"). I added the final section in order to understand the geographical and social diversity of the respondents.

Following Dörnyei's models of survey questions, I selected quantitative types such as Likert scales of agreement, multi-answer responses, and ranked choice eliciting closed, numerical data, which could be examined using standard range, mean, and variation analysis. Free-response and short narrative questions provided qualitative data that I coded according to frequently occurring key words and themes. I chose the types of questions based on two factors: (1) to map a specific question type to the most accurate response that it could elicit, and (2) to offer respondents different types of questions about the same theme. For example, I chose to use both multiple-choice questions and open-ended questions in each section so that respondents could check off specific, pre-created responses that they thought were true and could also elaborate their responses in their own words. Together, these types of questions allowed me to see the breadth of their answers as well as the depth in their written elaborations.

3.5.2.1 Pilot Study of Survey Questionnaire

Before distributing the online survey, I piloted an early draft of it with three L2 language instructors (one of French, two of Spanish) at an East Bay high school. I recruited them through the network of school administrators with whom I had worked when I was a classroom teacher. The three instructors and I met one afternoon in October 2012 in the classroom of the world languages department chairperson. I observed their taking of the survey, maintaining fieldnotes of their allotment of time per section and the average time that all three spent on the survey. While taking the survey, the teachers themselves kept running notes about interesting or problematic questions. After they completed it, I interviewed them about what they liked or found interesting about the survey and which sections and questions seemed confusing, recording their responses in my fieldnotes. Additionally, I asked them to comment on the length and format of the survey. Finally, these pilot respondents had the opportunity to provide recommendations for improving the survey.

Using their feedback, I revised the wording of the introductory directions of each section and added questions that addressed the specific employment histories of and languages taught by the respondents. I then piloted the revised survey with a teaching colleague, an instructor of university-level French familiar with the design process of online surveys who reiterated that I should reword the directions throughout the survey. Based on that feedback, I developed an introductory page for the survey that presented the purpose and consent measures for this research tool.

3.5.2.2 Distribution of Survey Questionnaire

The next stage involved the circulation of this online questionnaire at four intervals during April, May, June, and September 2013. I distributed the Google Survey-based questionnaire (see Appendix) to teachers of Spanish and French through the

network of California educators linked to the California Foreign Language Project (CFLP) at Stanford University.¹¹ In the 2013-2014 school year, 1,542 L2 teachers from 652 schools across the state participated in CFLP's professional development programs.¹² Of that total, approximately 925 instructors teach Spanish and approximately 308 instruct French.

In the first two rounds of participant solicitation, occurring in April and May 2013, K-12 teachers of Spanish and French only in the San Francisco Bay Area received an email invitation containing the request to respond to the survey. I was seeking patterns in their responses that would provide a local context for the three focal subjects of the case studies. Within the first three weeks of its circulation, the survey received 47 responses from each of the region's nine counties, with San Francisco, Alameda, and San Mateo Counties most represented. In June 2013, we circulated the survey statewide eight weeks after Bay Area teachers had first received it. By mid-July, another 41 teachers had completed the survey, bringing the total number of statewide respondents to 88. This round introduced respondents from counties outside of the Bay Area. Teachers of Spanish and French statewide received the survey one last time in mid-September 2013. In the end, the total respondents numbered 92 teachers.

3.5.2.3 Data Handling of Survey Responses

Since I had organized the survey questions according to the four key constructs (see 3.5.2), I first grouped the responses similarly. In doing so, I recognized that many responses crossed boundaries since they reflected the complexity of these teachers' life experiences and activities. From these questionnaire responses, organized using Google Survey's analytic tools into bar graphs (see Figure 3.1), circle graphs, and comment summaries, I then selected three themes that correlated most directly with the project's research questions. These three themes also framed the later stages of audio-recorded interviews with focal subjects and video-recorded classroom observations. Thus, these central themes were the following: (1) the relationship between teachers' early learning experiences with Spanish or French and the decision to become an instructor of that language; (2) the links between teachers' beliefs about linguistic prestige and power as well as best practices for teaching Spanish or French and their in-class activities;¹³ and (3) teachers' perceptions of their program's role in the context of their local site's schoolwide program. I selected these three themes for two reasons. The first reason was based on the replicability of Ritchie and Wilson's (2000) study on English teacher identity that mapped out those first two themes in a high school-level English context. The themes in that study provided for an analysis of the teachers' lives through analyzing

¹¹ Housed at Stanford University, this state-mandated project not only provides ongoing support and professional learning for California teachers of world languages, but it provides a real and virtual network statewide for these teachers. It was this virtual network that offered the space in which I circulated the online survey.

¹² These numbers came from electronic communication with the CFLP director.

¹³ For the eventual focal subjects, English was the dominant language of instruction across the curricular areas, with the world language classroom being the one space for another language to dominate. Within those language classrooms, though, questions of other languages and linguistic varieties that coexist with standard Spanish or French (e.g., Catalan, Maya, individual languages' sociolinguistic variation) would arise in class discussions.

together interview narratives, office hour interactions, and classroom behaviors. The second reason was that the second and third themes emerged as the most polarizing in the data of this present study; respondents had different, often oppositional answers to questions about the prestige of their target languages and about the place of their instruction in the context of their schools.

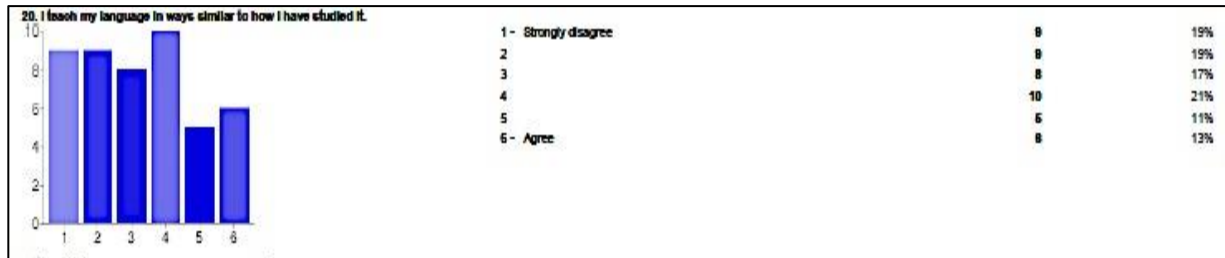


Figure 3.1 Example of Survey Data Bar graph and Percentages

The primary aim of the survey was to elicit data for the first research question (*In what ways do teachers of Spanish and of French in California reflect on their identities as users and instructors of the target language?*), which helped me gain an early but incomplete understanding of L2 teachers’ views on their histories, beliefs, and practices. This then led me to formulate interview questions (See 3.5.3.1 and 3.5.3.3) that stemmed directly from the questionnaire responses and from the research questions. It was necessary to consider in which situations and for which reasons the interviewees foregrounded or backgrounded themes that emerged from the survey-based questions, such as the social prestige of languages and the intersection of their language learning and teaching experiences.

3.5.3 Case Study Structure

To follow up the survey, I employed case studies for each of the three focal subjects. The purpose of case studies was to gain insight into the relationship between three focal subjects’ histories, beliefs, and practices and their context using multiple methods. The case studies allowed a focus on specific experiences of the teachers through capturing individual narratives and behaviors within the context of their school. Case studies provided an in-depth means to present different aspects of the subjects’ professional lives.

Each case study consisted of a pre-observation, semi-structured interview with the focal teacher, 5-7 classroom recordings focusing on the activities of the teacher, and one post-observation, semi-structured interview with the teacher.

3.5.3.1 Pre-Observation Interview

I structured the pre-observation interviews around six principal questions:

1. Please tell me your name and your current job and professional responsibilities.
2. Please describe the language(s) you grew up with and the ones present in your current household.

3. What is your level of proficiency in the languages that you know/use?
4. Please describe your first encounter with the language that you now teach.
5. Do you see yourself as part of multilingual speech community that includes the language you teach? How so?
6. Please describe your motivation to become/remain a teacher of Spanish or French and your students' motivations for studying the language.

Given the semi-structured nature of the interview, the focal subjects had room to explore related ideas, often at their lead, especially regarding early encounters with the target language. The second and fourth questions often led the subjects to tie in autobiographical stories involving the people and places that were connected to early and household encounters with the language. These memories, along with their personal and professional motivations, provided direct references that I looked for while observing their classroom activities.

Four questions (2, 3, 5, and 6) came directly from or were adapted from questions on the survey. The first question was for informational purposes, whereas Q4 was intended to elicit a narrative about a memory. For that question, I sought a slice of the interviewee's linguistic history to see if traces of it might be present in their present classroom behaviors.

In order to transcribe the interview, I audio-recorded the interview, using a Livescribe Echo Smart Pen and its companion notebook. By including the microphone within the pen itself, the pen's capabilities replaced the traditional set up of a recording device that sits between the interlocutors. The pen also houses a GPS device that matches the written words on the notebook paper to the recorded speech. This proved beneficial in two ways. The focal subjects and I spoke to each other without the distraction of an additional visual element of a more traditional recording device (e.g., tape or digital recorder, laptop), leading to a more fluent interview. When it came time for transcription, I accessed files from the pen that provided interactive PDF documents of my handwritten notes synced to the recorded speech, making for a smooth integration of my fieldnotes, recordings, and typed transcriptions. The only difficulty that I encountered in using this technology was matching my note-taking speed with the interviewee's talk. Since the Echo Smart Pen recognizes penmanship and matches it to the recorded speech, if my writing became too indecipherable, then the GPS would not be able to match my notes to the recording. This occurred rarely and did not impede the transcription process of the entire interview.

3.5.3.2 Classroom Observation Recordings

The classroom observations took place around the individual teacher's schedule, recording the teacher interacting with different groups of students. This also meant that I recorded the teacher creating and performing activities with students of different course levels. As a researcher in the classroom, I positioned myself as a nonparticipating observer: I did not provide any instruction nor did I interact with students during class time. The only direct interaction that I had with students was a brief description of the research project that I gave at the beginning of every new class I observed. I introduced myself, specified that I was conducting research focused on their teacher, and explained

that, while filming above their heads, I would be watching their teachers' movements and talk.

I situated a handheld digital video camera, mounted on a six-foot tripod, behind all of the student desks with a lateral sightline focused on the teacher. In the three classrooms of the focal subjects, the spatial distribution of each classroom was similar: a narrow band of lateral space near the whiteboards within which the teacher moved primarily, the widest band of space which included fixed rows of student desks within which the students remained primarily, and a band of space farthest from the teacher's space, behind the student desks, where I set up the camera and took notes. The camera remained at a height of six feet, and I adjusted its horizontal pan according to the movements of the teacher. Since students were not subjects of this project, I avoided filming them directly and concentrated on capturing the teacher's activities. During the filming, I made an additional audiorecording and made fieldnotes. In those fieldnotes, I specifically noted the time and utterances of moments that provided clear correlation to the project's research questions or that illustrated ideas introduced by the teacher during the pre-observation interview. These specific moments became potential topics for the post-observation interview.

3.5.3.3 Post-observation Interview

After completing the classroom recordings, I selected and edited short clips that would provide the basis for the post-observation interview. I edited the clips using QuickTime Player. I was able to select focal moments from entire classroom recordings, using topic changes as signals for the beginnings and ends of the edited scenes. For example, when the focal teacher was beginning a new lesson or introducing a new topic, that signaled a potential moment to begin the edited clip. A participant's utterance that ended the topic or introduced a new idea signaled a potential moment to end the edited clip. These short clips then became focal objects of study in the final interview.

During this final, audiorecorded interview, I asked the teacher five questions, which were adapted to be meaningful to each classroom context:

1. In the first interview, you stated that wanted to teach Spanish/French because Tell me more about that.
2. You made references in class to [regarding usage of French/Spanish]. Tell me more about how and why you present French/Spanish in such a way.
3. *Specific questions about video clips from classroom recordings.*
4. *Specific questions about classroom artifacts of note.*
5. As you reflect on your years of teaching Spanish/French, describe yourself as a teacher. What seems fundamental to your identity as a teacher of Spanish/French?

I planned for respondents' flexibility in answering these questions to allow each teacher the opportunity to reflect on specific moments of their teaching within the broader context of personal, local, and global activities. As I analyzed their responses, I returned to the results of the online survey to see how the activities and reflections of these three instructors compared.

3.5.4 Correlation of Research Questions and Data Forms

In sum, the different data sources provided means to respond to the study's research questions in these ways:

	Survey	Pre- Observation Interview	Classroom Observations	Post- Observation Interview
RQ1: In what ways do teachers of Spanish and of French in California reflect on their identities as users and instructors of the language(s) they teach?	X	X	X	X
RQ2: How do the classroom lessons and behaviors of Spanish and French teachers compare to their own identities as multilingual subjects?			X	X

Table 3.1 Summary of Correlation between Data Sources and Research Questions

3.6. Sites and Subjects

3.6.1 The historical and geographical context

In designing the teacher case studies for this ethnographic study, I selected candidates who provide daily instruction in French or Spanish in San Francisco East Bay Area high schools. The East Bay is home to a large and diverse population that has access to several urban centers offering various economic, commercial, residential, social, and educational opportunities.¹⁴ By situating my study in high school classrooms in this urban and suburban region, I hoped to capture the heterogeneous makeup of both the instructors and students that populate these spaces. High school teachers of French and Spanish respond daily to a combination of conditions that emerge in their classrooms as a result of different forces. These forces are formed jointly by global tensions (such as language use and political or economic power), national expectations (such as the role of world language study in the formation of American citizens), statewide pressures (such as immigration patterns or academic program assessment), and local realities (such as the needs of specific student populations or district-wide curriculum maps).

I position the work and thoughts of these three teachers within survey data collected from California teachers of Spanish and French statewide to find similarities and differences in language teachers' experiences in a variety of contexts. Teachers of French and Spanish in the East Bay interact regularly in networks of world language teachers locally and regionally and occasionally statewide and nationally. The sites that I

¹⁴ These findings are the result of demographic studies performed by a coalition of non-profit, for-profit, and public utility organizations: <http://www.eastbayindicators.org/2009/demographics.html>.

selected were active on all levels of these networks, participating in local district or diocesan trainings as well as in national programs and conferences.

3.6.2 Selection of Focal Subjects

I selected the three focal subjects for the case studies from high schools that were part of the California Foreign Language Project. Since I live, work, and have educational contacts in the San Francisco East Bay region, I reached out to schools in that area where I had a contact person. I sought high school teachers of foreign language Spanish and French, the most commonly studied foreign languages in the East Bay, because I would have the chance to observe introductory to AP levels in those settings. In order to secure their participation, I sought the written permission (both via email and on signed agreements) from their school principals, their department chairpersons, and the subjects themselves. The agreement letter described the project in depth, explaining the purpose of the study and the data collection procedures. Additionally, it stated that names of all participants and sites would be changed but that photographs and recordings of them may be used in writing and presentations, in line with the partial anonymization I sought to maintain in order to protect the participants. Once I had all signatures, I then proceeded to meet individually with each focal subject.

I first emailed possible sites and encountered difficulty in inspiring them to commit to the study. For instance, the World Languages chairperson at East Bay Mechanical High School, the first site, responded to my email negatively, stating that the study would disrupt her teachers' work and student learning.¹⁵ When she permitted me to present the study's purpose and call for participation at a departmental meeting, she warned me that it was unlikely that any of the teachers would commit. The difficulty I experienced at Cardinal O'Malley High School, the second site, was different. The principal readily welcomed the study and facilitated email discussion between the World Languages chairperson and me. I had to send several follow-up emails to the chairperson (who later became one of the focal subjects), however, in order to solicit his interest in the project.

Originally, I planned on a third site for the last focal subject, but, one month before I had scheduled to begin data collection there, the two possible candidates withdrew their availability. I then contacted the two other focal subjects, with whom I had already finished data collection, and they both put me in contact with colleagues at their site who might participate. In the end, I returned to East Bay Mechanical High School because I would have the opportunity to work with a focal subject who would be the only native speaker of the "foreign" language that she was teaching. This then meant that my three subjects represented the following linguistic identities:

1. Focal Subject #1, Dionne Simpson: non-native teacher of L2 Spanish
2. Focal Subject #2: Zeke Pankin: non-native teacher of L2 French and L2 Spanish
3. Focal Subject #3: Filomena Gaos: native teacher of L2 Spanish

¹⁵ The names of all schools and participants have been changed.

3.6.3 Site #1, two focal subjects: East Bay Mechanical High School

Two focal subjects, Dionne Simpson and Filomena Gaos, taught at East Bay Mechanical High School (EBMHS), an urban public high school in the San Francisco East Bay. EBMHS is one of fifteen high schools governed by the local school district. The school district established the school in 1914, housing it in a newly built, prominent building that would become an architectural landmark in the region and attract students from different parts of the area. Currently, this particular school offers four years of instruction, with the schoolwide vision that:

- All members of the community will work cooperatively and communicate respectfully in a peaceful, safe and clean environment
- All students will strive to achieve high expectations, meet solid academic standards, and have equal access to an enriching curriculum that will enable them to reach their highest potential
- All students will graduate with strong academic, vocational, and social skills, prepared to enter college, quality jobs and career training.
(EBMHS School Pillars document)

Students in tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades register in one the school's seven "academies," each of which promotes specific contexts for learning and developing students' multiple abilities.¹⁶ Students pursuing four-year higher education after high school must study a world language for a minimum of two years. The world language program thus crosses all the academies, complying with the schoolwide learning goal of offering a curriculum that meets the University of California a-g requirements.¹⁷

I first inquired about conducting research at this site through a preliminary email to the teachers of Spanish and French, whose addresses I found through the school's public website. The high school's world language chairperson responded to my inquiry, allowing me to present my project to the teachers of Spanish during one of their routine, after school meetings. I received a separate response email from a Spanish teacher in the department, who expressed interest in my project. She would eventually become the subject of the first case study and would respond to the online survey. The department chair, herself an instructor of Spanish, had at first resisted my pursuit of conducting research on campus, fearing that it would cause too intrusive a distraction from teaching and student learning. After her permission to present at this departmental meeting, I arrived with the hope that one of the four teachers of Spanish would agree to be a focal subject of this study. I arrived armed with *pain d'épice* and strawberries, project descriptions and consent forms.

¹⁶ The academies are Health Academy, BioTech Academy, Engineering Academy, Green Academy, Computer Academy, Paideia Program, and Performing Arts Program.

¹⁷ "The intent of the 'a-g' subject requirements is to ensure that students have attained a body of general knowledge that will provide breadth and perspective to new, more advanced study. [...] These courses are meant to be academically challenging, involving substantial reading, writing, problems and laboratory work (as appropriate), and show serious attention to analytical thinking, factual content and developing students' oral and listening skills." (<http://www.ucop.edu/agguide/a-g-requirements/>)

We sat in a closed circle in the department chair's classroom. My presentation came at the end of their meeting, which itself took place after a full day of instruction for these teachers. The chair had informed me that I would have twenty minutes to present my project and seek participation from a willing teacher present at the meeting. As I walked the assembled language instructors through my one-page project description (see Appendix), I visually tracked how and to what extent they were interacting with the written description and with me. After I had completed my broad presentation of the project, I invited questions and comments. This Q&A period became less about the project *per se* and much more a discussion about these teachers' experiences as multilingual language instructors working with a socioeconomically and racially diverse, multilingual student body. The specified twenty minutes became forty minutes, due to the quantity of lived experiences that these teachers were eager to describe. Without planning it, this first, informal encounter became a microcosm of the central work of this study. At the end of the meeting, I distributed my contact information and agreed that I would follow up with potential teacher-subjects within five days of this first meeting.

3.6.3.1 Focal Subject: Dr. Dionne Simpson

The teacher who would become the first focal subject from this campus, Dionne Simpson, distinguished herself from her fellow teachers at that departmental meeting by her intense scrutiny of my oral description of the project and its genesis. While her colleagues were providing rich (albeit, officially off-the-record) testimonies of their own relationships with language learning and teaching, Dionne Simpson asked logistical questions pertaining to the shape and scope of my study. She also admitted that she had completed a doctorate at a large, public university, specializing in twentieth century Spanish-language literature. The admission of her graduate work, singling her out as the only person in the room with a completed doctorate, aligned her symbolically with me and suggested an intimate understanding of the dissertation process on which I was embarking. The following week, we made an appointment to meet after school in her classroom to discuss my presence and work in her classroom.

In our first meeting alone together to schedule the pre-observation interview and classroom observations, the topic of conversation was a broad overview of Dionne Simpson's current roles at East Bay Mechanical School. Previously a high school instructor of English literature and, more recently, a chair of the school's World Languages department, Simpson was teaching Spanish full-time when I met her.¹⁸ Her teaching assignments included third and fourth year Spanish (Spanish 3 and 4), which were non-Honors electives for students. She had chosen to teach these Spanish courses because she thought they were the ideal mix of language, culture, and literature without the standards-driven pressure of an AP course. Besides her instructional responsibilities, she chose to be a teacher union representative for her teacher colleagues, which required a time commitment beyond school hours as well as regular communication with both

¹⁸ I use the term "world languages" in contexts in which the school administration and language teachers did. This term has come to replace "foreign languages" in most state-created educational literature since 2010 as well as in departmental names in high schools throughout the state. The shift highlights a philosophical shift from the belief that languages other than English are "foreign" to a belief that all languages are equal from a global perspective.

union and non-union teachers on staff. Previously, Simpson had served as the head of the school's Environmental Academy, an administrative position that afforded her direct encounters with more students and more colleagues.

3.6.3.2 Focal Subject: Ms. Filomena Gaos

I first met Filomena Gaos at the same afterschool meeting where I met Dionne Simpson. Both teachers are part of East Bay Mechanical High School's (EBMHS) World Language Department. I did not immediately pursue working with Gaos because Dionne Simpson was the only teacher at that time who followed up with me to participate in this study. Almost exactly a year later, Simpson recommended to both Gaos and me that we should work together for the study. Gaos and I communicated over email to arrange a meeting, and her responses to my inquiry to conduct research in her classroom were enthusiastic and welcoming. I thus reconnected with Filomena Gaos in February 2014.

When I arrived for our initial interview, Gaos met me at the door of her classroom with a smile on her face. Although it was after school on that February afternoon, she was still working with one student, helping him organize his materials to be able to complete his homework that evening. We conducted the pre-observation interview during this meeting.

Gaos was born and raised in Barcelona during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939-1975), and she continued to live in Spain, moving between Barcelona and Madrid, until she moved to the San Francisco Bay Area in 2001. She had been teaching Spanish as a foreign language or as a heritage language to high school students since her arrival in the Bay Area.

3.6.4 Site #2, one focal subject: Cardinal O'Malley High School

The second site, Cardinal O'Malley High School, is one of nine Roman Catholic high schools in the East Bay. It was established as a diocesan high school (rather than having been founded by a religious order) in 1951, and, at the time of the study, was co-educational with more than 1100 students and 120 faculty and staff members. The high school is located on the border of a large urban center and a neighboring suburb, and the student body at the time of the study reflected an ethnically, racially, and socioeconomically diverse population. According to school-produced literature and on the school website, it described itself as a college preparatory high school, listing that 99% of its graduates continue onto college.

3.6.4.1 Focal Subject: Dr. Zeke Pankin

I first reached out to Dr. Zeke Pankin over email in early spring 2013 while I was collecting data in Dionne Simpson's classroom. I had found him because he was teaching at Cardinal O'Malley High School (COMHS), with which I had had frequent contact when I used to teach junior high. We had never previously met, but I was hoping that my familiarity with his school and its administration would encourage him to participate in the study. In addition to teaching French at the time that I conducted the study, he was also the world languages department chair and had also taught Spanish for the prior six

years. Happily, after a few emails and phone calls back and forth, Dr. Pankin agreed to participate, allowing me time to interview and audio-record him one-on-one and to video-record several periods of his various French classes.

My first meeting with Pankin took place during a lengthy prep break between his courses. He had invited me to meet in his classroom, which was situated on the central corridor of the main classroom building at COMHS. The meeting with Pankin was brief, during which I outlined the project and the data collection process that would involve him. Pankin was immediately interested in the project and welcomed the idea of discussing his linguistic history with me as well as having me film his activities in the classroom. We scheduled the initial, one-on-one interview for the following week and then set up six, one-hour long classroom times for recording. These classes reflected the spectrum of levels that he was teaching at that time: first-year through third-year French, with a small AP group in one of his third-year courses.¹⁹

3.7 Constraints on and Subjects' Take Up of Interactions

These teachers' narratives and the first section of survey responses offered a background to what I would be observing and interrogating in the focal subjects' classrooms. In their first interviews, Dionne Simpson, Zeke Pankin, and Filomena Gaos constructed and negotiated their linguistic identities within several constraints. The first constraint was that of time: we had set schedules for the interviews, and, due to their professional and personal commitments, those schedules were limited, lasting no more than 80 minutes each. Secondly, since these interviews were semi-structured, I provided the lead questions, and each subject responded to them along a continuum of creative freedom. For example, both Pankin and Gaos helmed closely to the direct questions I asked, explicitly checking to see if their answer satisfied my question. Simpson, on the other hand, used the questions as an opportunity to introduce her own framing device for her narrative. Finally, another constraint within the content of the interviews was the information I selected to elicit from them and that which they were willing to offer. Specifically, I did not set out to document other, not specifically linguistic aspects of their lives, such as their personal relationships with loved ones or friends, unless they affected or represented some aspect of their multilingual identity.

3.8 The roles of transcription and translation

3.8.1 Transcription and Conversation Analysis

I transcribed the recorded data with the understanding that any transcription is a process of the researcher's "conscious selectivity" (Ochs, 1979, p. 44). Specifically for what I transcribed and included in this project, I selected from the data salient moments in the teachers' interviews and classroom presentations that provided evidence of their reflections on their identities as users and instructors of the target language and their

¹⁹ Because of the small numbers of students eligible and interested in taking Advanced Placement (AP) French in the 2013-2014 school year at COMHS, these students followed semi-independently an AP curriculum while attending daily Pankin's third-year French class. Their assignments and assessment were based on the AP expectations.

classroom practices. In order to show these moments, I used conventions associated with conversation analysis, through which I captured variations in language use as well breathing, pause, intonation, interruption, and recasts.

In selecting conversation analysis (CA) as a framework for understanding the data, I utilized Hutchby and Wooffitt’s (2008) specification that the “conversation” in CA is “talk-in-interaction,” not limited to the social dimension of a conversation (pp 11-12). This talk-in-interaction thus includes this study’s recorded semi-structured interviews and classroom talk. Moreover, since this study situated the majority of the recorded talk in classrooms, “in the ordinary unfolding of people’s lives, as opposed to being...set up in laboratories, or otherwise experimentally designed” (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008, p. 12), conversation analysis was the most appropriate framework to study recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. Conversation analysis permitted me to show how and when participants took the floor, how they used their turns at talk, and how their changes in intonation, stress, and volume signified a change in their talk. Significantly, an approach using conversation analysis focuses on the work and meanings created during interaction, including both verbal and nonverbal behavior.

In determining the transcriptions’ level of detail, I focused on conventions that balanced capturing the speech patterns and turn-taking process with readability of the transcribed data. Easy and immediate readability was important for the transcribed data because the content of the data—the answers to direct questions and classroom lectures—provided the most meaningful information related to the research questions. Because I wanted to represent how participants delivered utterances, the transcriptions included paralinguistic phenomena. These transcriptions reflect phenomena such as intonation changes, overlapping talk, laughter, pauses, and stress, using symbols adapted from Schegloff’s analysis of interaction (1987). By including these graphic representations, I emphasized the meaningfulness of these moments of talk in conveying the subject positions and discourse work of the focal subjects.

A sample from Dionne Simpson’s first interview exemplifies how the use of symbols captured the paralinguistic phenomena:

<p>WH = interviewer DS = focal subject “=” means no gap between turns (.) = pause of more than ½ second, number indicating seconds □ = rising tone, like in an exclamation ? = rising tone, like in a question : = extension of vowel { } = nonverbal cues or communication [] = overlapping talk XX = unclear talk bolded text = stressed by speaker</p>
DS1: which ki:nd of leads to what I was thinking about today
WH2: yeah
DS3: about how it was necessary to learn Spanish because in some way my mind is
DS4: much is very comfortable thinking in Spanish it’s I’m comfortable with
DS5: Latin-American literature I’m teaching my kids my my fours are reading magical

DS6: realism and they have=
WH7: =that's right=
DS8: =trouble with it and I'm going why would you have trouble with this? I mean I
DS9: don't say that to them but to me it was like finally somebody who thinks like I do
DS10: {laugh}
WH11: hm mm hm mm
DS12: {laughing} this this is the language I should've been thinking in all my life (.2)

Figure 3.2 Example of Data Transcription with Symbol Key

In the transcription, I also chose to note moments of *interoccurrence* of both verbal and non-verbal communication (following Ochs, 1979, p. 57). An example of this type of communication would be the simultaneous speech, hand gestures, and eye contact that a language teacher does during a lecture. These moments of the combined work of talk and gesture provided opportunities to observe how these teachers worked to create and update their discourse spaces (Moulin, 1995) and were thus important to capture in the transcription.

3.8.2 Translation

The question of what and when to translate data presented itself routinely in the classroom recordings and less systematically in the interviews. Moments that required translation into English were affected by the genre of talk—in this project, either classroom lecture, class discussion, or individual interviews. All of the study's focal subjects identified as multilingual; therefore, their classroom talk and interview responses had the potential to move between languages. In order to make the data understandable to potential readers, I translated the passages into English (unless the speakers themselves translated fragments over the course of the talk), finding the closest lexical and morpho-syntactic equivalents to the original languages. One notable exception was translation of idiomatic expressions because their nearest semantic equivalents in English were often composed of different lexical and syntactic elements. Glosses of individual, word-length utterances appear in the text beside the original form. Translations of sentence-length utterances appear in footnotes, apart from the original transcribed data, which appear in the main body of the chapters. Translations longer than a simple sentence appear in tables alongside the original utterance.

All three focal subjects used the target languages in their classroom talk, but to varying degrees per focal subject and per course level. Likewise, their students' language choice varied across contexts. In the translation of this classroom data, I provided a gloss of the teachers' and the students' utterances.²⁰ I led with English during the interviews with the focal subjects, but their narratives involved moments of codeswitching.

In order to understand the possibility of codeswitching and then how to account for it through translation, I referred to Grosjean's (2002) description of "language mode as a confounding variable" in human research projects (p. 6). He called attention to the "state of activation of the bilingual's languages and language-processing mechanisms at a given point in time" (p. 1) and underscored the difficulty in transcribing a speaker who

²⁰ The focal moments in the classroom came during teacher-directed lectures during which there was a range of vocal student participation, from no interaction to a handful of student utterances.

might switch languages at any moment. I thus decided to select English as the base language for the interview transcriptions, since it was the dominant one that we used. For the classroom observations of the two Spanish teachers, I selected Spanish since that was the dominant language that they used in their classrooms. For Pankin's classroom, I maintained English as the base language since that is what he used primarily. In the transcriptions, I italicized utterances that occurred in languages other than the base one since those utterances marked a change in language.

3.9. Data Analysis

The two central research questions provided the study's central themes and guided the ways in which I analyzed the data. Since the first question focused on teacher reflections, I coded the survey responses and interview responses according to the study's three central themes:

1. the relationship between teachers' early learning experiences with Spanish or French and the decision to become an instructor of that language;
2. the links between teachers' beliefs about linguistic prestige and power as well as best practices for teaching Spanish or French and their in-class activities; and
3. teachers' perceptions of their program's role in the context of their local site's schoolwide program.

I first coded the responses of individual subjects to ascertain a timeline of their language learning and teaching and their teaching beliefs and experiences. I also coded the survey respondents who taught only Spanish, those who taught only French, those who taught both, and those who taught French/Spanish and another subject or language. This led to a preliminary understanding of their linguistic identities as L2 users and teachers.

I then compared and contrasted different teachers' responses to questions about their linguistic histories, repertoires, and practices. In doing so, I put into dialogue the similar and different ways in which they negotiated their linguistic identities and understood their pedagogical beliefs and practices. This allowed me to begin mapping out an imagined, statewide professional community of L2 teachers of Spanish and French.

Responses to the open-ended questions provided key words that identified the tensions and pressures that California teachers of Spanish and French share (administratively, curriculum-wise, student-wise, training-wise). I coded key phrases, such as "time allotted,"²¹ "Common Core," and "professional development," based on their frequency across responses. Beyond identifying similarities across linguistic, professional, and pedagogical experiences, I focused on the differences that these teachers exhibited due to their unique personal and professional experiences and the perceived social prestige of the languages that they teach. The following chapters illuminate these ideas.

²¹ Time allotment refers to the amount of scheduled time that respondents had for both instruction and professional development.

3.10 A Note on The Researcher: Confessions, Limitations, Possibilities

This project originated from two primary motivations: (1) to test my own perception of a dearth of studies that capture the daily classroom activities of non-English L2 teachers; and, (2) to respond to the lack of literature in the field of non-English L2 teacher identity, pedagogy, and education. Consequently, I positioned myself as a researcher who straddled the insider-outsider divide. As an applied linguist working primarily in Romance languages, I was an outsider to the K-12 L2 teaching community and to the individual classrooms in which I collected data. At the same time, as a former classroom teacher and a current L2 instructor of university-level French, I was an insider who shared similar professional and personal experiences with the study's focal subjects. In this project, therefore, I foregrounded my training as a Romance applied linguist, which entailed describing teachers' linguistic repertoires, rather than making summative evaluations of their grammatical and communicative competence. These descriptions allowed me to draw comparisons between how they described these repertoires, how they brought them into their classrooms, and how, taken together, those actions led to a description of their linguistic identities.

I also found that my research methods—primarily ethnographic—positioned me as well. In classroom ethnographic research, if the estrangement devices “which [enable] the ethnographer to look at phenomena...with detachment” (van Lier, 1988, p. 37) at a later time are audio- and video-recorders, then the ethnographer-researcher himself is also “the ethnographic ‘instrument’” (LeCompte, 1987, p. 43). The human researcher mediates between the raw data and the eventual analysis, in ways not entirely dissimilar from a recording instrument. In other words, just as other instruments have inherent constraints and biases, so too does the researcher.

In particular, the subject positions that I occupied reflected the different selves throughout my life that I brought to this study: native Californian, classroom teacher, school administrator, classroom researcher, language learner, language teacher, and doctoral student. For example, both Dionne Simpson and Zeke Pankin had completed doctoral programs in Spanish and French, respectively; they thus had completed dissertations and identified with me as a doctoral student. Since the one-on-one methodology that I used with my focal teachers was the interview, the focal subjects were able to know a bit about me through our conversations. This affected how they responded to my requests and how they framed their talk. Simpson explicitly acknowledged the organization needed to complete such a project, and consequently made scheduling accommodations that would allow my data collection to proceed easily. Gaos positioned me primarily as a language teacher who had developed curriculum and as a researcher who had observed other language classes. When the recordings were off, she asked me for evaluative feedback on her lessons and classroom management. Her positioning of me was problematic for me because it invited the possibility for me to provide professional evaluation, which was not how I envisioned my role during this study. In responding to her, I did not comment on what she was doing nor did I describe what I had observed other teachers do but rather shared activities that I performed in my own language classes. In doing so, I reinforced my subject position as a language teacher colleague, trying to move from the hierarchical positioning that she was constructing to a horizontal model. I believed that this latter model would make our interviews more conversational

and relaxed in order for her to provide open-ended narratives that were not limited by any perceptions of me as a supervisor or evaluator.

Additionally, as I developed the constructs of the survey questionnaire and the case studies of my focal subjects, I also performed a personal “ethnography of the mind” (LeCompte, 1987, p. 43), an ongoing meta-analysis of my own biases and choices through each stage of the project. These constructs were inspired not just from prior research design models (Danielewicz, 2001; Johnson and Golombek, 2002; Ritchie and Wilson, 2000), but also from my own experience as a classroom teacher and assistant school administrator. Thus, my intimate knowledge of a K-8 environment directly impacted how I set up this project, from the types of information I collected to the scheduling of data collection around the nine-month school calendar and the daily responsibilities of classroom teachers.

I also maintained an ongoing journal of my personal reactions to the different data, particularly when my perceptions blurred because of my own different subjectivities. Occasionally, some data reflect teachers’ grammatical errors or classroom management issues that sparked my teacher-administrator subjectivity. Once I recognized that that was occurring, I documented it in my journal and continued to analyze the data in light of the study’s research questions. Moments such as these affected my interpretation of the data because I had to assess the filters I had that resulted from the different possible selves in me. I addressed this concern by returning to the research questions and using those to direct the data interpretation; in this case, spotlighting narratives and activities that focused on language use and identity construction.

Chapter 4 Survey Description and Findings

“I go to church in Spanish[,] translate[,] and even dream bilingual.” (High School L2 Spanish Teacher, Online Survey)

4.1 Introduction

Teachers of second and foreign languages enter their classrooms with rich, varied, and often unarticulated life experiences that play a role in their instruction of target languages and cultures. In putting into dialogue results from the online survey and the focal subjects’ autobiographies and pedagogical practices, this chapter and the subsequent one highlight the complex and diverse ways that L2 teachers of Spanish and French construct, negotiate, and recalibrate their linguistic identities in the context of their professional work. In this particular chapter, I present and analyze data that help me respond to the first research question, *In what ways do teachers of Spanish and of French in California reflect on their identities as users and instructors of the language(s) they teach?*

The stories that came from the study’s participants, whether written short answers or oral linguistic autobiographies, contributed to the construction of their linguistic identity. Identifying the languages in their childhood and adult lives, together with short narratives describing their learning and use of Spanish and/or French, permitted the survey respondents to provide evidence of how they constructed their linguistic identities. In the context of bi/multilingual language teachers, a linguistic autobiography comprises a participant’s narratives of the roles that languages have played in their personal and professional development over their lifetimes. These linguistic autobiographies “focus on the languages of the speaker and discuss how and why these languages were acquired, used, or abandoned” (Pavlenko, 2007, p. 165). In telling their narratives, the speakers in this present study provided insight into their linguistic identities.

For this study, a linguistic identity is reflected in a set of stable and unstable features, including a speaker’s language, nationality, and education, which combine to form a person’s uniqueness. Following Duff and Uchida (1997, *via* Varghese et al., 2005, p. 23), “identity is not context-free but is crucially related to social, cultural, and political context,” and is thus more or less stable depending on changes in context. For example, a speaker’s status as a fluent L2 speaker of Spanish might become a prominent feature of her identity in a context in which knowing how to use Spanish with facility is important, as we shall see in one of Dionne Simpson’s remembrances. Additionally, teachers’ written and oral reflections on their linguistic histories provide examples of the ways in which “identity is constructed, maintained, and negotiated [...] through language and discourse” (Varghese et al., 2005, p. 23).

In the first part of the online survey and in my first interviews with the focal teachers of this study, I hoped to capture snapshots of their early experiences with the languages that they were presently teaching in light of their identity construction. These snapshots were revealed in their short answers online and their personal narratives, which provided a more general foundation of how language teachers viewed themselves as language users and instructors. The answers and narratives also provided specific

moments that I could then compare and contrast with their in-class language use and pedagogical practices (examined in Chapter 6). Guided by the survey and interview questions, teachers focused on their lifelong experiences with the different languages in their lives, reflecting on their uses and on significant moments defined by the languages. Their discrete experiences, taken together, reflect a total picture of a Spanish or French teacher's life: using Spanish in church, writing in French to distant host families, and dreaming in different languages, for example.

4.2 Survey Description and Responses: Section by Section

In this chapter, I focus squarely on the survey results in order to establish a broad backdrop of the investigations I later carried out with the three focal teachers. As a result, in the subsequent chapter, after having discussed the entire survey, I will then discuss the data pertaining to the focal teachers' reflections on their identities as users and instructors of the languages they teach.

4.2.1 Section 1: Language Use Background

In order to elicit their autobiographical narratives, I asked all participants, whether online or in person, seven questions about their linguistic identities and histories. I selected a variety of quantitative answer formats for five questions so that respondents could provide as much detail as they wished within parameters set by each of the closed questions. I established those parameters so that the responses could still be quantified and coded with minimal qualitative information. One question (Q1a) served as a follow up to respondents who grew up in bi/multilingual households and was therefore a qualitative one. Finally, establishing a pattern that continued throughout the later survey section, I designed the next-to-last question of this section to be open ended, providing respondents the possibility of extending their explanations or of summarizing their thoughts on the section's theme.

In the rest of section 4.2, I explore each of the seven questions in-depth, drawing out findings from the data as well as remarking on what the data do not reveal.

4.2.1.1 Q1 Please identify ALL the languages that were used in your childhood home and Q1A (Answer ONLY if more than one language was spoken in your childhood home.) Which household members spoke more than one language, and what were those languages?

Question 1, a quantitative question, had a closed set of eleven, multiple-choice responses. Respondents could select as many choices as needed to reflect the languages used in their childhood households. Figure 1 summarizes the breakdown.

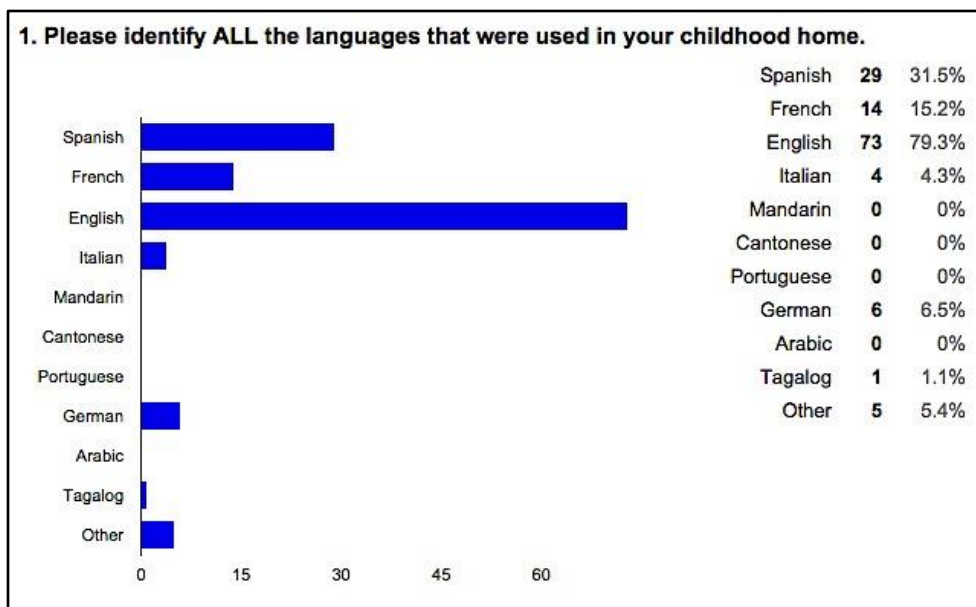


Figure 4.1 Summary of Languages in Respondents' Childhood Homes (n=132 responses/92 respondents)

The data showed that 79.3% of respondents—or 73 out of 92 respondents—grew up with English as one of the languages or the only language at home. Of these 73 teachers, 45 grew up with English only at home. These numbers revealed that just less than half of all respondents (48.9%, or 45 of 92) grew up in monolingual English households; thus, the remaining 47 respondents were raised in one of the following environments:

- monolingual non-English households (17.4%, or 16 of 92)
 - Spanish only (12%, or 11 of 92)
 - French only (3.3%, or 3 of 92)
 - German only (1.1%, or 1 of 92)
 - Lithuanian only (1.1%, or 1 of 92)
- English-Spanish bilingual households (9.8%, or 9 of 92)
- English-French bilingual households (3.3%, or 3 of 92)
- English-Spanish-French multilingual households (6.5%, or 6 of 92)
- English-German bilingual households (2.2%, or 2 of 92)
- French-German bilingual households (1.1%, or 1 of 92)
- English-Italian bilingual households (3.3%, or 3 of 92)
- Spanish-Italian-Danish multilingual households (1.1%, or 1 of 92)
- English-Yiddish bilingual households (1.1%, or 1 of 92)
- Spanish-English-German multilingual households (2.2%, or 2 of 92)
- English-Tagalog bilingual households (1.1%, or 1 of 92)
- English-Ilokano bilingual households (1.1% or, 1 of 92)
- French-patois bilingual households (1.1%, or 1 of 92)
- other languages (5.4%, 5 of 92)

The big picture that emerged showed that English was the most frequently occurring language across respondents, but that Spanish also showed strongly (31.5% counting it as one of their childhood languages). That number, alongside the other nine languages

named by respondents, indicated the linguistically diverse backgrounds of these respondents, all teachers of French or Spanish. This information provided a snapshot into the early linguistic contexts in which these language teachers were raised. This snapshot was important in terms of the first central research question because it provided respondents a starting point in terms of their self-identification as bi/multilingual language users.

The related question, Q1a, was short answer, and thirty-six respondents answered this optional question. Their responses filled in certain gaps suggested by the numerical data elicited by the first question. The five respondents who identified childhood languages other than the ones I had listed among the choices added these to the list: Czech, Catalan, Sindhi, and Hindi. Few respondents (11.1%, 4 of 36) described their entire childhood household as fluent in the non-English languages that were present. Two respondents (5.6%) did not directly identify their parents as the source of non-English language use, but rather their neighbors or grandparents. One respondent (2.8%) reported her sister as the household member who primarily spoke a language other than English, breaking with the dominant model of that being a characteristic of older generations. A significant finding from this question was the generational shift from the languages that the parents' generation spoke to the ones that remained within the respondents' generation because the majority of lifelong bi/multilingual respondents were second-generation immigrants. As part of the a generation born, raised, and/or educated in the United States with consistent contact with English, respondents reflected changes in their linguistic practices over time.

Altogether, data from these two interrelated questions revealed the complex network of languages in which the majority of respondents grew up. I was then interested in seeing two things based on the data from these first questions:

- a) what linguistic changes, if any, would occur as respondents created their adult households? (discussed in section 4.2.1.2)
- b) What would focal subjects' narratives reveal about how early exposure to Spanish and French influenced the early development of their multilingual identities? (discussed in Chapter 5)

In the end, the data from both questions 1 and 1a provided answers to understand the early linguistic contexts of respondents and further questions to map out the ongoing construction of their linguistic identities.

4.2.1.2 Q2 Please identify ALL the languages that are used in your current household.

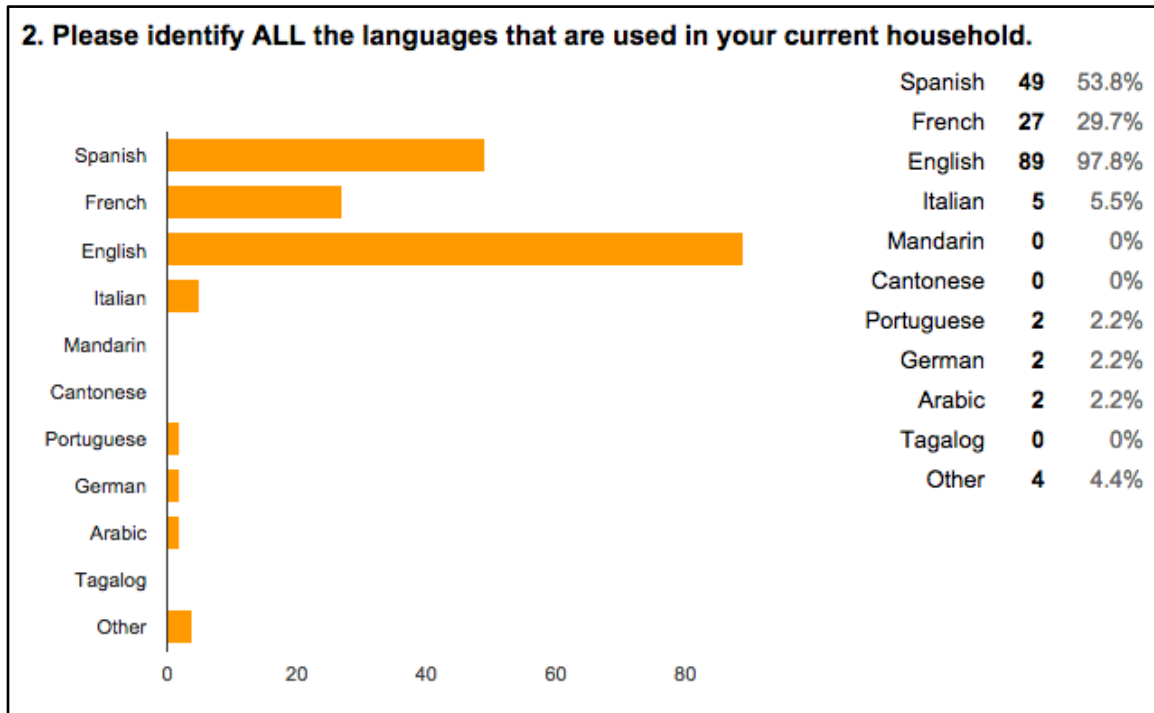


Figure 4.2 Summary of Languages in Respondents' Current Homes (n=180 responses/92 respondents)

This question changed the timeline in the first questions from respondents' childhoods to their present households in order to indicate linguistic continuities and changes in their lives. I was also interested in comparing their employment as French or Spanish teachers to their home lives. That comparison allowed an understanding of the overlap, if any, between respondents' use of languages in their professional settings and home environments.

Eighty-nine of the 92 respondents (97.8%) now identified English as one of their current household languages, if not the only one. This indicated an increase in the presence of English by 18.5%. More remarkably, the presence of Spanish and French jumped considerably, with the first language now present in 53.8% of homes and the second one in 29.7%. These numbers marked a significant increase from 31.5% for Spanish and 15.2% for French that respondents had identified in their childhood households.

These increases indicated some changes affecting their professional lives. All respondents were U.S. residents and instructors in U.S. high schools at the time of the survey; thus, English featured in their lives regularly. For those respondents whose childhoods were spent outside of an English-speaking context, their adult households reflected the increase of English's presence and necessity, especially for interacting with their colleagues. For Spanish and French, the increases reflected other domestic changes that were loosely connected to their professional identities. Many respondents indicated that they were in bi/multilingual love relationships and were raising bi/multilingual children, in which English was one of the shared languages in 89 of those households.

The other languages remained mostly stable, with the greatest loss in German-speaking households.

What the data do not show is the link, in either direction, between respondents' household language use and classroom language use. For example, it is not clear from these responses if bi/multilingual practices at home, especially with any combination of French, Spanish, and English, mirrored classroom practices. Some answers would eventually emerge from the classroom-based case studies of the three focal teachers.

4.2.1.3 Q3 *In what languages do you have high-level proficiency?*

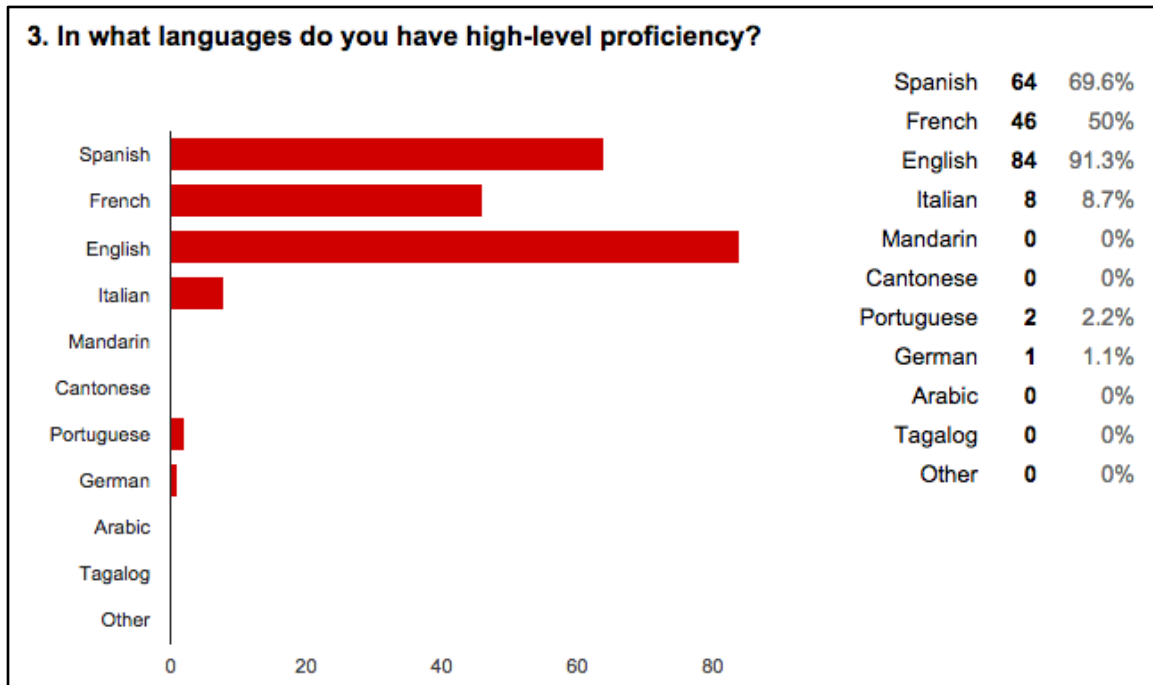


Figure 4.3 Summary of Respondents' High-Level Linguistic Proficiency (n=205 responses/92 respondents)

This question elicited respondents' perceptions of their linguistic proficiency in the languages they knew. The percentage that evaluated their English proficiency as "high" (91.3%) was interesting for two reasons. First, unsurprisingly, native speakers of English all identified their first language (L1) proficiency as high. Second, L2 speakers of English indicated their proficiency quite differently from each other. Although all respondents were living and working in English-dominant contexts, not all L2 speakers of the language perceived their proficiency to be high. The biggest discrepancy in self-perception came in comparing the results of French-English speakers and Spanish-English speakers. The latter group perceived their L2 English proficiency to be lower than their L1 Spanish by 2:1 as compared to the L2 English proficiency of L1 French speakers. In light of self-reported descriptions in questions 6 and 7 (discussed below), L1 and heritage Spanish speakers often maintained more consistent ties than their French-speaking peers with both exclusively Spanish-speaking and English-Spanish bilingual speech communities throughout their lives. That description might account for their lowered perceptions of their English proficiency.

What the data do not show is if those perceptions matched a standardized assessment of their proficiency in any of the languages. For this survey, I was more interested in their perceptions to see if, in the case studies, those ideas might affect how they used and presented the languages with which they familiar. As we shall see (especially in Filomena Gaos’s perception of her English proficiency in Chapter 5), these perceptions frequently affected teachers’ classroom behaviors and activities.

4.2.1.4 Q4 *What was the first point in learning the language(s) you now teach?*

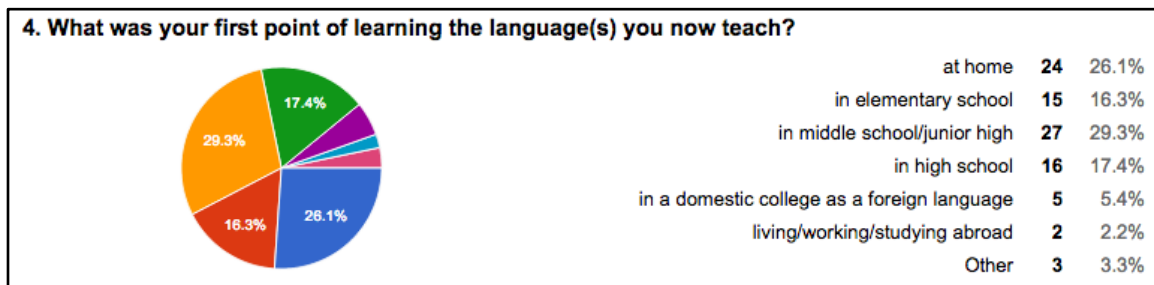


Figure 4.4 Summary of Respondents’ First Point of Learning Target Languages (n=92 respondents)

This question asked respondents to identify the context in which they first learned the language that they were currently teaching. The question served two initial purposes: (1) to specify the setting and age in which respondents took up the language; and (2) to map out learning that took place in academic settings and in non-academic settings.

Broadly, the responses painted an overall picture of these respondents as academic language learners. Although 24 respondents (26.1%) learned at home the languages that they later taught, 63 situated their language learning as classroom-based. Of those 63, the largest group began learning the target language in middle school or junior high (27 of 63, or 42.9%). The remaining five respondents learned the target language in the target culture as adolescent or post-adolescent learners.

These data suggest the very real role that classroom-based L2 learning played in the majority of respondents’ identity construction. Between the results for middle school/junior high and high school learning, the majority of classroom-based L2 learners (68.3%) were preadolescents and adolescents when they first studied the target languages. This age of learning is significant since they all went on to teach at those same levels rather than teach in post-adolescent settings or adult learners. In the subsequent case studies, I was interested to see if the focal teachers’ first encounters with the languages they eventually taught might have a salient link to their current pedagogical practices and linguistic understandings.

The data do not illustrate the length of language study for the respondents. Moreover, the data do not reflect the types of L2 curricula that the respondents encountered. They do, nonetheless, complicate the biographical picture of the respondents by specifying the context where their learning became formalized. In other words, for respondents who had described hearing family languages at home but never having learned to listen to, speak, or write them, these responses allowed them to clarify their take-up of the target language.

4.2.1.5 Q5 *Were you encouraged to learn the language(s) that you now teach? Why do you think you were/were not encouraged to learn the language(s)?*

This question elicited the most diverse answers from respondents since it was qualitative and open-ended. Of the 92 total respondents to the survey, four did not respond to this optional question. I coded the responses using the respondents' choice of evaluative word choice (e.g., "yes," "absolutely," "no," "never") or of a different frame for their response. I then performed a quantitative analysis of "yes," "no," "both," "neither," "other," and "not applicable" answers regarding respondents' sense of encouragement. The 88 responses mapped thus:

1. 53 unequivocal "yeses," where respondents agreed and/or named individuals or institutions who made them feel supported to begin and continue target language study;
2. 14 unequivocal "no's," where respondents named people, beliefs, or institutions that actively discouraged them from studying the language they later taught;
3. 1 "both" because the respondent identified her multilingual family who encouraged her to pursue teaching one of the languages which they used at home (i.e., French) at the expense of not pursuing their other family languages academically;
4. 16 "neithers," where respondents described two main strands: (1) they were native speakers expected to speak the language they later taught; (2) they were in school environments where they chose the target language without someone else's intervention or encouragement or discouragement;
5. 3 "others," whose work lives put them in contact with the target language and they then chose to learn it;
6. 1 "not applicable" response with no explanation provided.

These results pointed towards the majority of respondents' (53 of 92, or 57.6%) believing that they were supported in learning the languages that they taught later on. They identified family members, teachers, and social beliefs (i.e., the perceived high status of a language in a particular community) as the key entities that encouraged them to engage over a lifetime with either French or Spanish. The next largest group (16, or 17.4%) felt neither especially encouraged nor actively discouraged from learning the target language, due mostly to the context in which they encountered the language. The context proved particularly significant for the group of respondents who felt discouraged in learning the target language (14, or 15.2%) because they chose to study and master it *against* the opinions of others.²² Like the respondents who felt neither encouraged nor discouraged, they displayed their own agency in pursuing the academic and professional use of the target language. This type of personal agency mapped on to the three respondents (3.3%) whose professional contexts led them to learn the community's target language.

The respondents' perceptions were significant in that they reflected the network of emotional connections among themselves, their families, their teachers, and their work, with language at the core of that network. I was interested to see how these early

²² Some possible explanations for this are discussed in section 4.2.2.

positive or negative positionings of L2 learning of a specific language might affect how they understood the language and how they then instructed it.

4.2.1.6 Q6 *Do you possess a Single-Subject Teaching Credential in a language other than English?*

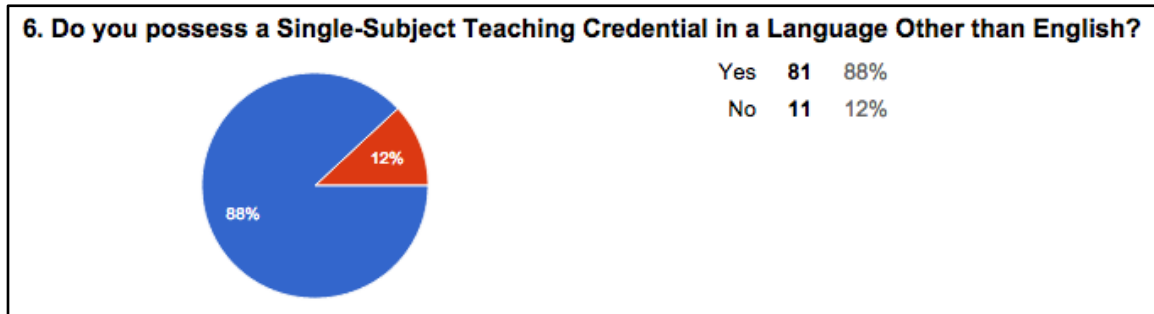


Figure 4.5 Summary of Credentialed Teachers of Languages Other than English (n=92 respondents)

This question asked respondents to identify their status as California-credentialed teachers of languages other than English. The purpose was to quantify the number of respondents who had completed a post-baccalaureate program focusing on L2 teaching. Such programs comprise coursework, testing, research projects, and mentored teaching, providing a continuum of theory and praxis to pre-service teachers. In capturing the percentage breakdown of these respondents, the data show that 88% of this sample group (81 of 92) possessed a credential specific to second language learning. The data do not reveal if the remaining 11 respondents possess another credential or any at all. Additionally, the data do not speak to the type of instruction or training that these teachers received, only that they received it. In the subsequent case studies, I wanted to investigate the focal teachers' perceptions of their professional preparation.

4.2.1.7 Summary: Language Use Background

The responses in this section of the online survey attested to the multilingual identities of these teachers over the course of their lifetimes. When asked which languages were spoken in their childhood homes, these teachers as a whole group identified seven languages (English, French, Spanish, Tagalog, Italian, German, Yiddish). Subsequently, the respondents identified the languages in their current household, the total of which was nine (English, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Portuguese, Arabic, Telugu, Hindi). Eighty-five percent of the respondents identified their English proficiency as high. Sixty-eight percent identified their Spanish proficiency similarly, and 51% identified their French proficiency likewise. These numbers are interesting because they suggest, in the case of English proficiency, an imagined lack of high proficiency by 15% of these language instructors, but, in the case of the two other target languages, high proficiency by the majority of the instructors, some of whom officially teach either Spanish or French. Taken with the other languages in their households, these latter percentages suggest the individual, multilingual realities of these instructors over the course of their lifetimes. Additionally, these numbers indicate the diversity of the teachers themselves and the complexity and diversity of their language use.

4.2.2 Section 2: You as Language User

In this part of the survey, respondents reflected on their own sense of being multilingual speakers, the different contexts in which they use their languages, and their perceived differences in terms of the social prestige of the languages they use. Respondents also described other important or meaningful aspects of the relationship between the languages they use and how they see themselves. This section of the survey intended to capture these participants' perceptions of their language use and, thus, of their identity construction through their language use. Therefore, different from the first section of the survey, section 2 was more individually subjective and complicated. Consequently, of the seven questions in Section 2 of the survey, five were qualitative that prompted short answers initiated by the respondents.²³

4.2.2.1 Q7: *Do you see yourself as a multilingual individual who can communicate in more than one language and participate in different linguistic communities? In what ways?*

This question introduced this section's theme on respondents' perceptions of the languages they knew and actively used. Specifically, this question, along with Q8 and Q9, sought to specify in what ways these respondents were multilinguals, if they so identified.

The question itself did not define what "a multilingual individual" was. In their reports, respondents described overall two different types of multilingual practices, which I call "integrated multilingualism" and "situated multilingualism." The differences in these practices can be understood first through adopting Blommaert's redefinition of multilingualism: "multilingualism is not what individuals have or don't have but what the environment, as structured determinations and interactional emergence, enables and disables" (Blommaert, 2005, abstract). Situated multilingualism refers to the use of a particular language in a discrete space with little to no use of different languages in response to the dominant language in a particular setting. Integrated multilingualism describes behavior that weaves together different languages in the same discourse in order to make and negotiate meaning.²⁴

Consequently, I plotted responses along a continuum, ranging from, at one pole, very structured responses in which respondents' characterizations are more aligned with a situated multilingualism valid in separate, particular spaces (following Blommaert, 2005) to, at the other pole, an integrated multilingualism, an ongoing multilingualism characterized by shifts between languages throughout the same discourse in the same

²³ Of the 92 total survey takers, one respondent did not provide answers to this section, although that person continued in the subsequent sections. Thus, the figures in the data analysis reflect 91 respondents.

²⁴ I distinguish "situated multilingualism" from Blommaert's (2005) "truncated multilingualism" because of the latter term's insistence on degrees of multilingual completeness as the defining factor of being multilingual. "Truncated" suggests an incompleteness within a speaker's linguistic repertoire; whereas, "situated" insists on a different perspective. In this present study, I am less interested in the participants' degrees of multilingual language acquisition and more interested in where, how, and why they use the languages of which they have knowledge and how their language use interacts with their identity construction.

space with other multilingual speakers. An example of the first pole was the following response:

[y]es, I use French and English with different friend groups. I have non-teacher friends who are French-[s]peaking and we spend time together talking, watching movies, cooking, eating, and traveling

In this description, the respondent identified different contexts made up of different people who speak the different languages that the respondent spoke. The respondent did not describe the contexts in which she spoke English, although she did establish one overall context in which she used English or French: “different friend groups,” implying a casual nature of the contexts. French and English do not intersect in the described context of the non-teacher friends; nonetheless, the two languages intersect in the overall life of the respondent. The description positioned this French-speaking community as social and fun-loving: the mentioned activities were casual and informal.

At the other end of the response continuum were descriptions of constant and consistent movement between languages in the same context or in overlapping ones. For example, one respondent described the following:

I do consider myself a multilingual individual because I use the languages I speak to communicate to various groups of people on a daily basis. I speak Spanish and English on a professional level at work with my colleagues and superiors. I also speak informal English and Spanish with my circle of friends or when I go shopping. I normally tend to speak to Latinos in Spanish once it has been established that they can speak Spanish. For example, it is a given to speak Spanish at Mi Pueblo Supermarket in the Fruitvale District of Oakland. Eating [at] a Mexican restaurant is also another place where I choose to solely speak Spanish. I speak Portuguese and German with friends that I meet on occasion. This type of conversations [is] usually also informal.

To exemplify the first type of multilingualism, the respondent provided the contexts of her work space and shopping with friends as opportunities for her to use both English and Spanish with different bilingual speech communities. In her other examples, Spanish, Portuguese, and German were used discretely, not threaded with English, over the course of particular talk with discrete, likely monolingual speech communities. The monolingual pressures in each context necessitated a particular language in each space, although the respondents’ knowledge of all of them positioned her as a multilingual speaker. This situated multilingualism is always present in the individual even if, in these monolingual environments, the speaker does not activate and produce more than one language in a particular situation. The California context of these data means that there are more opportunities for this type of multilingualism, particularly involving Spanish and English, due to the significant Spanish-speaking population in the region.

4.2.2.2 Q8: *I am proud of my multilingualism.*

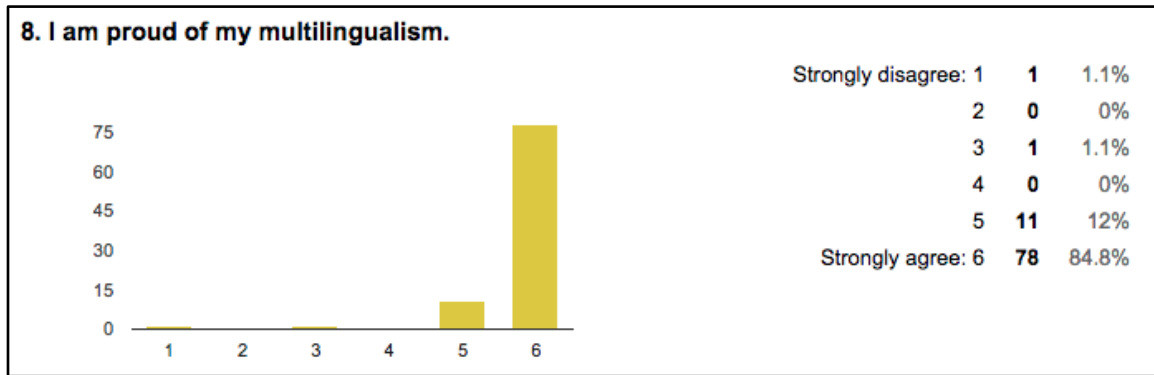


Figure 4.6 Summary of Respondents' Perception of Their Pride in Being Multilingual (n=91 respondents)

This quantitative question used a Likert scale of agreement to represent respondents' responses to the statement "I am proud of my multilingualism." This question served as a follow up to the prior one, which asked respondents to identify if they perceived themselves as multilingual individuals. Additionally, this question introduced the idea of "linguistic pride" into the survey, an emotional component that reappeared throughout the survey. This concept was significant because respondents' descriptions of it could illustrate the links among their language knowledge, its use, and their linguistic identities.

An overwhelming majority of respondents (89 of 91, or 97.8%) agreed with the statement. This high percentage suggested the respondents' perception of the value of their multilingualism as related to their pride, although this question did not directly introduce the notion of value. This notion of the value of different languages was important, nonetheless, because it provoked strong reactions from the respondents (discussed in sections 4.2.2.5, 4.2.2.6, and 4.2.2.7) and might be a factor in how the focal teachers positioned the target languages in relationship to other languages (see discussion of Dionne Simpson's positioning of Spanish and Nahuatl in a conflict-laden sociohistorical context in Chapter 6, for example). Additionally, even if value was an underlying idea, this question did not clarify if that value was intrinsic or extrinsic—psycho-emotional or social or economic value. This notion of value, as linked to social prestige, returned directly in Q11 and Q12.

4.2.2.3 Q9: *Do changes in situation or context affect the pride you may feel as a multilingual individual? Please explain.*

This question sought to open up direct discussion about the respondents' sense of their multilingual identities and pride therein. This was thus an open-ended, free response question. One respondent answered "not applicable" and did not provide an explanation. Forty-two respondents provided "no" as an answer, affirming the constancy of their pride as individuals who could use different languages. Explanations for their pride included the following remarks:

1. I am proud of knowing both languages, and more importantly, I am proud of living with two cultures.
2. I will always be extremely happy and extremely grateful (more than "proud," actually[...]) to have been able to master several languages and be multilingual. It is just wonderful!!!! What a tremendously empowering gift!
3. My children are both multilingual (in other languages - but including Spanish and English) It seems to me a necessity in a world with globalization!
4. although I may not always speak the language of power in a given context, I am always proud.
5. It is interesting to note that a lot of the heritage speakers of Spanish that I teach are oftentimes embarrassed of the language (for a variety of reasons) but as a native speaker who is foreign to this country, I'm pretty proud of what I have accomplished and the ways in which I can communicate with other people. I don't think any of my friends or family think differently.

The word choice in these selected responses reflected the main ideas that these 42 respondents addressed: "living with two [or more] cultures," "gift," "globalization," "language of power," and "communication." These answers position respondents' multilingual repertoires as enriching parts of their lives, whether at home, at work, and/or across national borders. They saw being bi/multilingual as an overall empowering personal trait, in the very literal sense that it was an essential characteristic that belonged to them. Interestingly, in the last selected response, the respondent mentioned the embarrassment experienced by some heritage language speakers of Spanish, although he did not elaborate on possible reasons. This motif of speaker embarrassment came out strongly in the responses of those who did believe that contextual shifts affected their pride in being bi/multilingual.

Twenty-six respondents affirmed that changes in situation or context did indeed affect their pride and use of different languages because of change in their positionalities. It was in these responses where the majority idea was one of embarrassment or anxiety around their linguistic competence:

1. Yes. When I am nervous, talking about a topic I rarely talk about, or meet new people that I feel are judging me, I don't feel as proud. I feel inadequate.
2. Sometimes I am not as fluent in Spanish as I would like to believe. Sometimes I do not understand a native speaker immediately and need to ask for repetition or clarification and at those times, my pride and confidence are reduced.
3. Yes, I feel much more pride when I am among English speakers and less pride when I am around Spanish speakers. I attribute this to many Spanish speakers being vocally critical of my language abilities as I was growing up. For example, family members would often criticize pronunciation and vocabulary gaps. Although, I have far more ability since studying Spanish I always feel slightly nervous and doubtful when speaking with Spanish native speakers.
4. I often am afraid to engage native Spanish speakers in conversation because I have such high standards for myself and my Spanish skills are still evolving. I sometimes am embarrassed that my Spanish isn't better and am less proud of it than my French.

5. I am extremely proud of my ability to master the French language. I feel more proud in America, however, than in France, where I will always be perceived as the American who speaks French. My fiancé's family is from the South and there are so many Provencal expressions that I will never master, so I sometimes feel "stupid" in family situations. I am also proud to be of Mexican heritage. My father taught Spanish for 30 years at the high school level, and even though my mother did not speak Spanish, my two brothers and I speak more Spanish than our cousins, who were raised by two native Spanish-speaking parents.

These responses provided clear evidence of the effects of situational change on these respondents' pride in being bi/multilingual. Unlike the first set of responses, in which the respondents positioned their multilingualism as a source of unwavering pride, these respondents were well aware of fluctuations. These fluctuations were often dependent on the tension between individuals' internal and others' external evaluation of their linguistic ability (e.g., "people [...] are judging me," "vocally critical of my language abilities," "I sometimes feel 'stupid' in family situations"). These responses did not indicate that the respondents did not feel any pride in their abilities; rather, that interactions with others, typically native speakers of the target language, induced feelings of nervousness, doubt, and inadequacy.

Ten respondents provided complicated responses that blurred the lines of a yes/no question. Their responses revealed a generally strong pride in being multilingual but an awareness of how others may perceive this trait or how that pride may shift diachronically rather than synchronically:

1. I used to feel embarrassed as a child that we spoke Italian at home, but not now and I do feel proud to be Italian-American. I am very pleased when native Italian or French speakers compliment me on my good accent and fluency in speaking Italian or French.
2. Sometimes when around someone more proficient one can feel ashamed of their lesser language skills. However, I think knowing another language really doesn't have any drawbacks.
3. I enjoy sharing my knowledge of the Spanish language and culture with my students, family, friends, colleagues and acquaintances. I do not always enjoy people inquiring about my background because of my name or accent in English. On occasion, I take advantage of these situations to develop awareness among non[-]Spanish speakers about the history and culture of Hispanics.

These three responses suggested that, even if the respondents had a strong pride in their multilingual ability, it was not always easy. Rather, an ambivalence about that ability emerged due to diachronic changes in perception (as seen in the first response) and synchronic differences in context and audience (as seen in the second and third examples). That ambivalence appeared to vary in correlation with the language in question. In the second answer, the respondent hypothesized that "one can feel ashamed of their lesser language skills," but she does not assume that shame herself. In the final response, this individual positioned his multilingualism as a way to "develop awareness [...] about the history and culture of Hispanics," especially to non-Hispanic, non-Spanish

speaking interlocutors. A tension emerged between his acknowledged sense of linguistic pride and his interlocutors' possible lack of awareness; in the end, others' curiosity or lack of awareness did not override his internal pride of being bilingual and bicultural. Additionally, this last respondent used a possibly unpleasant situation in a more productive way by framing it as a chance to develop others' awareness.

4.2.2.4 Q10: *In what situations or contexts do you switch between the languages you know? Why?*

This open-ended question brought forth many examples of diverse language use by the respondents. Respondents described further examples of integrated and situated multilingualism, and they discussed the use of hybrid linguistic varieties, notably Spanglish, in multilingual settings. Overall, I coded the responses around three main, interrelated ideas that emerged from the answers themselves: audience design, intimate connections, and secrecy/privacy. Most respondents based their reasons for switching between languages on emotional connections and social desires, as represented by the following examples:

1. When people need to understand me better or need to build a trust and relationship, I can switch to the language they feel most comfortable in.
2. I switch between when I know the audience will understand or when there is a word or expression that really fits the situation best from another language.
3. The context is who I am talking to. Again, growing up in a foreign country I experience language differently than my students or the general Hispanic community in the United States, who are used to switching between languages in their speech. I find that friendships are formed in specific languages, so I usually stick to the language that I meet people in, speaking Spanish to people that I am introduced to in Spanish, French to those that I am introduced to in French, etc. This carries over into work, where I speak to my coworkers in the language that they prefer. Even my students of advanced Spanish I speak to in Spanish regularly, and I find it very difficult to switch to English once they are out of my class.

Audience design (Bell, 1984; Ladegaard, 1995) emerged as the most common reason for respondents' movement between languages. Their answers underscored the significance of their social networks in choosing a language to reinforce their networks. In the second example, the respondent added another idea that appeared in some of the data: the clearest word choice in a specific situation, not limited to words in the dominant language in that particular discourse. In the third example, the respondent identified the effects of her non-U.S. upbringing on her experience of using language. She positioned her students and "the general Hispanic community in the United States" as speakers "used to switching between languages," thereby suggesting that their relationships with others, unlike hers, might be populated by mixed language discourse. She provided examples of situated multilingualism in the description of her use of language with others.

Along the lines of audience design and personal connections were the strongly emotional reasons that respondents used different languages. The following examples foregrounded language selection based on intimate connections:

1. I speak Spanish to people in my community as a sign of respect.
2. I speak to my English-speaking Indian girlfriend in Spanish so that she can gain more experience in it.
3. speaking French gives me a positive feeling and makes me feel reconnected with the parts of my life, such as my study abroad in French, in which my second language was predominant. With my friends who are French native speakers, I prefer to speak in French as a way of showing intimacy with them and making them feel comfortable on the west coast of the United States, where they often do not have enough opportunities to speak their native language. With my students I speak French whenever possible to give them practice and create a sense of camaraderie.
4. Generally I communicate in Spanish in Facebook, emails and texting for family members, siblings and relatives to practice their Spanish.

In these representative examples, French and Spanish became the means for respondents to establish and fortify intimate connections. Those connections were with a variety of interlocutors (e.g., local community members, lovers, friends, students, and family), across time (e.g., use of French reconnecting the respondent to a prior time in France; asynchronous digital communication in Spanish) and space (e.g., social media and digital communication in Spanish). For them, these languages became objects to practice socially, ways to honor members of the local community, a means of keeping in touch with geographically distant people. This intimacy through language was also transcendent: it brought respondents back to other times, other places where they reconnected with people with whom and experiences in which they had used Spanish or French.

The third theme that emerged from the rest of the responses was that of language selection in order to keep secrets or maintain privacy. A by-product of this use of language by these respondents was the creation of insider and outsider groups based on other speakers' linguistic identities:

1. to discuss items that you don't want another to understand/hear (children and other people outside of my personal business)
2. I will say something to [friends] in French if I don't want others to understand what we're saying
3. I also use Spanish with friends when I want to hide the topics of conversation.
4. I speak Spanish in the classroom and with Spanish teachers, but it is rude to speak in front of people who do not understand it. (Actually, I would continue, but my colegas switch back. The same is actually true with other situations. If those around don't understand, I switch to English. (Unless I am gossiping in the office- then we stay in Spanish)
5. I sometime switch from English to Spanish when I want to tell a joke or a secret.

In these selections, French and Spanish are languages used to accomplish two goals: (1) hide the speakers' personal bits of information from those who do not speak the language; and (2) reinforce bonds with other like speakers. The outsiders in these examples included family members, passersby, and non-Spanish speaking colleagues. Topics of conversation, along with audience design, affected speakers' choice of language. Those topics included personal business deemed not appropriate for children, jokes, secrets, and gossip. Those genres of talk aligned with specific forms of intimacy and were designed specifically for an intended audience of intimates.

4.2.2.5 Q11: *I believe that different languages carry different degrees of social prestige depending on context.*

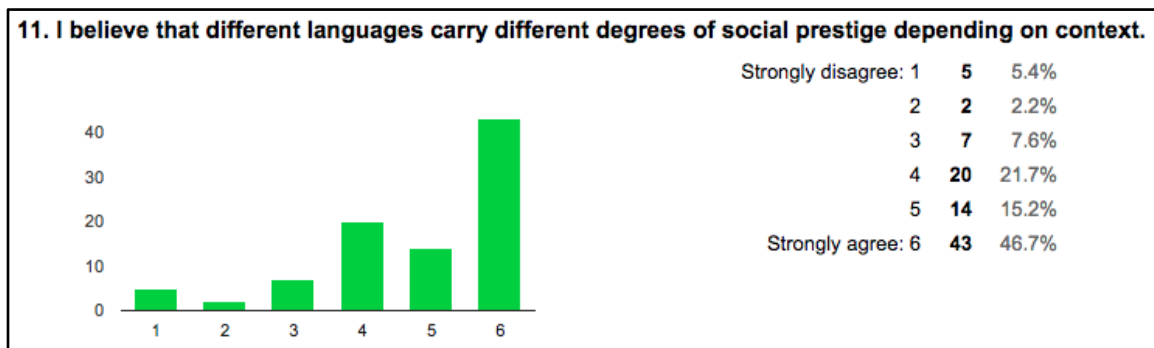


Figure 2.7 Summary of Respondents' Agreement with Statement on Social Prestige of Different Languages (n=91 respondents)

This quantitative question used a Likert scale of agreement to elicit respondents' thoughts on the social prestige of different languages. The statement itself was intended to be provocative in order to inspire the possibility of a variety of reflections, captured both in the responses to this question and to Q12 (discussed below).

As in Q8, the strong majority of respondents (77 of 91, or 84.6%) agreed with the statement. Unlike in Q8, however, the data spread was wider, both in terms of the degree of agreement as well as across the spectrum of agreement and disagreement (see Figure 6). Although the majority agreed with the statement broadly, the fact that responses indicate a wide spread of agreement showed that opinion was divided about the statement. These results were useful for two initial reasons: (1) they necessitated explanations and further questions about the social prestige of languages, to be explored in Q12; and, (2) they provided a talking point that appeared in the interviews and observations of the three focal teachers. With regards to the three focal teachers, it was significant to understand how they positioned the languages they knew and the ways in which those positionings appeared in their pedagogical practices.

4.2.2.6 Q12: *Please rank the languages you know based on your belief about their social prestige.*

This question purposefully posited an assumption about the existence of linguistic social prestige in order to elicit a variety of reactions from respondents. Although a rank-order question, it was open-ended so that respondents could identify their unique

linguistic repertoires and assign ranks accordingly. The open-ended design also allowed for potential narrative explanations. The nature of the question, however, did reduce its answerability for some respondents. Six responses indicated no comment or confusion about the question and thus provided no usable data in response to the question.

Fifty-one respondents identified and ranked the languages they knew with no further commentary. In other words, there was no context provided by the respondents in which to understand these rankings. These respondents ranked their identified languages in the following ways²⁵:

Most Prestige	Least Prestige
English: 29	English: 4
French: 16	French: 6
Spanish: 2	Spanish: 27
Other languages: 4	Other languages: 14

Table 4.1 Summary of Prestige Rankings without explanation (n=51 respondents)

English emerged as the overall most prestigious language, with both the most frequently occurring high rankings and the fewest occurring low rankings. Conversely, based on just these responses, Spanish received the most frequently occurring low rankings and the fewest high rankings. It was then interesting to see the positioning of these languages later, both in the interviews with the focal subjects and in the classroom observations. As we will see in their linguistic histories, all three languages are featured with different assessments of their prestige and of the focal subjects' desire to know and use them.

Twenty-seven respondents described the importance of different contexts and how they affected the perceived social prestige of a language. As exemplified in the following responses, respondents provided lengthier explanations about how they felt linguistic prestige was defined or reified alongside comparative rankings of the languages:

1. English = 1 English will always be seen as the most prestigious in society because that is the official language of this country. Spanish = 2 Spanish is the second most prestigious of the languages that I speak. It is a language that most employers want an employee to be able to speak because of the growing Hispanic population of this country. However, when it is spoken at other times, many people tend to look down upon the Spanish speakers and are encouraged to speak English only.
2. Well it depends on context like you say. In the context of the communities I live and work in? English is the default. French is regarded as cool/sexy/snobby/liberal/not useful.
3. In California, Spanish is so much more useful than French and thus carries prestige in most situations, but in my husband's business, French carries more prestige because there are few Spanish-speakers.
4. Social prestige depends on where you are and who you are with. I suspect that in California, many would say that Spanish has a lesser degree of social

²⁵ Since the focus of this study is only on teachers of Spanish and French who are in English-dominant working environments, I parse only the specific numbers for those three languages.

- prestige given that the majority of Spanish speakers in the state are from a lower socio-economic level. However, they are not the only people who speak Spanish in this world. I tend to view language more globally.
5. In the town I live, Spanish has a very, very, very low prestige. Agricultural business makes sure that this [S]panish[-]speaking population stay at that level, socially and economically, and that makes my teaching profession [all] the more important to serve this community and help them develop a critical way of thinking.
 6. I think this really depends on the social context. Generally in my daily life and teaching life, none of my 3 languages carries any more prestige than the others. I have run across people who tell me they think French is "classier" than Spanish. I feel this is absurd, beyond absurd really and simply reveals their ignorance and prejudice. Both Spanish and French are derivations of Latin, pretty much the same language. Does American English carry more prestige than its cousin British English or vice versa...It may depend on where you were born, no?

The fourth example provided the main idea uniting these responses: "Social prestige depends on where you are and who you are with." The first respondent provided an example of these different contexts and speech communities. Related to other respondents' claims of the usefulness of Spanish or French, she characterized Spanish as prestigious primarily in work/economic settings and otherwise low prestige, due to the low perception of Spanish speakers. This conflation of the prestige of the *speakers* with the *language* they speak appeared frequently in responses to this question. Interestingly, the first respondent initially laid the claim that English was the most prestigious in society because "that is the official language of this country"; the United States, the country in question, however, has no federally recognized official language.

Several respondents used California as the geographical context for their answers, but that context created complicated and seemingly paradoxical positionings of the languages and the speakers thereof. While one respondent claimed that "Spanish is so much more useful than French and thus carries prestige in most situations," implicitly acknowledging the large number of local Spanish speakers, others positioned it as low prestige because of the "lower socio-economic level" of its L1 (immigrant) speakers and "[a]gricultural business," which "makes sure that this [S]panish[-]speaking population stay at that level." One of these respondents believed that this tension "[made] my teaching profession [all] the more important to serve this community and help them develop a critical way of thinking." The antecedent for "them" was unclear: his high school, L2 Spanish students? L1 Spanish workers in agribusiness? the owners of the agribusinesses? In terms of these possibilities, this respondent viewed his work as an important form of community service.

Eight respondents resisted the assumption in the question that languages had different degrees of social prestige:

1. Philosophically, I believe that languages have "equal rights." However, the reality is that they have differing levels of perceived prestige.

2. I don't believe there is any inherent value of one language over another. However, I do recognize that others/society may seem to value one language over another. I disagree with them.
3. I cannot rank languages based on my beliefs. In my opinion both have the same social prestige. However, I think that for some, there are different degrees of social prestige associated to languages. When that is the case, it is easy to perceive a socio-economical relationship between them.
4. I don't like this question; I don't believe that any of the languages I speak, outside of English, holds more or less social prestige.

The range of resistance in these sample answers included responses that, at one end, differentiated respondents' personal beliefs/experiences about linguistic prestige and those that society imposed or amplified, and, at the other end, denied the validity of the question itself. These answers strongly questioned the notion of linguistic prestige, especially if it meant that the languages respondents knew could be then put into a hierarchy. This possibility of resistance to linguistic prestige and its perceived power was bolstered by some of the respondents who focused on the context of language use and distanced themselves from ranking the languages.

Overall, respondents' rankings reinforced their perceptions of the prestige, and thus, the power of English, Spanish, and French, particularly in California contexts and as reflections of those languages' speakers. Their perceptions—and their evaluations of others' perceptions—were dense and complicated. The minority of total respondents made a clear separation between perceived prestige of *language* and perceived prestige of the *speech community*. Interestingly, these respondents shifted the question of prestige from the *language* to the *speakers* of the language, which suggested a sociolinguistic dimension of how prestige is assigned. This put the emphasis on imagined human subjects, whose perceptions and judgments constructed ways in which Californians might describe the social power of French, Spanish, and English. It was important for me to have a general map of how these teachers of French and/or Spanish perceived their languages—and perceived others' perceptions—in order to account later for potential, implicit and explicit presentations of linguistic value in the classroom-based data.

4.2.2.7 Q13: *Please describe other important or meaningful aspects of the relationship between the languages you use and how you see yourself.*

This open-ended question came at the end of this section on language use and perception offered an opportunity for respondents to provide further explanation or new ideas regarding their self-perception and the languages in their lives. Seventeen respondents were not sure how to answer the question. They responded either directly that they did not know/could not think of possible responses, or indirectly with *not applicable* or a lone question mark. The fact that many respondents did not apprehend or did not know how to think about the question suggested that the question itself may have been weak. Its open-ended format or its identity-centered content may have made it too abstract for respondents to answer during the time that it took to complete the survey. Two of those respondents clarified why they could not answer. One explained

the reason for his inability to respond to the question: "This is not something that I can comment on. It isn't something I consider in my self concept." Another respondent claimed, "I haven't really thought about this and do not care to." This last response resonated since a central aspect of this study was to investigate and to map the relationships between multilingual subjects and the languages in their lives. Such a response foreclosed this particular question but opened up other potential lines of inquiry, such as the significance of even asking questions about language and identity to L2 teachers, both in this study's classroom-based research and in future research projects.

The two main ideas in the rest of the responses were two sides of the same coin: the internal, personal importance of respondents' languages and their external, social significances. The following examples specified this duality:

1. I don't consider French more important than my native English but I do find that people are impressed that I speak fluent French and comment on what a beautiful language it is. It makes me a more confident traveler in French-speaking countries!
2. It's special when I meet someone who speaks French fluently. Everyone thinks it's a pretty sounding language. Having spent time in Paris and in the south of France it is especially nice to see places where my favorite authors wrote their poetry...I love Latin American and Spanish literature as well and especially *Artistas Chicanas* so knowing the culture helps me understand the genre. I feel proud to be able to speak Spanish [f]luently especially when I'm around Latinos. For a long time my Spanish was broken and I wasn't as fluent and that embarrassed me around my mother's family and friends. There is a certain guilt Latin society gave me for not knowing my mother's tongue well enough to communicate fluently. That pressure helped motivate me to learn both languages fluently.
3. Sometimes I perceive that people look down on the French language as being "useless" in California or difficult to learn. I hear comments to this effect frequently from students, teachers, administrators, and parents. Conversely, I have also encountered at different times of my life from equally groundless positive associations with French ("it's so elegant" "French people are so sophisticated" "You must know a lot about wine" "You must be smart to be fluent in such a hard language" etc). Many of my best friends are (and all of my college room[m]ates for 4 years were) native Spanish speakers, and they do not benefit from the same assumptions about their language, despite the fact that I believe they are equally aesthetically pleasing languages and equally difficult to learn. I have seen my Spanish-speaking friends suffer from negative expectations, such as when someone assumes that they cannot speak English well because they look Latino/Latina and speak Spanish fluently. I "look" fairly French (to an American audience anyway) and speak French without any accent, but nobody ever assumes that I cannot speak English due to my French fluency. People have a lot of false assumptions about high and low status languages.

These responses established a contrast between others' assumptions about the respondents and the languages they use and the respondents' self-perceptions. Taken as a whole, the responses suggested a constant negotiation between the two as respondents struggled to identify their own positionalities. All of these responses reinforced the idea introduced in prior questions of the strong identification of the respondents (both L1 and L2 speakers thereof) with the target language(s) and its speakers. These responses, particularly the first and third, included stereotypes about the languages and their speakers (e.g., French as a "beautiful," "elegant" language of a "sophisticated" people; Latino/a-presenting individuals as poor speakers of English). In the first answer, the stereotype is left uninterrogated; indeed, the French-speaking respondent found that the acknowledgement of the language's beauty made him "a more confident traveler in French-speaking countries." In contrast, the respondent in the final example repeated the word "assumption" and qualified it the second time with "false," both questioning stereotypes made about French but assuming some of them herself about Spanish and French ("I believe [Spanish and French] are equally aesthetically pleasing languages and equally difficult to learn."). Finally, the second response added a reflection on the link among the aesthetic, artistic, and practical uses of French while also admitting "a certain guilt Latin society gave [her] for not knowing [her] mother's tongue well enough to communicate fluently" with other Spanish speakers. Her perception of French was linked to a personal aesthetic and appreciation, whereas her Spanish was framed negatively by the expectations of the Spanish-speaking community.

4.2.2.8 Summary: You as Language User

The responses in this section illustrated the diversity of respondents' beliefs and experiences. This diversity provided an important backdrop to my subsequent classroom observations of how the focal teachers put their personal experiences and beliefs into practice in their classrooms.

Broadly, the questions in this section provoked detailed answers from respondents, which brought out their multidimensional, social relationships with the languages in their lives. For all of these teachers, their sense of pride was linked to the people with whom they spoke and places where French or Spanish had a particular value (Heller and Duchêne, 2012); using the languages themselves carried traces of these other users and other moments that then added meaning to the teachers' current language use and beliefs (following Bahktin, 1981). Their personal sense of the value of these languages and their awareness of how that world attempted to position them, in turn, affected how they perceived the power and prestige of the languages in a broader social world.

The different dimensions of respondents' relationships to their languages emerged from the use of these languages over their lifespans as well as their participation in different speech communities. Respondents' positionings—of themselves and of others—were important to consider in relationship to their pride and language use. In most responses, these positionings juxtaposed insiders with outsiders, the group in question being certain speech communities. A bidirectionality within the respondents and their attitudes emerged, the feeling of being pulled in two different directions. One direction was social, and one was personal. For example, from an emic, insider perspective, many

speakers of Spanish believed in the personal and social value of Spanish but were simultaneously aware of (if not disdainful of) others' lower esteem of the language and its speakers and who decides who is in community (around speech and cultural communities). Similarly, there was not frequent alignment of French speakers' high perceptions of French with others' views that, if even an "elegant" or "beautiful" language, it was of little value or use in California.

Answers in this section also reflected the ambivalence that respondents displayed in responding to questions about their language use and the value of different languages. This ambivalence appeared in the comparison between their perceptions and others' regarding the different statuses and values of English, Spanish, and French. Additionally, respondents demonstrated their ambivalence about linguistic prestige and value in the variability of the answers provided by the same survey taker. For example, the Spanish teacher who, in response to question 9 claimed, "I enjoy sharing my knowledge of the Spanish language and culture with my students, family, friends, colleagues and acquaintances" later described the tension between English and Spanish in his school setting. He concluded this survey section by suggesting a hybrid identity for himself, one that was bound up in tension, ambivalence, yet with space for inclusion and depth. He strongly identified with his "Mexicanidad" and his self-described status as a "Neo-American...an American molded by modern society and issues reflecting Latino heritage and language with American influence in the Latin American world." His cultural and linguistic identity was hybrid, and English was thus not, simply by default, the most prestigious of the languages he knew. This type of answer echoed those by the respondents for whom situational changes did not influence their sense of pride in being multilingual. In the end, the variety of answers in this section provided rich data supporting the respondents' sense that being multilingual was more complex than simply a matter of knowing multiple languages or feeling linguistic pride or not.

4.2.3 Section 3: Reflections on Language Learning/You as Language Teacher

The questions in this third part of the survey first focused on teacher beliefs about L2 learning and L2 learners then focused on their beliefs about their pedagogical practices. I anticipated these two parts to establish connections among respondents' own L2 learning experiences, their observations of their students' L2 learning, and their L2 instructional practices. The first part of this section ("Reflections on Language Learning") was entirely quantitative in order to collect data sets that the respondents could contextualize in their own words in the qualitative questions found in the second part ("You as Language Teacher"). The number of respondents in section 3 returned to the maximum number of 92; all those who completed the first part of the survey responded accordingly in this part.

4.2.3.1 Q14: *Learners' ideas about language learning need to be taken into account in developing language programs.*

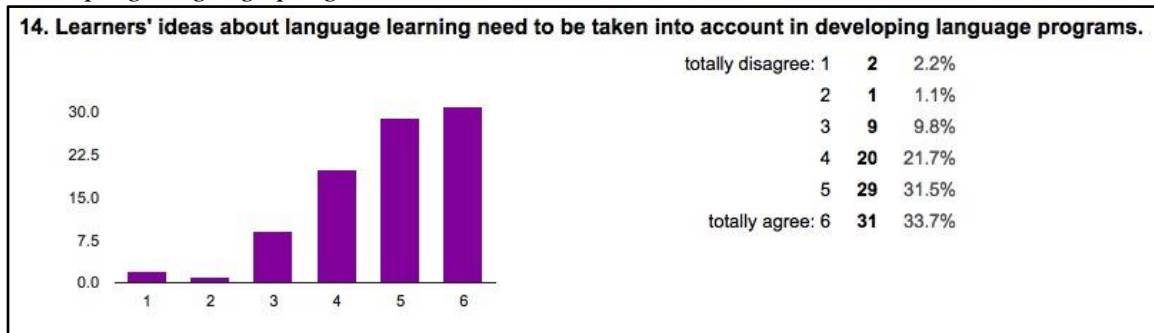


Figure 4.8 Summary of Respondents' Agreement with Statement on Learners' Ideas (n=92 responses)

This quantitative question used a Likert scale of agreement to elicit respondents' thoughts on the role of L2 learner's ideas about language learning in developing language programs. The question intended to elicit degrees of agreement with the idea of including, if not designing for, what learners believed that language learning was. Implicit in this question were the perceived goals and perceived participants of classroom-based L2 learning. The strong majority (80 of 92 respondents, or 87%) agreed to some degree with the statement, indicating the belief that L2 program developers should include learners' beliefs into their practices. Strongest were the two choices "strongly agree" and "totally agree," reinforcing the degree of agreement expressed by the majority of respondents.

The question did not specify the types of beliefs or the degree of involvement that learners could provide in the process of program and course development. The generalness of the question might have influenced the 12 respondents (13%) who answered that they disagreed with this statement to some degree since the question provided no clear example of learner beliefs. Following up this question in the case studies offered opportunities for the teachers to observe and reflect on specific ways that learners engaged with their L2 learning.

4.2.3.2 Q15: *Language learners have different learning styles and strategies that need to be taken into consideration in developing learning programs.*

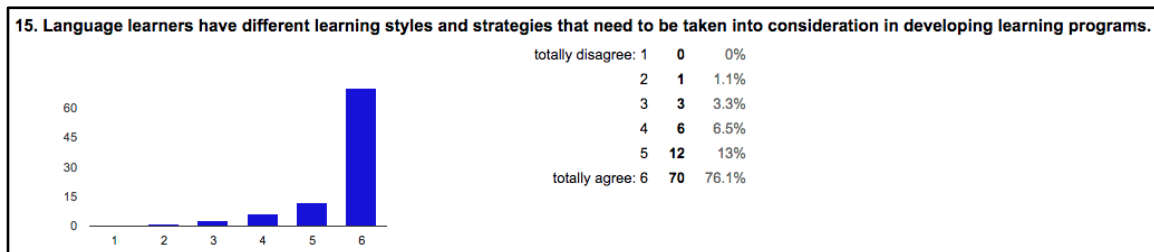


Figure 4.9 Summary of Respondents' Agreement with Statement on Learning Styles (n=92 responses)

Like the previous question, this one focused on L2 learners in the context of classroom-based language programs. In this question, respondents identified their agreement with addressing the different learning styles and strategies of L2 learners. This question was motivated by the move in recent years to train K-12 L2 teachers in learning

differences, styles, and strategies across the curriculum (Oxford, 2003; Ellis, 1989). The overwhelming majority agreed to some degree with this statement (88 of 92 respondents, or 95.7%). This near-total response might have reflected this training in recent years that California school districts, private school networks, and the California World Language Project have provided teachers, focusing on differentiated learning (<http://cwlp.stanford.edu/resource/resources.html>).

4.2.3.3 *Language learners are more interested in learning the language for learning's sake than in learning in order to achieve immediate or not too distant life goals.*

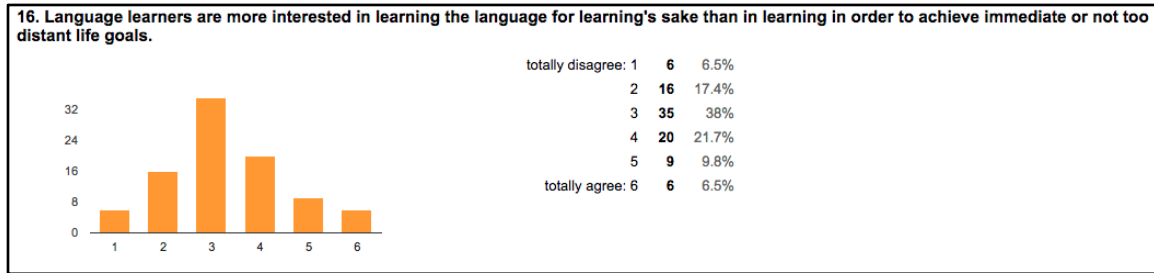


Figure 4.10 Summary of Respondents' Agreement with Statement on Learners' Interests in L2 Learning (n=92 responses)

This question also utilized a Likert scale to elicit degrees of agreement with the idea that L2 learners studied language primarily for the sake of learning language. The response curve was unique among the other results in this section because the majority of respondents slightly agreed or slightly disagreed with the statement (together, 55 of 92 respondents, or 59.7%). Additionally, there was a spread of responses across the entire scale, weighted towards different degrees of disagreement (57 of 92 respondents, or 61.9%). These statistics pointed towards respondents' general belief that learners studied language for reasons other than for the pure experience of learning language. I would then look to the case studies to see examples of what teachers thought were the reasons for students learning languages other than English.

4.2.3.4 Q17: *As a learner, I learn languages BEST through:*

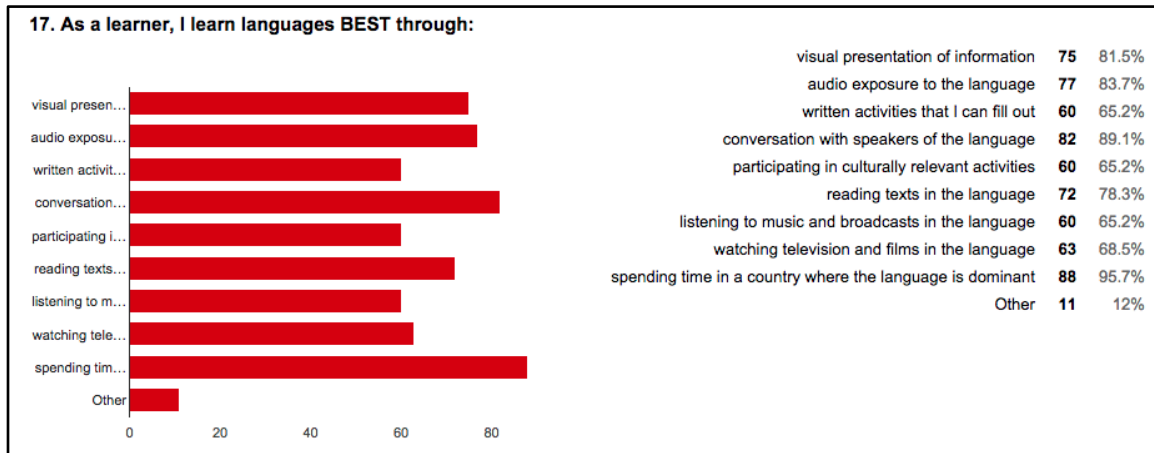


Figure 4.11 Summary of Respondents' Identification of Best Personal L2 Learning Strategies (n=648 responses/92 respondents)

This question, which ended the first part of this section, served as a transition into the second part, which focused on the respondents' classroom experiences and practices. Since this question asked respondents to respond all the perceived ways that they learned languages best, it served as a bridge between the reciprocal ideas of language learning and language instruction. The high number of total responses (648 responses) based on 92 respondents indicated that these language learners activated more than one way to learn languages. It also suggested that a network of these learning strategies supported their learning.

Interestingly, almost all respondents selected "spending time in a country where the language is dominant," and 82 respondents selected "conversation with speakers of the language" as two of the best ways to learn a language. Comparing these answers with those in the first two survey sections, respondents had spent meaningful time in countries other than the United States and had thus used the target languages in those contexts. At the time of the survey, they all were teaching the target languages in self-contained U.S. classrooms, which were very different settings than experiences of being abroad. Their classes were often the only ones conducted in languages other than English at their school settings, and, for the native speaker teachers, they may have been among the few native speakers at their schools. These differences suggested a possible tension between their perceptions of what worked best for them as language learners and what might be available in their L2 classrooms.

4.2.3.5 Q18 *What motivated you to become a language instructor?*

This open-ended question provided respondents the opportunity to discuss the situations and events that motivated them to become language teachers. All respondents provided answers (92, or 100%) that offered insight into those situations or events. Although there was a variety in motivations, the overall themes were represented in the following samples:

1. When I began studying French in 7th grade, I immediately loved the language. My instructor was charming, funny, and motivating and I knew that I wanted to be like her.
2. Prof Kern's class! I wanted to be a teacher and teaching French seemed way more fun than teaching English.
3. I was inspired by my undergrad mentor to teach French. She was so proud of her ability, as a non-native, to "live" French. Later, I primarily just wanted to share what I viewed as an essential need for students. Later i become more and more intrigued with the HOW students learn and the WHY of second language acquisition.
4. Ironically, I was not planning on becoming a teacher because I wanted to do something different than two of my siblings who were already teachers. I started teaching Spanish out of need for a job 19 years ago. Since my second major was in Spanish, I was hired for the job and love it!
5. I came to the U.S. as an adult. This was the only career that presented itself to me and to the possibility of suc[c]eeding in this country. I had already previous experience as a teacher in my native country. I am good at what I do.
6. Once I mastered English, I found that I was very good at explaining the differences between English and Spanish and breaking down Spanish into accessible ideas for English speakers. I liked the idea of helping people to learn my language and decided to pursue it.
7. I wanted to help kids who struggled in school because they could not speak English. I then decided to learn their language so that I could communicate better with them and their families.
8. I was an English teacher and I was learning Spanish. I wanted to learn more about Spanish and spread what I was learning. Teaching English in Oakland is like teaching a foreign language, so it seemed like a better idea to go with Spanish where we agreed on the rules. I learned Spanish playing and singing music, talking politics and taught it in the same context that I learned it instead of with the paradigm of my horrible French teachers
9. A prejudiced 3rd grade teacher. I had just arrived in the US from Cuba, had been here long enough to know there was no danger in rebelling or in having militia in the streets. A Mrs. Johnson thought Latinos were stupid since they didn't speak English and would bring all 3rd graders row by row to read English in front of the class, and when they couldn't[,] allowed the non-Latinos to laugh at them. Nobody calls me stupid when it comes to language- I learned to read at age 4 (was at a 6th grade level by age 6) and handwrite by age 4. So, since there was no danger, I rebelled and took 2 other kids with me in an obsession to get revenge and learn the language ASAP- since I was GATE with language, I taught the other two when I learned something faster than them. We pretended to know nothing in class, until one day we were ready and read and spoke perfect English in front of the class (woman turned all shades of purple, it was great.) Incident taught me the power of learning, and a love for sharing that learning with others- I owe that prejudiced pinhead my career.

The motifs that emerged from the data were these: love of and facility with language and teaching (all samples); inspiration by mentor adult (samples 1-3); need for a job (samples 4-5); desire to help language learners (samples 6-7); rebellion against prior learning and teaching experiences (samples 8-9). In the first three examples, the respondents indicated specific teachers and professors whose courses and/or encouragement inspired them to pursue L2 teaching as a career. For them, the seed of their careers took root in language learning classrooms. In the next two samples, respondents' motivation did not come initially from another person's inspiration but from the need for a job doing something they felt qualified to do. Somewhat similarly to the final two examples, the respondent in sample four initially resisted being like two people she knew, her siblings who had preceded her into the profession. That respondent concluded that she had fallen in love with teaching Spanish. The respondents in samples six and seven identified their ability to explain language and make it accessible to students, linking that to their desire to help students. This desire to be around, to guide, to share language with, and to help students was expressed the most often by respondents in this question. In the last two samples, the respondents linked the desire to help students learn language to negative role models, a sharp contrast to the first three examples. Those final respondents illustrated specific events (i.e., perceived inability to teach English language and literature in an urban high school; perceived prejudice by an English-only elementary school teacher) as catalysts to teach Spanish. For the final respondent, whose mother tongue was Cuban Spanish, the negative classroom experience motivated him to learn, share his learning with others, and eventually become a teacher. For the respondent in sample eight, teaching English in an English-medium high school ironically proved nearly impossible and teaching Spanish seemed like an option that all could agree on was something else, something truly foreign. Moreover, learning Spanish for her was in contrast to her learning of French, the former experience rooted in politics and art, with which she identified over her experience with her French teachers. This response would inspire further discussion in my subsequent interviews with her.

4.2.3.6 Q19 *How long have you been a world language instructor (including previous employment)?*

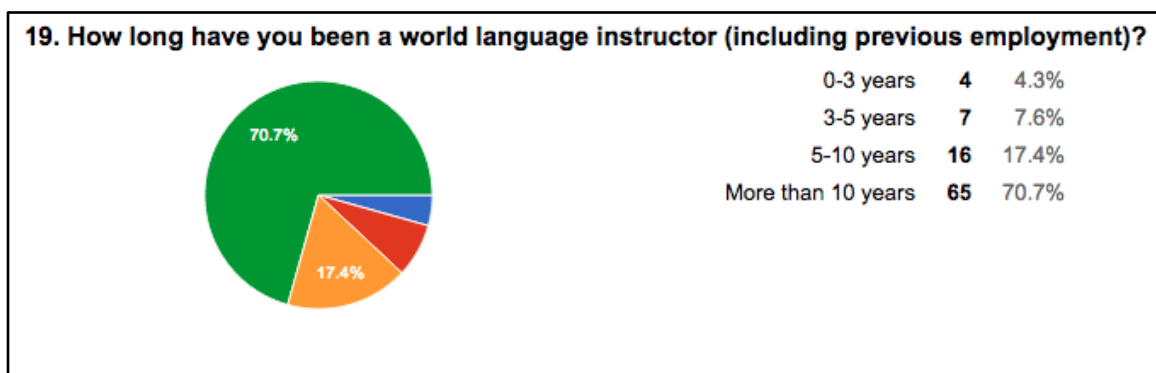


Figure 4.12 Respondents' Length of Employment as L2 Instructor (n=92 respondents)

This question intended to map out the years of experience of this sample group. In the question, respondents selected one length of time among the four options. In this

representative profile, 65 respondents (70.7%) had been world language instructors for more than ten years, with another 16 (17.4%) having been in the profession for 5-10 years. This striking majority was significant because it suggested not only the years of classroom experience but also the years of ongoing professional training. This training was important to consider because of three main variables, which would come out in the case studies: (1) shifting demographics of the California student body; (2) changes in state educational policy, especially No Child Left Behind and the Common Core Initiative; and (3) changes in second language acquisition (SLA) theories and classroom implications thereof. Newer teachers in the field may have only engaged with more current trends in classroom-based SLA and standards-based assessment, while longer-serving teachers may have experienced the instability of some trends and the decision reversals of statewide frameworks. In the case studies, I was then interested to see how the three teachers—of different tenures and of different training programs—might navigate the profession due to their entry into and engagement with it.

4.2.3.7 Q20 *I teach my language in ways similar to how I studied it.*

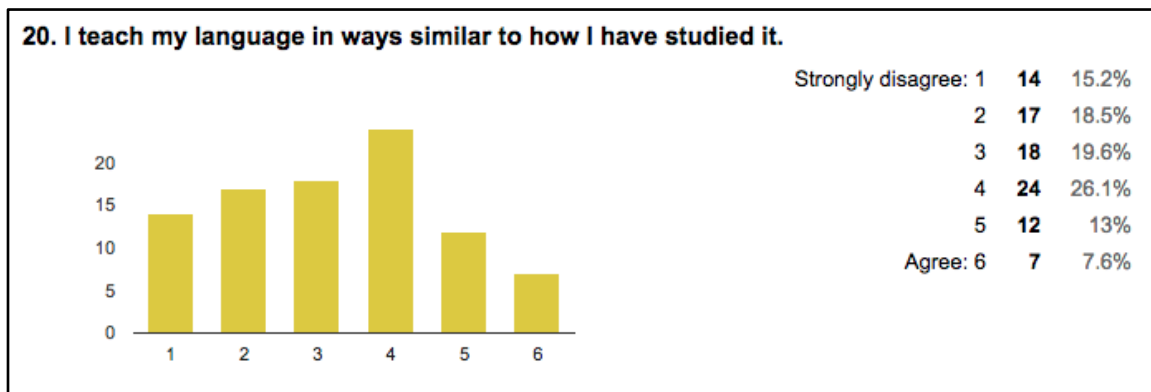


Figure 4.13 Summary of Respondents' Agreement with Statement on Their Relationship Between Teaching and Studying Language (n=92 responses)

Respondents utilized a Likert scale of agreement in this question, which sought to build upon question 17 (discussed in 2.3.4 above). The question invited respondents to compare their own study habits with their teaching styles. A question about their study habits might have invited reflection upon their own teachers' instructional styles, and would thus invite a comparison between their teachers' work and their own. Unlike the previous responses using a scale of agreement, these responses skewed closer to the four-choice range of slight agreement to strong disagreement (73 of 92 respondents, or 79.3% in those four gradations). These responses suggested, at least in respondents' perceptions, a gap for the majority of them between their teaching styles and their study of the languages. The data do not reveal if, how, and why the respondents shifted from one style to another. In the classrooms of the focal teachers, I would capture some of their teaching practices and could then compare them to the descriptions of their language learning processes, as suggested in their interviews and in data from survey question 17.

4.2.3.8 Q21 *As a language teacher, I get a sense of satisfaction from:*

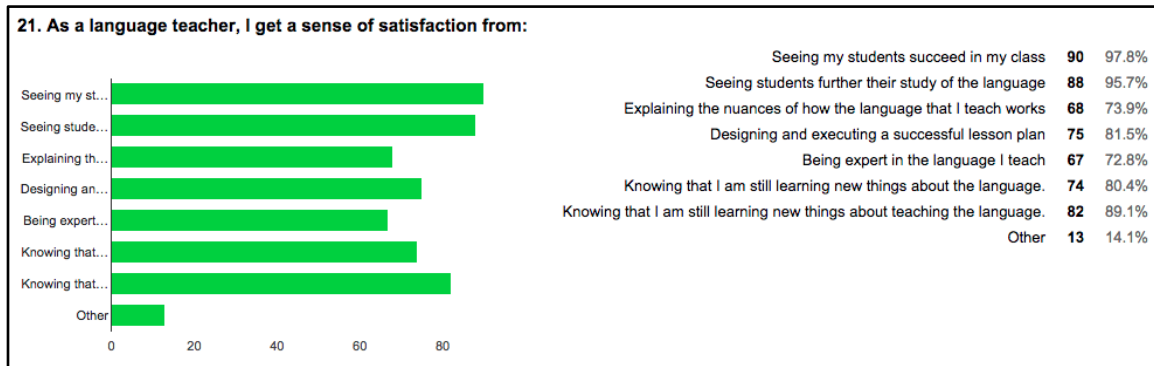


Figure 4.14 Summary of Respondents’ Sense of Teaching Satisfaction (n=557 responses; 92 respondents)

This multiple-choice question elicited many responses from the survey takers. Respondents could select as many answers as they chose, thus resulting in a mean of 6.1 answers per respondent. These numerous choices indicated that many factors provided satisfaction to the respondents. The two responses that received the most votes, *seeing my students succeed in my class* and *seeing students further their study of the language*, put the spotlight on the relationship between the teachers and their students, an important social-professional relationship. Those responses did not diminish the significance of the teachers’ own relationship to their languages, both personally and professionally, but the highest scoring responses did highlight the interactive social nature of their work. Additionally, with the third highest answer, *knowing that I am still learning new things about teaching the language*, the answers pointed to the ongoing nature of their work—an engagement with the present in their classrooms, but also an investment in the future of their students and a reminder for the past, present, and future with the languages they taught. In the final interviews with the focal participants, I would seek concrete examples of their own professional satisfaction (and dissatisfaction) in order to illuminate these categories.

4.2.3.9 Q22 *I have a sense of professional fulfillment as an instructor of French/Spanish.*

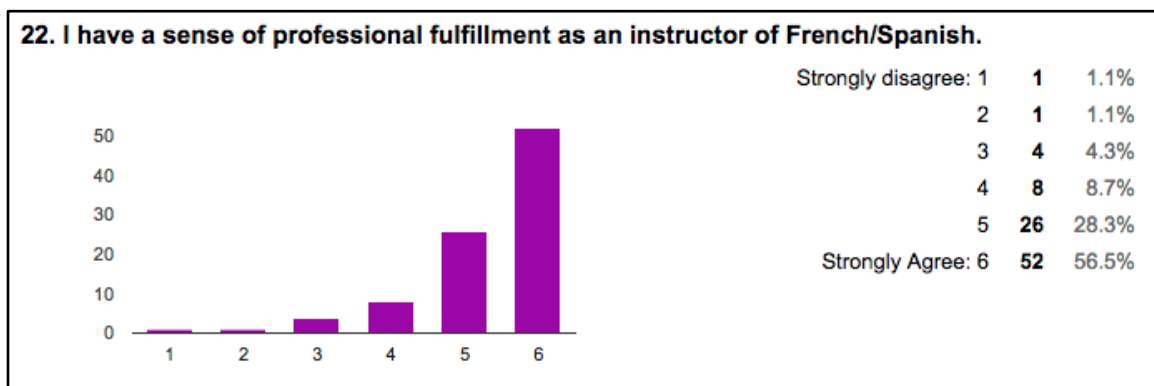


Figure 4.15 Summary of Respondents’ Agreement with Statement of Professional Fulfillment (n=92 responses)

This question continued the idea introduced in question 21 (see 2.3.8 above) of teacher satisfaction and professional fulfillment. This question, however, was both broader than the other and used a Likert scale of agreement. Eighty-six respondents (93.5%) selected one of the top three choices, which signaled slight agreement to strong agreement. Thus, very few respondents in this sample group disagreed with the statement, most of whom (4 of 6 respondents, or 66.7%) only slightly disagreed with it.

This strong agreement was contextualized by the fact that the survey takers who completed chose to do so; it was a self-selecting sample group. Those teachers who committed to all of it may already have had a strong investment in their teaching and in the survey's constructs.²⁶

4.2.3.10 Q23 *Please comment on any connections that you see of your own language learning and usage experiences to your teaching experiences.*

This open-ended question invited respondents to elaborate and/or clarify their quantitative answers in questions 17 and 20. Ninety respondents provided some sort of answer, including two who provided “not applicable.” The most common motif that connected these teachers’ language learning and teaching was about respondents’ lived experiences, whether in other classrooms as students or in target-language contexts. These respondents named specific people and places that had made lasting impressions and influenced their teaching:

1. I still refer to experiences I had in Spanish-speaking countries (living and studying in Spain, for example), in my classes at appropriate times with students.
2. I learned Portuguese and Spanish by living in the cultures, listening, and imitating native speakers[?] tone, intonation, and vocabulary. I tried to build lesson plans that will help students repeat that type of experience.
3. When I studied abroad [...] and all my classes were in Spanish, I remember how big of a headache I had in the beginning. I try to tell my current students that it is ok to not understand everything that I say and that if they have a headache at the end of class, then that means their brain is trying to work out something new! I went to Spain on a high school trip for 2 weeks and that experience made me want to experience more when I was a college student. I would like my own students to have that desire to branch out of their own comfort zone and try something new.
4. Near the end of my high school career my teacher began using TPRS to teach.²⁷ This is not reflective of how I learned French for most of my time as a student, however it is a highly effective teaching methodology. During my student teaching I went back to work with her and gain more knowledge of the methodology and now I rely on it for most of my teaching practices.
5. I use almost everything I've done/experienced either as a direct technique (games, drills, explanations, metaphors, cultural practices) or as a story (example) to be discussed and learned from... (within reason) My students especially like hearing

²⁶ This notion of the investment in surveys by respondents is suggested by Dörnyei (2003, pp. 75-76).

²⁷ TPRS is an acronym for “teaching proficiency through reading and storytelling,” a method geared towards L2 instruction. Its essential tenet is to use a combination of spoken and written storytelling and reading to assist students in learning and using an L2.

about my embar[r]assing miscommunications. They learn the value of balancing accuracy (grammar) with lack of inhibition and circumlocution. They learn that successful communication is more than translation or the stringing together of mere words. It is also the art of gesture, the lack of fear of failure, the demonstration of good will... It is the art of being HUMAN.

These samples revealed clear connections made by the respondents between prior learning and living experiences and their classroom practices, including “living and studying in Spain” (Sample 1) and “listening, and imitating native speakers[’] tone, intonation, and vocabulary” (Sample 2). The respondents linked those earlier personal experiences to what they did in their current classroom instruction. Some respondents pointed out that these experiences were not always easy or fun for learners (e.g., headaches as a result of full immersion, “embarrassing miscommunications”). The responses also indicated the significance, if not necessity, of embedding phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical learning and practice into holistic practices: gestural, social, and cultural. The last sample included a definition of communication in her L2 classroom that pushed it to a loftier description: “It is the art of being HUMAN [original emphasis].”

That last sample fell in line also with several other responses that focused on the connectedness possible in L2 learning and instruction. By “connectedness,” I intend both the social networking available online and offline and the technological connectedness afforded by newer media in the L2 classrooms. In the following samples, respondents foregrounded these networked aspects of their language use and instruction.

1. I learned in a very classic ways [sic] with lots of grammar and irregular verbs memorization. I try to make it more fun and easier to learn a[s] well and also use different i[P]ad apps (train/plane reservation, buying food/clothing on line, looking for an apartment, and reading/listening to interactive books[])
2. I see the connection when some of my students tell me they have helped somebody in a difficult situation like a hospital to translate or at a grocery store
3. I was pushed to interact with as many speakers as possible--growing up in the San Francisco Bay Area, this was easy to do for Spanish. I still do this with my own students.
4. I use a lot of visuals & audio, since this is more authentic, I think. I also create authentic experiences for my students.
5. I wish I had had all of the technology to help me learn that my students have today.

In the first three samples, respondents highlighted the social dimensions of their current instructional practices as compared (or in contrast) to their own learning experiences. The first respondent identified the focus-on-form learning as “classic” and contrasted it to her “more fun and easier to learn” methods using current app technology. The apps she named involve both individual and social networked activities, such as trip and household planning as well as interactions with online, hybrid texts. Similarly, but more broadly, the last respondent expressed the desire to have had access to the technology that her students had and that, by extension, she presently had as a language teacher. In the other two

responses, the respondents addressed other types of networks: social and entertainment. The respondents who described students speaking with and translating for speakers of the target languages highlighted the social network idea of language use: in these particular spaces, language learners used non-classroom interaction as a means to accomplish things through speaking. Those types of interactions suggested a certain authenticity of the context of language use, which was a preoccupation for the fourth respondent. He was interested in creating “authentic experiences for [his] students,” although he did not elaborate that those experiences may have looked like beyond using audio-visual materials in class.

In the end, respondents who provided answers other than “not applicable” recognized the relationship between their language learning and language teaching, although that relationship was not always direct. For some, they recycled their own teachers’ practices if the respondents believed them to still be useful and applicable in 21st century classrooms. Others rejected the methods used by their teachers in favor of practices that reflected current technologies and more current waves of second language teaching theory, especially the communicative method. Most stated that their personal, lived experiences, even more than just classroom-based learning, affected their pedagogical practices and how they presented the language. These samples demonstrated that the respondents’ experiences had a direct impact on their professional work.

4.2.3.11 Q24 Please describe other experiences or memories as a language instructor that have remained meaningful for you.

In the final question of this survey section focused on teacher beliefs about L2 learning and their pedagogical practices, respondents offered many different types of memories, both in and out of the classroom. Since this question was open ended, respondents were able to provide answers of varying lengths. Indeed, the total length of all the responses was the longest in this section. Nonetheless, three respondents did not provide meaningful responses directly to the question (i.e., “N/A,” “can’t think of any at the moment,” “????????????”). One respondent used the space to state that “[t]his survey is already too long,” indicating the amount of time, thinking, and writing that he had already expended in completing the survey.

Four motifs emerged from the number of responses about what remained meaningful for the respondents: (1) ongoing student use of the target language; (2) study abroad experiences with students; (3) student growth in confidence and knowledge; and (4) relevance of respondents’ prior experiences to their current instruction.

Respondents overwhelmingly identified ongoing student use of the target language as meaningful, especially if students continued the study and use of the language beyond the classroom:

1. When my kids come back and tell me they are stil[l] using Spanish, or when a native speaker tells me he/she has a better appreciation of his/her native language.
2. I have former student who is now living and working in a Spanish speaking country. I have another student who WON the show The Amazing Race who told me that part of his success was due to me teaching him to value other cultures. I have scores of students who have told me that they learned Spanish, but more

- importantly they learned to see other people for people, and not just as a culture, language or ethnicity.
3. Students that continue in French in college, especially at Cal!!! There have been kind of a lot!! Funny mistakes. Teaching students for 2 or 3 years and knowing them well. Having students keep in touch with their pen pals. Students that really enjoy French art and music. Knowing that they only learn about art in French class.

Questions of authenticity and legitimacy (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004; Kramsch, 2012) ran as undercurrents through these responses. The responses suggested that students' ongoing use in a variety of settings, including other academic ones and social milieus, linked them to more authentic uses of the language, if not of their own subject positionings. In the second answer, for example, the respondent singled out her native speaker students who gained "a better appreciation of" their native languages, suggesting a change in the students' positionings vis-à-vis their languages. Respondents emphasized student understanding of the target languages and cultures in authentic settings, such as through pen pal writing, art appreciation, and on national television (i.e., *The Amazing Race*). The third answer pointed towards a higher goal of L2 learning for the respondent, beyond L2 use in authentic settings and in appropriate ways, but that of learning "to see other people for people, and not just as a culture, language or ethnicity." Together, these responses identified the open-ended timescale for students' L2 use as a source of personal pride for the instructors.

Related to this idea of students' ongoing use of the target language was the idea of students discovering a new confidence through studying other languages and cultures:

1. Seeing students achieve when they thought they couldn't. Gave them confidence not only in learning French, but led to practical life lessons.
2. To see a student's face light up when he/she finally 'gets it' and replies correctly.
3. I will address only one: the joy that comes from a student who first says, "you don't understand, I don't even speak in my English or other classes, and you want me to in your class!" And then, one day, that student find[s] her voice in a second language and begins to volunteer to share thoughts and ideas. WOW! That student has been transformed forever. Never mind that she may not remember that it was in a second language class, through self-esteem building lessons, that she found the "gem" that was always within her reach! yeah!
4. There are too many to list here. The strongest memories are of students' insights and experiences gained while traveling abroad with me. Another was the student who stuttered in English (badly) but Never [sic] in Spanish.
5. I have a student who was a mediocre student for me, but she was passionate. She cried when the school informed her she did not have a high enough grade to move on in the language, so doubled and tripled her effort to be able to continue. Then when she graduated, she decided to become a French major. She has come back to visit and share how my confidence in her ability to continue in French helped her to become the French student she is now. She is now a TA and even has a professor that I had at a different University. I feel like it is a cycle and I believe that in the next few years, she will become a language teacher herself!

These answers reflected the strong emotions felt by the respondents when they reflected on their students' changes because of L2 learning and instruction. Words and expressions such as "yeah!," "WOW!," "fond," "joy," and "see my students shine" underlined the respondents' emotions. Moreover, since this was a typed, short answer question, the use of exclamation points reinforced the emotion of the answers. The emotions resulted from the respondents' witnessing of positive changes in the L2 learners' lives. Primarily, students' self-confidence improved, as identified specifically in the first, third, fourth, and final samples. In the fourth example, the response suggested that the student became another person in the L2 classroom: "'you don't understand, I don't even speak in my English or other classes, and you want me to in your class!' And then, one day, that student find[s] her voice in a second language and begins to volunteer to share thoughts and ideas." This appeared to be a transformation of the student's identity as a student: from a non-speaking bystander in other classrooms to a speaking participant in the L2 classroom. This transformation marked both the student and the teacher in this reflection.

Respondents also identified the meaningful relationships that they developed with their students through extracurricular and study abroad experiences:

1. My students will remember the days we played petanque, made crepes, and had exchanges with other schools and enjoyed language games. Cultural activities in San Francisco were also meaningful to me and my students.
2. bringing students to [F]rance and [M]artinique, as well as [V]ietnam. watching students put to practice what they learned encourages me to continue to strongly emphasize the listening and speaking at the lower levels. the reading and writing proficiencies follow and stressed more heavily in upper levels.
3. I have enjoyed taking groups of students to France and loved seeing and hearing them able to communicate with others. I have also enjoyed my own immersion experiences as a teacher. I have been to Montreal to take summer courses and France and have enjoyed living with other French teachers, speaking French, and sharing with each[]other.

In these examples, respondents wove together language and culture. Culturally specific artifacts such as *pétanque* and *crêpes* and immersion in the Francophone world defined these significant memories for the respondents. Additionally, the respondents claimed that it was these things that "students will remember." Respondents linked social development to these activities as well, both for students as well as for themselves. Through using the language in target contexts with other speakers, respondents sensed the deepening of their own enjoyment of the language and could see student enjoyment as well.

Finally, many respondents highlighted the meaningful and meaning-making link between their prior experiences and their L2 instruction:

1. I enjoy the relationships born out of learning languages. Traveling, meeting new people, experiencing new forms of being, are all meaningful to me.
2. Music was very import[an]t and useful for me to love and learn the language[.] Games are very important for me to teach students[.] [W]ithout

them knowing Movement is very important factor[.] [A]lso I did not learn this way but I would have loved to.

3. Talking with natives from the languages I have learned. Communication activities worked the best for me.
4. Studying in Paris during my junior year of college was one of the most meaningful language learning experiences. I always tell my students that studying abroad will be the key to fluency.

In these reflections, respondents found ongoing meaning in earlier experiences with the language and cultures still relevant to their instruction. Their own memories of finding the language through very personal means imprinted in them techniques that shaped their classroom practices. The first respondent linked her experiences of traveling and encountering people with “new forms of being,” an idea that reverberated through the other examples. The second respondent focused on multi-sensory learning through music, games, and movement, which suggested other forms of being in the classroom besides silent in desks or in practice conversation. Engagement with native speakers and being in the target cultures framed hopes that the respondents held for their students as well as practice activities in their classrooms. Even with the diversity in these responses, the common thread was a certain continuity between the respondents as L2 learners and instructors.

4.2.3.12 Summary: Reflections on Language Learning/You as Language Teacher

This section of the survey captured answers that mapped out the respondents’ relationships between being L2 learners and L2 teachers. The majority of the data, both qualitative and quantitative, pointed to a lifelong timescale in many respondents’ lives along which their learning bled into their teaching. For some respondents, who listed languages that they were still actively studying, their teaching also affected their adult L2 learning. Those responses suggested a strong bridge between the subjects’ early experiences with L2 learning and their planning as L2 instructors.

Not all respondents, though, described the trajectory as seamless or as interconnected. For example, one respondent provided the contrast between her learning and her teaching in that “I learned in a very classic ways [sic] with lots of grammar and irregular verbs memorization. I try to make it more fun and easier to learn a[s] well and also use different i[P]ad apps.” This answer reflected several qualitative responses that used contemporary educational technologies to frame changes in their personal pedagogy from what they had previously experienced as students. Regarding how respondents had been taught as compared to their own pedagogical practices, the quantitative data were telling: those responses distanced the respondents’ L2 instruction from their own classroom learning (see section 2.3.7 for more information). These responses suggested, at least in respondents’ perceptions, a gap for the majority of them between their teaching styles and their study of the languages.

In the end, the respondents identified a strong sense of personal fulfillment and pride in their work and in their students. Tracking their students’ journey as L2 learners provided many examples of meaningful experiences and memories, from traveling abroad together to student discovery of new voices and ways of being. These reported

experiences pointed to the specific possibilities of transformation that these respondents believed to be possible in the L2 classroom. This idea of transformation over time, both of the students and of the teachers, reverberated strongly in this survey section.

4.2.4 Section 4: Reflections on Language Instruction at My School Site

The final part of the survey focused on how respondents perceived the role of the world language program in their schools' total curricular program and administrative supervision. First, respondents described what administrative support for their L2 programs looked like. Respondents then identified if their schools had schoolwide learning goals, if the goals of their language programs aligned with them, and how they knew if their world language program was meeting its stated learning goals. Companion to this discussion were respondents' beliefs about what other kinds of support teachers desired.

4.2.4.1 Question 25: *Describe the kinds and level of support that your school administration provides for the language teaching program.*

This open-ended question sought to transition the respondents from thinking about their language use and instruction just in their classrooms and to move them to thinking more globally about the positioning of L2 instruction at their schools. In particular, this question asked them to describe the nature of the support they believed they received by their school administrations. Of the 91 responses, six respondents provided terse answers of either "none" or "minimal" or "very little" without description. A representative sample of other short answers indicated the complicated relationships that the respondents had with administrative support for their L2 programs:

1. We are given time to meet as a language department across our four connected schools (it's a private school network) so that we can align and share best practices. We also have a budget for professional development and conferences. Lucky me, my head of school was a French teacher for many years and still teaches one class!
2. I think that in terms of budgetary and scheduling considerations, my school site is very supportive. However, in terms of professional development, my school site always focuses on the core subjects.
3. No funds allocated to the department. About \$2000-\$2500 in donations from Parent Organization. Administration tries to accom[m]odate staffing and scheduling needs, but they are constrained by district-level policies and decisions regarding staffing, class size, etc. Some administrative support for AP workshops; other WL-specific professional development comes from PTO donation. Open door policy, support and understanding has increased over the past few years.
4. Our school is fairly supportive, but our world languages department is dominated by the Spanish and Chinese teachers and the French teachers have to fight constantly for a place at the table. We feel marginalized and often

- ignored. We are certainly underfunded as an entire department, not just French.
5. Darn little. STEM is everything. Our program comes in almost dead last for any type of funding, time for collaboration, and there is no moral support whatsoever.
 6. My school provides no moral support. Not as much as a pat on the back for a job well done. We are the Step children [sic] of the school. Sometimes if we fight really hard we can get them to pay for some professional development. Budget is really for other more important classes.

In these representative examples, two possible sources of support emerged as motifs that ran throughout all the responses: administrators and professional development. Answers to this question celebrated these sources, questioned them, or explored the degrees to which they provided support to the respondents. For instance, the first example portrayed a harmonious, arguably ideal professional learning model: supportive administrator (also a teaching colleague); time and money for as well as shared governance of professional learning; and, membership in professional organizations. Sample 2 identified the support of time and money for the program's classes but the lack of that for professional learning. Sample 3 pointed to the school's parent organization as the key financial supporters of their language department, not the administration, who instead governs the organizational needs of the department. In sample 4, the respondent identified problematic support not necessarily at the schoolwide level but intradepartmentally: at that site, the L2 teachers competed "for a place at the table" because of the trickling of resources into their program. That respondent characterized the language department as "marginalized," which did indeed suggest that the intradepartmental troubles originated interdepartmentally, if not at the schoolwide level.

The final two samples expanded upon what the several terse negative responses had earlier suggested. They indicated other departments, especially those in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM), as the first to receive administrative and program support. Furthermore, these two responses described a lack of moral support, the presence of which appeared in other responses even if financial or schedule support was absent. The final respondent concluded that his colleagues and he were the stepchildren "of the school," a comparison that suggested an outsider status in an otherwise family-like context. He also seemed to voice ironically another perspective when he claimed that "[b]udget is really for other more important classes." Although he does not directly indicate who might voice that belief, given that this response was framed by the question's focus on school administration, one could believe that he imagined his own school leaders not believing in the importance of the language program.

These representative examples captured the continuum along which the responses fell. A minority of respondents described a lack of support from their administrators; likewise, a minority described perfect situations in which time, money, and moral support were aplenty. The majority of the responses fell in the middle, indicating a complex understanding of what administrative support meant: some combination of understanding the goals/importance of an L2 program, maintaining a fully developed L2 program for

students, providing schedule and financial resources for ongoing professional learning, and offering moral support for the teachers in the L2 program. The next questions provided respondents the opportunity to compare their beliefs about what their schools' identified outcomes were, how their L2 programs fit into those outcomes, and how their teaching philosophies related to the goals and outcomes.

4.2.4.2 Question 26: *Are you familiar with the stated learning goals for your language program?*

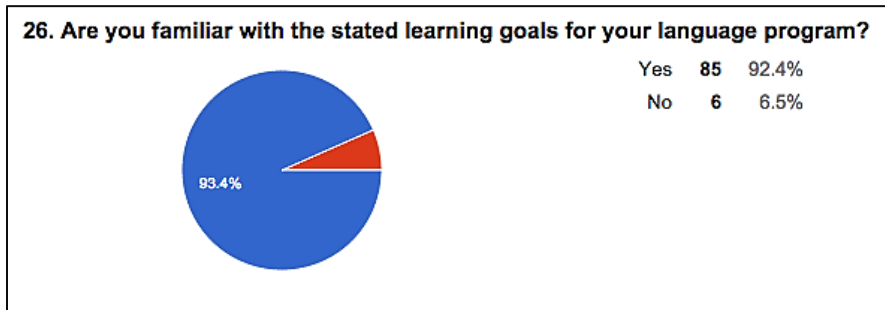


Figure 4.16 Summary of Responses for Familiarity with Language Program Learning Goals (n=91 responses)

This question used a yes-no format to elicit respondents' answers. The question intended to introduce the idea of student learning outcomes and language program goals since, in response to educational policy such as No Child Left Behind and Common Core, schools have been asked to provide various ways to account for student learning (Finn and Petrilli, 2011; Kober and Rentner, 2011). Creating and monitoring program goals is a common first step for administrations and departments to document what and how students learn across the school curriculum. For respondents for whom this question (and the following, #27) did not address the possible lack of stated learning goals at their schools, they had the possibility to elaborate their individual situations in question 28.

The responses to this section indicated two related findings. The first was that the overwhelming majority of teacher acknowledged being familiar with goals for the language programs in which they worked. These responses thus indicated, secondly, that stated goals did indeed exist for the majority of respondents. With these findings in place, the next three questions interrogated the respondents' reflections on learning goals in their programs.

4.2.4.3 Question 27: *The world language program in which I teach meets its stated learning goals.*

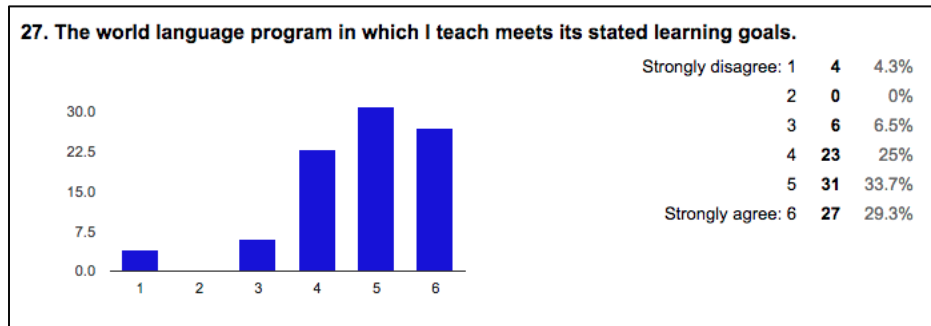


Figure 4.17 Summary of Respondents' Agreement with Statement of Meeting Stated Learning Goals (n=91 responses)

This question employed a Likert scale of agreement to elicit respondents' beliefs about if their language programs met its stated learning goals. The overwhelming majority agreed to some degree with this statement (88%, or 81 respondents). This indicated that the overall work of the program led to student achievement of the learning goals. Just over ten percent of respondents did not agree with this statement (10.8%, or 10 respondents), four of whom strongly disagreed that their program met its learning goals. These last responses in particular pointed to the need for additional description, which could be found in the following question and its answers.

For full state accreditation, California high schools seek compliance with the University of California subject requirements (see footnote 14), which requires two years of the same language other than English and recommends three. Unlike high school English programs, for example, which require four years of college preparatory study, most world language programs offer an average of three full years of language study, varying between two to four years. Since languages offered are site specific, there is strong variation in the language choices that students have and in the duration of a given language's course program. These constraints possibly affected the shape of the world language programs in question in this survey and the formation of their learning goals. The following three questions would provide respondents an opportunity to situate the responses to this question.

4.2.4.5 Question 28: *How do language teachers know that the program is/is not meeting its stated learning goals?*

This open-ended question invited respondents to reflect on the alignment of their program's goals with the work that their students and they performed. The question sought to elucidate the results from the previous question. As suggested in those results, these responses fell along a continuum, especially in a middle zone where respondents provided complicated reflections on what it meant to meet learning goals at their particular sites.

1. We don't have an explicitly stated goal, so there is no basis to answer this question.

2. The goals are so vague it doesn't really matter. It is like: listening, speaking, reading, writing, culture.
3. Do we? I'm not sure. Often I feel that we have the best intentions but are overworked and do not have nearly enough time to collaborate, to set goals, to evaluate and reevaluate progress, reshape goals, and at the end of the year, we sort of convince ourselves that we are making something resembling progress towards our goals. I don't know. I don't think we do.
4. It seems that all we do is assess, enter the scores in "datawise" and generate endless reports to analyze the data to be sure we are aligning teaching to state standards. It is somewhat useful to be "forced" to formally analyze test results, but it should not occupy our time to the extent that administration at district level is requiring. It is quite insulting to our professionalism actually.
5. Each language program, within our WL department, is assessed regularly. Student evaluations, students' exit interviews, regular classroom observations, a rigorous three-year induction program for new teachers as well as other means of evaluating our teaching and our students' accomplishments and satisfaction, are among the tools used to determine if our WL department is meeting its goals.

These representative samples revealed the scope of responses. Samples 1 and 2 elucidated the previous quantitative data that showed the negative responses to the presence or awareness of stated learning goals. Those respondents seemed either unaware of any goals or quite aware that none existed at their sites. This first subset of responses indicated that, for some respondents, this question was almost impossible to answer because of either a lack of connection between classroom work and L2 learning goals or a lack of the goals themselves.

Samples 3 and 4 addressed the time and energy needed to make those connections, time that those respondents believed was lacking. Those respondents emphasized that the process of reflecting on goals was possible, even present, at their sites, but that they did not have enough time to either complete it or to dig beyond numerical data to look at deeper learning. This subset signaled a shift in teachers' perceptions from a lack of defined goals to defined, if not interrogated, goals. Additionally, one respondent felt that the number crunching was "insulting" to the profession, suggesting that L2 teachers were capable to do other types of reflection and assessment than demonstrating statistically the validity of their programs.

Sample 5 reflected the data group that saw clear links between L2 classroom work and the stated learning goals. This answer included processes of documentation and achievement as mapped by the member of language departments. This response included a variety of ways and of voices that were used to show how the language department met its goals.

The range in this data reflected the range in the respondents' experiences and school sites. The answers pointed out the common element of time in planning and mapping: the lack or poor use of it impeding successful linking of practice to goals; the scheduled and quality use of it allowing for various school stakeholders to evaluate the success of their

programs. In the end, the bulk of the responses indicated an unclear or weak connection between the stated goals of the language programs, if any, and classroom activities.²⁸

4.2.4.6 Question 29: *My teaching philosophy aligns with the school's student learning outcomes and with the world language program's goals.*

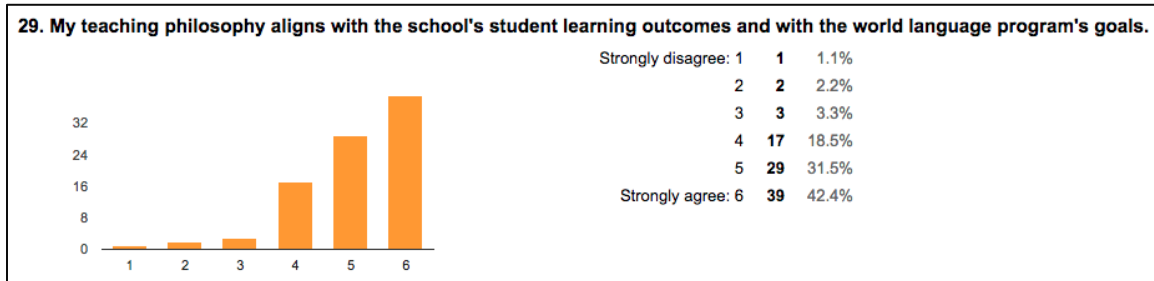


Figure 4.18 Summary of Respondents' Agreement with Alignment of Teaching Philosophy with Program's Learning Goals (n=91 responses)

This question used a Likert scale of agreement to understand to what degree respondents believed their teaching philosophies aligned with the language program's goals. The intention behind this question was to link the previously elaborated broad beliefs and reflections on respondents' language programs to their personal/professional teaching philosophies. The data distribution showed strong agreement tapering to few who disagreed, with each degree of agreement represented. Eighty-five respondents (93%) agreed to varying degrees with the statement, indicating the link between what their program expected for their students as well as them and their personal beliefs of what they did as L2 teachers.

Although the strong majority identified alignment of their teaching philosophies with student outcomes and program goals, six respondents (6.6%) did not agree. This dissent resulted from three possible reasons: (1) lack of schoolwide student outcomes and/or language program goals; (2) lack of pre-created teaching philosophies; and, (3) lack of alignment between pre-created philosophies, outcomes, and goals. Based on the prior responses (summarized in section 2.4.5), in which some respondents identified the lack of schoolwide outcomes and goals, the most likely reasons for dissent in this question would be the lack of the existence of outcomes and/or goals as well as disharmony between the teachers' philosophies and the goals and/or outcomes.

In sum, for the majority of respondents, there was alignment among the three levels of administration: schoolwide student learning outcomes, world language program goals, and individual teaching philosophies.

4.2.4.7 Question 30: *In what ways are members of the world language department encouraged to be members of a professional learning community, in which teachers, administrators and staff work together regularly and responsibly to better student learning?*

²⁸ Studies such as Biggs (1996, 2012) and Gargiulo and Metcalf (2012) shed some light on the alignments of teaching practices and student learning objectives and outcomes.

This open-ended question invited a wide variety of responses that revealed much about the professional and social undercurrents at respondents' school sites. The question assumed that the respondents were part of an identified professional learning community (PLC), an idea that many respondents contested or negotiated in their typed reflections.

1. Again, without an explicitly stated program focus, there are not many ways in which we are encouraged to work together.
2. I am not sure that we are. We have regular collaboration which is spent on developing the AP program. School wide collaboration is spent on testing and WASC preparation. So in a[s] much as that ties in loosely with student learning it has a rather narrow focus.
3. We are encouraged to participate annually in professional development opportunities and we meet several times a month as a department to discuss issues. We develop goals annually and must evaluate our achievement of these goals at the end of the year.
4. Through staff meetings, prof. development and PLC dedicated time during the school day. Our school's bell schedule is set up in order for the dept to meet amongst ourselves which includes a member of the admin team. We meet together about 2 times a month. The other 2 meetings are as a staff as a whole.

Surveyed teachers believed, overall, that they were included in some aspect of school decision-making but did not have easy and regular access to quality and quantity of professional learning specific to L2 instruction and learning. These examples also brought up the question of individual teachers' and teacher network agency. In other words, some respondents proposed extramural ways of participating in PLC's, either through their own self-organization with onsite colleagues or off campus with other L2 teachers. This idea reframed the idea of a professional learning community, not limiting it to one tied to a single school site or to one faculty body but one to an imagined community of other teachers.

4.2.4.8 Question 31: *The following would provide me with better professional support as a world language instructor.*

- *More professional development workshops (quantity)*
- *Better professional development workshops (quality)*
- *More opportunities to network with other world language instructors*
- *More preparatory time to develop lessons and reflect on the classroom*
- *Easier access to university-hosted program for world language instructors*
- *More time to work and reflect on teaching with my colleagues in the world languages department at this school*
- *Access to travel/study/work/volunteer abroad programs in target language communities*
- *Other*

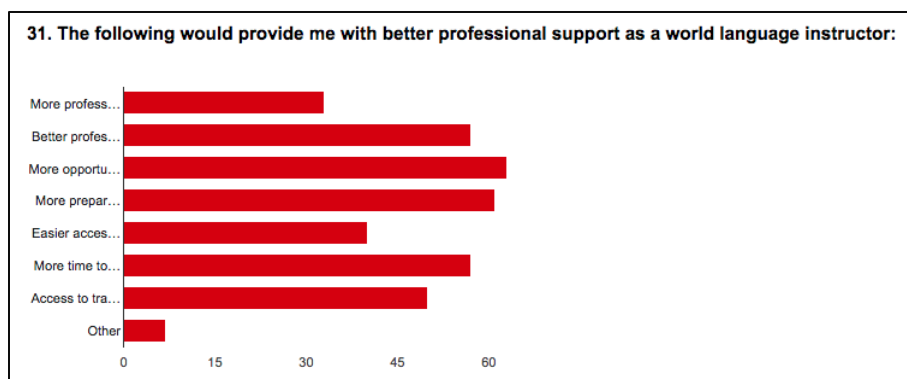


Figure 4.19 Summary of Respondents' Identification of Better Professional Support (n= 368 responses)

This multiple-choice question asked respondents to identify different types of professional support that they would like to have. Respondents were able to select as many options as they desired, including an option for “other,” which they were able to explain in the survey’s final content question. This question was motivated by the literature about classroom-based L2 teaching preparation that frequently highlighted a dearth of meaningful professional development opportunities specifically for L2 teachers (see Donato, 2009; Johnson and Golombek, 2011, 2002; Singh and Richards, 2006).

Respondents most strongly identified more opportunities to network with other world language instructors as a desired example of professional support (63 responses, or 69.2% of total responses). This idea paired with a high rating (57 responses, or 62.6%) for more time to work and reflect with on-site departmental colleagues. This idea of more time extended to the desire for more time to prepare for class (61 responses, or 67%). Whereas a high response for better professional development (57 responses, or 62.6%) was indicated, the majority of respondents did not desire more professional development (33 responses, or 36.3%). These latter numbers provided some insight into the needs and desires of L2 teachers in response to the identified need in the field for more meaningful professional development opportunities.

These responses also suggested possible objects of study in my observations for the case studies. I would look to the three teachers’ daily schedules, co-curricular and extracurricular activities, and out-of-school professional networks to see how they situated their work and connected it to other parts of their professional selves. How would their desires for professional support compare with those most strongly identified by the survey respondents?

4.2.4.9 Summary: Reflections on Language Instruction at My School Site

The responses in this section revealed that respondents generally believed that their programs achieved their learning goals and that their personal teaching philosophies aligned with those goals. Respondents were divided, however, about the role that their administrations did—and should—play in their world language program.

A key term that appeared in a variety of ways in the survey responses was the word “core,” likely influenced by both the label Common Core as well as a historic divide among “core,” “elective,” and “enrichment” classes. In traditional K-12 settings, “core classes” and “core curriculum” refer to offerings in specific content areas, namely

English/language arts, mathematics, science, and history. High schools often group these content areas into independent departments with different chairpersons. Depending on the school's governance model, these departments receive a combination of the school's general funding as well as specific money targeting their program. This potential for economic competition underlies the tension that L2 teachers, teaching "elective" classes, feel vis à vis their fellow school departments.

Many responses reflected different levels of disconnection between different stakeholders at the school and the teachers in world language departments. One respondent described that "there is not an overwhelming support from the administration towards the language program... a lot of our ideas for improving instruction are routinely shot down (due to a lack of understanding of the needs of the subject matter and a lack of priority)." Another respondent echoed part of this sentiment, in stating that "I don't feel particularly supported or as if the school feels our subject is important... French particularly and language in general is often 'dissed' by our administration." This respondent continued: "I also feel that our counseling department often steers students away from language once it is no longer mandatory." The belief in this last comment reinforced the short-term, instrumental goals of language learning without prizing broader implications and effects of studying another language and culture.

Some respondents described a more complex continuum of administrative practices, moving between a distant administration that still provided plenty of resources to a sensitive administration that provided few, if any, enrichment opportunities to its world language departments. Additionally, some respondents believed that some parents and students did not fully believe in the value of language study. One instructor of French praised her administration for providing monetary support for a language lab but then remarked that "our counseling office views foreign language as an elective course and it is not considered important. Students and parents share this view, and Spanish and French homework ends up not getting done at all or is done very last with little effort." Another respondent identified that "in terms of budgetary and scheduling considerations, my school site is very supportive. However, in terms of professional development, my school site always focuses on the core subjects." This comment indicated the division that can exist among the different disciplines in K-12 education, one that can be exacerbated by the implementation of the Common Core Standards and California Foreign Language Framework, with the first document's initial focus on only English language arts and mathematics.

4.2.5 Survey Conclusion: Final Reflections- As you complete this survey, you may feel that there is more to say. Please describe other important or meaningful aspect of language learning and teaching that you would like to share.

This open-ended question closed the content portion of the survey. It was an optional question since its inclusion was intended to offer a space for respondents to discuss further ideas raised by the survey or to propose other ideas. Consequently, 51 respondents did provide additional information. The most common ideas expressed in this section were comments of gratitude for the survey itself and encouragement for the project completion.

4.3 Conclusions on the Survey

The survey as a tool—both its questions and its responses—provided California L2 teachers of French and Spanish an opportunity to reflect on and document language learning and teaching across their lifespans and in different contexts. The results of this survey, as best exemplified by respondents' elaborate and detailed written reflections, indicated that the surveyed teachers had much to say about their own development as bi/multilingual subjects and about their profession. Their responses, particularly in the first two parts of the survey, revealed complex relationships between themselves and the different speech communities to which they belonged (or did not belong). Respondents questioned how others constructed and positioned them as bi/multilingual subjects; consequently, in their responses, respondents often attempted to position themselves. They tended to isolate context and audience design as the key factors affecting their language use. This tendency then led many respondents to describe very structured understandings of language and power: in context *a*, language *b* holds this power; in context *c*, language *d* holds that power. Less frequent were descriptions of unstable contexts or subversive linguistic acts that created a dynamism within and across settings. These perceptions and descriptions thus provided rich material to look for and to take up with the three focal teachers, Dionne Simpson, Zeke Pankin, and Filomena Gaos.

Based on the survey responses, these L2 teachers faced unique challenges in their daily work, both in facilitating student learning and navigating the complex social and professional networks in their schools. Their responses also indicated that they occupied positions that were often unclearly defined within their schools' total educational program and schoolwide learning goals. As teachers of languages that were not the dominant academic languages at their sites of employment, many respondents found themselves on the margins of their schools' core programs. In some extreme circumstances, they experienced “‘alienation’... a psychological separation between teachers as human beings and teachers in their working environment” (Crookes, 1997, p. 67). Crookes (1997) enumerated the reasons for world language teachers' possible sense of marginalization in their professional lives: (1) inadequate, even inappropriate, curriculum design; (2) tensions between the goals of *schooling* and of *education*; (3) teacher isolation within school design and structures; and (4) economic and budgetary constraints that affect teachers' ability to perform their expected tasks (pp 68-69, emphasis mine). These pressures originated externally but made their way into teachers' sense of professional fulfillment, based on the qualitative data that emerged from the final two sections of the survey. I was then interested to investigate at the schools of the focal teachers if they experienced these pressures, and, if so, how they affected the language teachers' participation in their schools' professional learning communities.

According to the survey results, teachers' sense of professional fulfillment could not be underestimated, however, and respondents to this survey reported being fulfilled by their day-to-day work. Survey responses strongly showed the pleasure that those teachers took in their work, particularly in their interaction with students and their tracking of student growth. As many respondents indicated, they also found satisfaction in observing the pleasure that students discovered through language learning. This overlap between the professional and personal was not negligible. In the follow-up case

studies, I was interested to test if that source of pleasure impacted their classroom practices.

In the following chapter, I continue my investigation of the project's first research question, *In what ways do teachers of Spanish and of French in California reflect on their identities as users and instructors of the language(s) they teach?*, by exploring and analyzing case studies of the three focal teachers. These case studies were compiled near the end of and after the circulation of the survey, so they provided opportunities to explore in depth the breadth of the survey's constructs. They also provided a variety of situated language use, including planned and unplanned discourse in the classroom, that an online survey could not access. The survey provided a global, if limited, snapshot of the beliefs and practices of L2 Spanish and French teachers with regard to their language use, professional participation, and identification processes. The case studies then complemented the survey through a deep and focused study of representative teachers.

Chapter 5 Focal Teachers: Constructions of Linguistic Identities

5.1 Introduction

In designing this project around research questions concerning current beliefs, practices, and reflections of L2 teachers of French and Spanish in California, I wished to design a strongly qualitative part that would provide depth to the ideas and questions that emerged from the survey. Although the survey included qualitative questions that offered respondents opportunities to personalize their responses, the data collection itself was a distant, removed experience. The majority of the respondents and I were not in the same physical space when they took the survey, when I received their responses, and when I analyzed the data. In contrast, during the case study data collection, I was in the professional spaces of the focal subjects for several hours, interacting with them in interviews, video-recording them during their instruction, and participating in casual conversation with them between class periods. These ethnographic case studies, in which I employed qualitative data methods, provided participants and me opportunities to negotiate different meanings in their professional and personal linguistic autobiographies, a process of co-creation directed by the research questions.

In composing the three case study reports that respond to the first research question, *In what ways do teachers of Spanish and of French in California reflect on their identities as users and instructors of the language(s) they teach?*, I created the following format for analyzing the data of each focal teacher, using an ecological framework (Kramsch, 2002; van Lier, 2004):

- a description of the classroom environment, in order to establish the space decorated by the teachers in which they performed their work;
- a short biography, focusing on their linguistic histories and early encounters and contexts of language learning and teaching;
- an analysis of an event that reflected a significant aspect of their identity as users or instructors of the target language.

This format established the visuals, narratives, and lessons provided by the teachers to become principal units of analysis. Since all three focal teachers had designed the appearance of their classrooms, selected the details of their interview narratives, and directed their classroom lesson presentations, I was interested to investigate the connections between those analytical units and the teachers' identification processes through their language use.

5.2 Dionne Simpson: “Entre dicho y hecho, hay un gran trecho”

5.2.1 Classroom Environment

Dionne Simpson spent her workdays in a colorful and decorated classroom at the end of the northeast wing on East Bay Mechanical High School's (EBMHS) first floor, on the opposite side of the school from the classroom of the world languages department

chair.²⁹ My preliminary meeting with her took place in spring 2013 after the last class of the day. Upon arriving at her classroom, I sat in an empty desk while she finished some administrative paperwork. This wait allowed me to survey the room, making notes of the artifacts that hung on the walls and the messages that appeared on the information boards. Proverbs and political-artistic images competed for space with examples of student work. The images came from both indigenous and national communities of Latin America, providing linguistic and cultural nuances not apparent in the textbook curriculum; many of the images came from Simpson’s personal collection. Some of the artifacts were Spanish-English bilingual, suggesting the variety of linguistic communities to whom the information would be available (See Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1. Samples of posters in Dionne Simpson’s classroom

All the student desks faced a whiteboard, upon which was centrally written “*Entre dicho y hecho, hay un gran trecho*” [“Actions speak louder than words”] and “*No hay mal que por bien no venga*” [“Every cloud has a silver lining”]. In addition to these proverbs were sentence exercises for students in her different sections of Spanish. Simpson maintained a week’s worth of homework for all of her classes on a neighboring whiteboard, also within view of the student desks.

The purpose of this first one-on-one meeting was to discuss her formal participation in the case study and to schedule my regular visits to her classroom. Along with her professional attire, she wore brightly colored earrings that appeared to be of indigenous Central American origin, an accessory that indexed other places and other

²⁹ Only one of the other six world language teachers had a classroom in the same area of the school as Simpson. According to her, this separation from the majority of her colleagues reinforced a certain independence that Simpson felt in her classroom.

times—and other identities—in her life. Simpson’s choice of ensemble served as a type of professional uniform: she looked mostly like the other teachers at EBMHS, but with accessories that marked her as different. Those sartorial markings suggested her personal attachment to those other places in her life’s trajectory as well as her membership in the imagined community of foreign language teachers.

Our conversation began with a synopsis of my professional history as a junior high teacher and as a graduate student instructor of French language and literature. I then summarized my research interests as a language teacher and applied linguist and my motivations in conducting a study of the professional lives of teachers of Spanish and French. She identified with my interests because she had earned a doctorate in Spanish and had simultaneously taught at a public university in California, specializing in twentieth century Latin American literatures and cultures. Additionally, Simpson had taught at a variety of levels, from pre-kindergarten through the undergraduate level.

Her life trajectory (which included being a teacher and researcher at the university level) aligned her with me professionally and suggested that she had a good understanding of the nature of this study. Additionally, Simpson commented that her daughter was a doctoral candidate in anthropology at another university, and that she, both in her experience and in observing her daughter’s work, empathized with the research I was undertaking. Simpson’s ability to identify with my graduate work posed the possibility of both aiding and hindering different parts of my classroom-based project. She could have chosen to perform both in interviews and during instruction in ways that would index a subject positioning as an elite and theoretical pedagogue. Rather, I found that she displayed a down-to-earth nature that was informed by advanced literary and linguistic studies but not defined by them: she was knowledgeable but not pedantic in all of my encounters with and observations of her. Through these professional and personal connections, Dionne Simpson positioned herself immediately as an experienced and sensitive interlocutor who had spent much reflective time at desks not unlike those of her students.

5.2.2 A Biography: Early Multilingual Encounters

Dionne Simpson’s professional responsibilities linked to her self-professed “very political” identity, as she described during our first interview. In these selections from the one-on-one interview, Simpson positioned herself as a user of different languages for different purposes in a specifically political context—here, solidarity meetings for the citizens of Nicaragua in the 1980s.³⁰ Although she is a native speaker of English and an English-dominant language user, her use of Spanish and reflection thereupon in the

³⁰ The *Revolución Nicaragüense* or *Revolución Popular Sandinista* was a long-term and violent conflict in Nicaragua (1961-1990) between different political groups and the Somoza dictatorship and, after the overthrow of the dictatorship, the subsequent government of Nicaragua. The revolution, occurring against the backdrop of the Cold War, captured international attention because of the financial and military support offered to the competing factions by the Soviet Union on one hand and the United States on the other. The United States government supported the right-wing, counter-revolutionary efforts while the Soviet Union supported the left-wing, revolutionary groups. Simpson aligned herself with the revolutionary groups. Interestingly, this is a historical moment in which Spanish was the common linguistic code used by both sides.

context of those political meetings recalled in the following narrative indicated her own resistance to a label imposed by others:

when I was very political um oh god yes ok mid-eighties early- to mid-eighties um until I had to go back to working fulltime and {laugh} supporting the kids um which was really I think how I **honed** my Spanish uh um you know having political arguments with men who were **shocked** that I was as fluent as I was in Spanish because you're a **gringa** yes but I've but I can argue speak Spanish with you argue and speak Spanish and argue politics with you (Interview, 5/13)

Not only was she a “gringa...who can speak Spanish and argue politics,” but also a speaker who could use language to defend herself. Spanish was a tool here, if not a potential weapon, one that can be honed, or sharpened with a whetstone. Simpson “honed” her use of the language through using it during “political arguments with men” who were native speakers of Spanish. Her recounting of this memory from the 1980s suggested that her use of Spanish as a non-native speaker was more than just for communicative competence. Indeed, appropriating it for political arguments with a group of male native speakers indicated a certain symbolic competence, an ability to understand the meaning-making potential and contexts of semiotic forms (Kramsch and Whiteside, 2008). Simpson understood the power of this language in this context spoken by these people, herself included, and this understanding provided a foundational memory of how she positioned herself as a user of Spanish.

Simpson continued, exploring her positionality as a multilingual:

and one of them was being really obnoxious about Sartre and I said uh I read Sartre in French you know {whispering, barely audible} they couldn't stand it (Interview, 5/13)

Simpson's declaration of having read the philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre in French to a Spanish-speaking man who may not have been able to read French was revealing. After having established herself as a competent user of Spanish in one particular domain (political discussions), she revealed more about her linguistic capability through her literacy in French. In this remembered event, not only could she read French, she could read philosophical texts in the language, the assertion of which reportedly upset the group of men. She was not the monolingual “gringa” from the United States that they were expecting to encounter. In this narrative, she established an oppositional identity, one that Simpson developed as she concluded the retelling of this memory, shifting frames from broadly political to specifically feminist and then personally evaluative:

um and you know we would have meetings in Spanish the I think what I felt more about that was th-the sexism of the whole situation which is one part of the culture that I'm **not** comfortable with and so I have to defy it right I'm not usually that obnoxious to people I don't usually flaunt things but he was being {lowering voice} such an asshole {laugh}... I think I-I've been a difficult personality all my life (Interview, 5/1/13)

Simpson labeled the context of these political meetings for Nicaragua (“the whole situation”) as sexist and linked that sexism to “one part of the culture.” Although demonstrating a comfort level with the language and with an imagined community of speakers (i.e., the citizens of Nicaragua with whom she showed solidarity), she perceived an uncomfortable embedding of sexism in Latin culture. This discomfort, personified by one man who questioned her linguistic ability in Spanish, led her to “flaunt things” like her multilingualism and her capability as a female language user. Simpson claimed that she had “been a difficult person” throughout her life after describing how she flaunted her multilingualism, and she resisted being labeled. She defied sexist attitudes targeting her as a Euro-American woman whom male native speakers of Spanish presumed could speak only English.

Simpson’s multilingual competence was thus a tool for defiance against others’ preconceived expectations of who she was and what she could do. Her tag of “all my life” was worth noting because it brought the remembered story from thirty years ago in line with her contemporary self, the one who still uses Spanish, but now as a Spanish instructor in a high school classroom in Northern California. As we shall see, Simpson’s instructional lessons revealed that, as a teacher, she still used Spanish to resist and even defy preconceived notions of how the language and its cultures should be presented and taught.

5.2.3 “It was necessary to learn Spanish”

Early in her first interview, Dionne Simpson described her use of Spanish in non-English contexts. Dionne Simpson then described her movement away from being a teacher of her native language, English, towards becoming a teacher of Spanish as a foreign language. Simpson had earned a California single-subject teaching credential in English in 1975 and subsequently taught English literature courses off-and-on for the next twenty years in both the Midwest and California. Teaching English in a large city in the East Bay, though, tested her understanding of what it meant to teach literature to students with differing linguistic repertoires of English. She reflected, “I wasn’t teaching English literature” because matching the students’ varied use of English to the academic language required for third- and fourth-year English classes was “like teaching a foreign language.” Simpson found that she spent most of her instructional time focusing on remedial, skills-based tasks in her classes and less time on aesthetic readings of English-language literature.³¹ Furthermore, she felt that she was teaching English to primarily native speakers who “don’t speak the same language,” i.e., who spoke non-standard varieties of English that reflect different ethnic-, racial-, gender-, and class-based realities than her own:

³¹ Rosenblatt (2004) maps out a transactional model of reading and writing that revolves around a continuum of possible reader reactions to and regarding a text. This continuum moves between purely efferent (fact-based, publicly realized recall and understanding) to purely aesthetic (“experiential,” “affective,” “associational,” privately realized reactions) (p. 1375). Simpson had hoped that the students in her English classes would have more quickly and thoroughly accessed the more aesthetic end of this continuum.

well um I'm a teacher I was an English teacher and I was teaching English in Oakland {laugh} this was an exercise in futility no um (.) um (.) and when I was supposed to be teaching you know **proper** um English I was uh I just felt like I was teaching a different language a:nd (.) the it was supposed to be you know this is the right way so and then that part was really difficult and then yeah you know? I (.) literature in English is not that fascinating to me (Interview, 5/13)

Simpson addressed the two issues that drove her away from teaching English. Regarding her sense of obligation to teach “proper” English, she “felt like [she] was teaching a different language,” which was “the right way,” teaching one legitimate academic language. She questioned the restrictiveness of instructing just this one register of English, reflecting that it was difficult to be the expert, to be the arbiter of “proper” English. Simpson positioned the geographical context of teaching English in a large Bay Area city as problematic as well.

She found that Oakland, a racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse urban center, did not offer her a homogeneous, English-speaking student population entering the classroom with the academic and linguistic skills necessary for a traditional literature program. While the student diversity suggested that some students had skills that others did not, the range in student ability to read, interpret, and produce texts in “proper” English created pedagogical obstacles. Simpson commented that teaching this official English, itself “different” from what many of her students used daily, “was really difficult.”

Yet these difficulties were not the only issues affecting her role as an English teacher. Throughout my first interview with her, Simpson repeatedly characterized English literature and her teaching of it as negative. Fundamentally for her, “English [was] not that fascinating” because the actual content of the courses (i.e., the state-approved American and British literary canon) did not engage her in a deep way. In the end, she believed that she could not do the job that she was supposed to do and was actually not sure about the ethics of being a teacher of “proper” English. Simpson’s comments did not characterize English literature as the most prestigious subject that she could teach, and, her eventual switch to Spanish highlighted her belief about the potential power and prestige of the latter language.

An overlap of her personal and professional life offered a new personal and professional pathway: she had married a native speaker of Spanish, with whom she had two children. While teaching during the daytime, Simpson began taking adult education classes in Spanish focusing on basic communication and grammatical skills. This marked her first contact with formal instruction in the language. When her children were in preschool and primary school (grades kindergarten through second grade), she took a break from full-time high school teaching and worked part-time as a teacher of Spanish at those levels despite having, at that point, no official academic credential in Spanish. In our interview, many years after that first experience teaching Spanish, she asked rhetorically, “How good was my Spanish?” but with the confidence that it was satisfactory for teaching very young learners. That question lingered during our discussion. The idea of improving her “good” Spanish motivated her eventually to pursue formal academic studies in the Spanish language and Latin American literature.

I was learning Spanish you know I I was **discovering** Spanish right? and so um (.) the more I was I [...] felt **confident** in because you know after I taught Spanish to the little kids I went back to teaching Eng- full time English to oh God middle school it just (.) it wasn't as exciting to me (Interview, 4/13)

Simpson not only was learning Spanish; she “was discovering” it, an idea that she stressed. This discovery was a novel experience for her, one that she chose to make, not like being born into her native language, English. She emphasized feeling confident in her Spanish ability after her years of working with young children; she attached this confidence solely to that first Spanish teaching. Pitting English and Spanish against one other, she recalled that teaching English was not the same as teaching Spanish. As in her earlier description of teaching English in Oakland, Simpson emphasized that teaching English “wasn't as exciting to [her],” whereas she was progressively feeling more confident in her Spanish ability as both learner and teacher.

Simpson then taught middle school English after teaching Spanish in her children's primary school, though she still felt that she was not able to engage with literature because of the students' linguistic struggles. Additionally, Simpson realized that she did not identify with the English-language literature that she taught. When I asked her what motivated her to become a language teacher, her point of departure was this dissatisfaction with teaching English:

now I'm going to be the Spanish teacher I'm not going to be the English teacher I think that I had one English class before I sw- and then they switched me over completely to Spanish um (.) and it was because it was I felt like I was learning more by teaching? it there was more for me to learn about Spanish um (.) it meant that I could spend **all** my time trying to do Spanish instead of you know going back to this dusty old English stuff that I already knew (Interview, 5/13)

Simpson described changing from being a teacher of English to one of Spanish as a switch between binaries, like turning a light on or off. Although she briefly maintained one English course when she assumed a Spanish course load, she still framed her experience as an *either-or* situation, not *both-and*: she was once a teacher of only English, and then she was “switched...over completely to Spanish” by the school's administration (“they”). She rooted this binary opposition in the declaration “now I'm going to be the Spanish teacher I'm not going to be the English teacher.”

Switching from one professional position to another necessitated for her a switching in positionality. Simpson shifted this new positionality from being an instructor of “this dusty old English stuff that [she] already knew” to being a teacher and learner (a discoverer). As Simpson shifted between languages, she shifted between positions, including teacher and student, native and nonnative speaker, expert and novice. She punctuated her claim that she “was learning more by teaching...there was more for [her] to learn about Spanish” with a raised tone after “learning more by teaching.” This change in tone suggested that she was questioning the limits of her knowledge of the Spanish language and Spanish-speaking cultures, which drove her desire to learn more while teaching the new subject matter. Her interest in “learning more by teaching” became a

motif in this first interview and situated Spanish as both an object of her study as well as a portal into encountering the unknown yet interesting.

Due to her job dissatisfaction, she left the high school classroom and enrolled as a doctoral student in Spanish with an emphasis in Latin American literature. For the first time she encountered literature written in Spanish and studied it in its historical and social contexts. Unlike her experience with English- and French-language literatures (“I just studied the wrong literature...this was so much better than anything that’s ever been written in English [...] I really hated Robbe-Grillet”), it was through Spanish-language literature that Dionne Simpson encountered stories and voices that were unknown, interesting, and “comfortable” to her.

as you can see I like intellectual challenges [...] and the question I had had when I first read “cien años de soledad” was **where** □ did this come from you don’t have this incredibly brilliant book come out of nowhere you know I mean that’s what I believe when you’re studying English literature American literature French literature it comes from some place (Interview, 4/13)

She first linked this discussion of Spanish-language literature to her preference for “intellectual challenges.” The content and the language of this first novel that she discussed had provided such a challenge. Indeed, the novel *Cien años de soledad* (*One Hundred Years of Solitude*) still occupied an important place in Simpson’s intellectual trajectory. In her discussion of this work of magical realism, she emphasized the word “where” to indicate her interest in knowing the origin of the book—the place that provided the context for its creation.

Her interest in language study led to an increasingly multilingual home life, most strongly represented by the languages spoken by her adult family:

I took my kids to Cuba last summer um and we sat down at a table and the waiter came over and said French? Spanish? English? German? and we said all of ‘em! {laugh} sure! um so what my daughter is fluent in French she had to be fluent in French because she had to study French because her mother was a Spanish teacher (Interview, 6/13)

Interestingly, she noted that her daughter’s study of French was not like her own study of the same language as a young student but rather a reaction against her mother as a teacher of Spanish. This comment indicated that her daughter recognized and prioritized her mother’s midlife positionality as a teacher exclusively of Spanish, ignoring her mother’s prior role as English teacher as well as her mother’s own use of French.

5.2.4 “so many kinds of Spanish”

During my first week of classroom recordings, Simpson’s grammar lessons focused on hypothetical sentence structures, all containing the subjunctive and some containing the conditional. The classic model of conditional sentences includes two parts: the protasis, which contains a condition affecting the possibility of the main action given in the apodosis, the clause that contains the conditioned action. In the classes that I

observed, Simpson presented the Spanish paradigms that reveal the contrary-to-fact supposition of the conditional utterances and of the imperfect subjunctive in dependent clauses.³² Simpson presented and reviewed these paradigms with her students through sentence completion exercises, oral quizzing, and song comprehension. All of these methods reinforced the standard Spanish formulas involving the imperfect subjunctive, which aligned with the textbook's presentation of the grammar.

An interesting moment occurred after a Spanish-English bilingual student wrote an answer on the classroom whiteboard during a grammar review. The student's task was to write in the missing verb conjugation in the following sentence: *Yo te pedí que lo _____ (traer)* ["I asked you _____ (to bring) it."]. In completing the sentence, which required the imperfect subjunctive of *traer*, the student wrote *trajieras* as the answer where the standard Spanish response would have been *trajeras*. In first discussing the student's response with the class, Simpson said that the conjugation of *traer* was similar to that of a verb they had already studied and practiced, *decir* ["to say or to tell"]. She continued, saying that, like *decir*, the imperfect subjunctive of the verb in question did not have a written "i" after the "j." She explained to them that, often in spoken Spanish, speakers said *dijeras* or *trajieras*. During the review of the student's sentence, Simpson did not say that *trajeras* was the only correct form, nor did she use the word "incorrect" to describe *trajieras*. In pointing out why *trajeras* (and, by extension, *dijeras*) was the correct form for this written exercise, Simpson said, "Hay una distinción entre el idioma escrito y hablado" ["There is a distinction between written and spoken language."]

During our final interview, I came back to this moment in Simpson's class and asked her to comment on her in-class distinction between spoken and written Spanish. Additionally, I was curious about other remarks that she had made to her students at other times about distinctions between *el español de la calle* ["the Spanish of the street"] and that *en la oficina* ["in the office"]. I asked Simpson to describe her motivations in presenting linguistic variation and register distinctions in the context of her grammatical lessons. Her initial response brought her students' Spanish-speaking identities to the forefront:

-b-b-because because there are so many different kinds of Spanish there's and there I have so many kids who I-hear Spanish on the street? and learned it from neighbors and I have a lot of native speakers who are from different countries I mean last year I had a kid who was Chilean u:h this year I had Colombians and Salvadoreans and Mexicans I mean so they're not all you know Mexicans um oh! and a Spanish kid? and (.) Guatemalan (.) last year I also had a *nicaragiense* so y-y um so um not to tell them that they're not speaking the right way it's different (Interview, 6/13)

Simpson was eager to respond my questions as her stuttering of the /b/ in "because" evidenced. These repeated *b*'s overlapped with the end of my question, and Simpson used them to take the floor. To illustrate her point that "there are so many different kinds of

³² This paradigm requires, in standard Spanish, that the main verb in the protasis (the *si* clause) be in the imperfect subjunctive and that the main verb in the apodosis (the independent clause) be in the present conditional.

Spanish,” Simpson first acknowledged the contexts external to the language classroom where students learn Spanish: “on the street” and “from neighbors.” These contexts connoted a network of public and private life, where the street, likely in a student’s neighborhood, became the site of encountering Spanish. Simpson’s use of “neighbors” reinforced this idea of a neighborhood community in which Spanish was present and used.

Simpson then began listing the different nationalities of native Spanish speakers within her class lists: students who were “Chilean,” “Colombians,” “Salvadoreans,” “Mexicans,” “Spanish,” “Guatemalan,” and “*nicaragüense*.” In this list, Simpson listed national identities as markers of linguistic variation. Her list suggested that speakers from each of these countries spoke some Spanish variant that was uniformly different than those spoke in other national territories. Additionally, Simpson stressed that such a list showed that “they’re not all you know Mexicans” and that Spanish variation was present among her native speaker students. Her criticism pushed against a broad assumption, bolstered by the statistics of Spanish-speaking immigration patterns into California, that native speakers of Spanish in California were generally either Mexican or Chicano. Since she recognized that the native speakers in her classes spoke “so many different kinds of Spanish,” she felt that it was her responsibility as a Spanish teacher “not to tell them that they’re not speaking the right way.” Rather than being wrong, their uses of Spanish were “different.”

This excerpt from our interview revealed much about Simpson’s own subject positioning as a non-native language learner and language instructor of Spanish. As a learner who first formally studied Spanish as an adult and was still formally studying it while first teaching it to preschool students, Simpson had an early fluid and functional relationship with the language. She applied her classroom learning immediately in the preschool classroom. Later, as a literature student in Spanish and a political organizer during the Sandinista conflict in Nicaragua in the early 1980s, Simpson’s functional use of Spanish included literary analysis and political participation. Her understanding of Spanish was multifunctional and multivoiced: Spanish was not *just* a pedagogical language nor *just* a literary language nor *just* a political language. It was all three, plus one that she shared with her husband and their family. Within these contexts as well, many registers of Spanish were present, reflecting the settings, education levels, and subject positions of the participants. Thus, Simpson’s recognition of her students’ variation in Spanish and her pedagogical decisions to present variation in the classroom reflected a tendency throughout her adult life to recognize the many ways in which speakers (both non-native and native) use Spanish. Her positionings of herself and of other Spanish speakers provided a counterpoint to how, as we shall see, Filomena Gaos positioned herself as a speaker of Iberian Spanish in the context of California.

Another moment in this data excerpt was telling about Simpson’s life story and aesthetic decisions that she had made in her classroom. In listing the different Spanish-speaking nationalities, she named only one in Spanish: *nicaragüense* (Nicaraguan). Simpson used English cognates for all the other nationalities, but only this one did she choose to call by its Spanish label. Simpson’s use of Spanish at that precise moment called to mind her years of organizing leftist, Spanish-dominant groups that were fighting against the United States’s support of the Contras during the early years of the Sandinistan government. In our first interview, she had described how she “honed” her

Spanish during those organizing meetings as a way to demonstrate her strong participation in that male-dominated context. That context had provided her the opportunity not only to exercise her political beliefs in a like-minded community but also to enhance and practice her developing Spanish. Even as Simpson uttered “*nicaragüense*,” I noted that in her classroom, near where our interview was taking place, hung a movie poster-sized sign advertising a rally in Managua’s Plaza de la Revolución from the early 1980s. Her use of this word in Spanish indexed her close relationship with this particular Spanish-speaking nation, also indexed by these classroom artifacts and moments closely linked to Nicaragua. Although, as a Spanish speaker who had traveled to and lived in various Spanish-speaking countries, Simpson had encountered other varieties of Spanish, her naming them in English during this excerpt suggested that she had a certain distance from them. At the least, they were less familiar to her than Nicaragua was; more strongly, she identified less with due to her close personal and political ties with Nicaragua.

In this final interview, Simpson continued to reflect on my question about linguistic variation through a discussion of second person pronouns in Spanish:

it’s like um some of them use *vos*³³ you know and I-I think *vos* is cool you know {laugh} but it’s and it means you know there Argentines only use *vos* they never use *tú* um so there’s there’s uh that broad spectrum um like I don’t teach the *vosotros* form whereas I-I think Mrs. [Gaos] probably does and I said that’s fine but she’s from Spain! so she uses it um (.) so it’s you know but I want (.) they’re going to learn XX and it’s also an interesting part of the difference between English and Spanish is that the **formality** of formal Spanish we don’t have such a huge difference in register um as as Spanish does and you can you can go from using the *usted* form to using *vos* and uh uh you know I mean one of the folks I wrote my dissertation on there’s a whole section about the difference between *usted tú* and *vos* (.) *vos* being looking down at somebody in that in that context (Interview, 6/13)

Simpson immediately spotlighted the use of second person singular pronoun *vos* by some of her Spanish-speaking students. She described the form as “cool,” which, coupled with a quick laugh, suggested the uniqueness and rarity of the form in her own usage. She identified a specific group of Spanish speakers, “Argentines,” as using *vos* instead of *tú*. Because of their use of *vos*, Simpson positioned them at one end of a “broad spectrum,” sociolinguistic in nature and “cool,” or interesting, to her. At the other end of Simpson’s spectrum were Spanish speakers who use the second person plural pronoun *vosotros*. Simpson identified one of her colleagues at the high school as a representative of this group of Spanish because “she’s from Spain so she uses it.” Simpson positioned both Argentine users of *vos* and her Spanish-born colleague, Filomena Gaos, as users of other kinds of Spanish that were not *her* Spanish. She reinforced her identity as a user and teacher of a particular type of Spanish through making those distinctions about who she was *not* and what forms she did *not* use nor teach.

Simpson then made an observation about the difference in formality between the use of English and the use of Spanish. She claimed that English speakers “don’t have

³³ Simpson pronounced this /vas/ instead of standard /vos/ or /βos/.

such a huge difference in register... as Spanish does,” and she referenced again the second person singular pronominal system that included *tú*, *usted*, and *vos*.³⁴ In this instance, she identified the choices of a speaker whose repertoire would include those three forms: “you can go from using the *usted* form to using *vos*,” based on changing contexts. While she did not name broad contexts for this variation, she invoked her dissertation work, in which “there’s a whole section about the difference between *usted tú* and *vos*.” She characterized her study of one author’s use of *vos* as a way for characters to use that linguistic form in order to “[look] down at somebody,” a use of that form that differs from its typical use in that variety of Spanish.

Throughout these reflections on different speakers’ use of the Spanish personal pronominal system, Simpson selected language and comparisons that reinforced her identity as both user and teacher of Spanish. In talking about who uses *vos*, she used third person plural pronouns “they” and “them.” Those pronouns set those speakers, eventually identified as “Argentines,” apart from her; *their* Spanish was not *her* Spanish. To further identify her use of Spanish, she then distanced herself from users of *vosotros*, represented by her colleague from Spain. Simpson stated that she did not teach the *vosotros* part of the verbal paradigm to her students, which named a self-imposed limit to her Spanish instruction. Through acknowledging this limit, she also resisted the official curriculum as presented by the textbook, which included the *vosotros* form in all verbal paradigms. Simpson’s comments also reflected her belief that, even if students may not learn the *vosotros* forms from her, “they’re going to learn” it at some point in their studies.

In her discussion of formality differences between English and Spanish, Simpson’s use of “we” to construct a particular group of speakers revealed how she perceived our own positionings during the interview. When she said, “[W]e don’t have such a huge difference in register um as as Spanish does,” she imagines a linguistic community that includes her, me, and other imagined members of the English-speaking world. She positioned me as someone like she, for whom English was the mother tongue, thus indexing our shared linguistic identity. This “we” is not “they,” those speakers of Spanish, especially of the two varieties that she cites for whom there is “that broad spectrum” with “such a huge difference in register.”

Simpson’s description of this “interesting part of the difference between English and Spanish” formality as encoded in language forms, elided various ways that speakers of each language do establish formality and recognize changes in register. Simpson pointed to how pronoun selection in Rioplatense Spanish indicated speakers’ attitudes towards their interlocutors. By singling out these forms and their functions and

³⁴ This system, known as *voseo*, shows variation in the Spanish pronominal system. According to Penny (1991), *voseo* reflects a hybrid of *tú* and *vos(otros)* and is used mainly in the Rioplatense area of South America, especially in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. *Voseo* also appears in Central America Spanish, including the Chiapas region of Mexico, as well as Honduras and Guatemala. It is mainly restricted to rural, lower SES speakers, although it has been taken up in literature emerging from these countries to illustrate local language use. The three-tiered system of *voseo* comprises three variants for the second person personal pronoun: *vos*, which marks two interlocutors as intimate compatriots; *tú*, which indicates two interlocutors who are intimate foreigners; and *usted*, which is used otherwise (Penny, 1991, p. 172). The verbal conjugations of *vos* reflect Penny’s description of its hybrid nature: the verb endings look like a reconfiguration of the suffixes for *tú* and *usted*. For example, in one dialectal variation: *hablar, comer, pedir, ser* → *vos hablás, comés, pedís, sos*. Typically, then, speakers use *vos* to communicate very close intimacy, which differs from Simpson’s description from her literary research of how one author used *vos* as a way to mark unequal status between interlocutors.

contrasting them with their seeming absence in English, Simpson spotlighted what speakers could do in Spanish and not in English, marking the two languages as clearly different and possibly unequal. Her claims positioned English as a “poorer” language in this context, one that does not offer as much possibility in this context for expression. This positioning suggested Simpson’s lack of a critical stance regarding English, a stance which could have called to mind the regional varieties of English that employ a richer pronominal system than official English.³⁵

In the end, Simpson’s discussion of variation in Spanish indicated much about her as an educated multilingual language user and teacher. The fact that she could describe linguistic variation, even incompletely, in regional and literary contexts revealed her own expertise gained from having formally studied the language in an advanced program and having encountered different users of the language. Her pedagogical choice not to include certain forms in her instruction underscored her own identity as a Spanish speaker, not a lack of linguistic knowledge or understanding. Furthermore, her contrast of formality in Spanish and English revealed her critique of English, which suggested her identification of a certain rich otherness in Spanish that her own mother tongue lacked, in her estimation. This identification aligned with her distaste for English literature and for teaching high school-level English. She had found something in Spanish-language literature that she believed was lacking in English-language literature; in her response to my question about Spanish variation, she also found something in the language itself that she believed was lacking in English. She offered these subjective statements that reinforced her positionality as an independent thinker who made clear decisions of what she would present in her classroom as it reflected her own linguistic practices and beliefs.

5.3 Zeke Pankin

5.3.1 Classroom Environment

Zeke Pankin maintained an orderly and organized professional space. Upon entering his room, a visitor could identify where class materials were located, where the students’ space was, and where the teacher performed most of his work. Student desks were in paired rows, facing a whiteboard that ran the length of one wall. A row of windows, looking out on the school parking lot, formed the eastern wall of the classroom, on the students’ left side, and, if he were lecturing while facing the students, to the teacher’s right side. Underneath the windows were student resources, such as additional textbooks, bilingual dictionaries, and English-language encyclopedias. Against the back wall of the classroom, opposite the main whiteboard, stood lockable cabinets and bulletin boards that showcased student work. Framing the cabinets and the bulletin boards, as well as on every available open space on the classroom walls, were many pictorial artifacts of French culture, exclusively of Paris. These artifacts, including maps of France, posters of monuments, public service announcements, and travel brochures, were all in English.

³⁵ A quick review of English in the United States would point to regional varieties that use “you guys,” “you all/y’all”, and “yinz,” for example, to show how English speakers have adapted the second person pronominal system at the intersection of formality and number. Johnstone (2007), for instance, links a selection of second person forms to local identification processes.

5.3.2 A Biography: Early Multilingual Encounters

A native of the San Francisco Bay Area, Zeke Pankin grew up in a family with a relatively recent history of multilingualism. In describing the paternal side of his family, Pankin characterized his grandfather's generation as multilingual, stating that his grandfather "spoke at least five languages, but, because he was a first generation immigrant to the United States, he would not allow anyone in his house to speak anything except English so my dad grew up with English exclusively." Despite Pankin's father growing up with English as his only language, Pankin stated that "at home there was English and only English but I think I got some of my grandfather's aptitude or talent for speaking other languages."

Pankin first encountered French while in elementary school in Berkeley, California. He characterized this early exposure to French as being motivated by the strong direction of the school's administrator:

I went to [a private school] from the fourth through the eighth grade at a time when the director whose name was [name omitted] if I'm pronouncing that correctly he really loved French and insisted that every all students learn French regardless of grade and there there wasn't any choice it was just French everybody did it everybody had to do it (Interview, 9/13)

Pankin linked the director's insistence on the schoolwide study of French to the latter's love for the language, a description that softened the unilateral decision that "all students learn French regardless of grade." Rather than seeing this forced study of French as limiting, Pankin stated that learning French

really provided a kind of psychological boost to me and I actually not only was started believing in myself as a proficient speaker but started trying hard to develop that capacity so then French became an academic language for me which I pursued which I'm **still** pursuing which I've been pursuing ever since. (Interview, 9/13)

At this moment in the first interview, Pankin drew a direct connection from those early experiences in elementary school to his still ongoing pursuit of French as an academic language. In this statement, he underscored the timescale of being a French language learner, one with a clear beginning point but with no ending; he was still a language learner who had since become a language teacher, similar to Dionne Simpson's characterization of her linguistic identity. This first encounter with classroom-based language learning allowed him to believe in himself ("provided a kind of psychological boost to me") through others recognizing his proficiency as a speaker. In this context, French became a specific kind of language ("an academic language"), and that role for French became a motif that provided the framework for what he did with the language in his later classrooms as an instructor. Not insignificantly, as we shall also see in his classroom activities, the motif of others recognizing his linguistic abilities and identity recurred throughout his descriptions of learning and using French.

Pankin chose to study French during both his undergraduate and graduate years. He completed a doctoral program in French at a California public university, where he focused on critical theory and twentieth century literature and theater, much like Dionne Simpson studied in her Spanish doctoral program. This graduate program reinforced his perception and use of French as an academic language, even though he eventually decided not to remain in an academic position after completing the program. He worked for one year as a university professor in the U.S. Midwest, but, as he described, “it didn’t work out anywhere near as what I [...] hoped it would and basically I really wanted to be back here in the Bay Area.” He stated that the one year of working in higher education left him “not thrilled with university teaching” and that he “really want[ed] to live in [the Bay Area] so [he] just started looking at the high school level.” At the time of the present study, he was in his seventh year at the high school level. Consequently, as we shall see, Pankin had developed strong roots at COMHS, where he was the sole French teacher as well as the chairperson of the world languages department.

5.3.3 The Star of the Show

Repeatedly over the course of the five weeks that I interacted with focal teacher Zeke Pankin, he used the vocabulary of performance to describe significant moments in his development as a French speaker and teacher as well as to frame his pedagogical activities and his roles as teacher and performer. The earliest mention of performance came during our first interview; he returned to that idea in our final interview, but in very different contexts as he reflected on his videotaped practices in the classroom. In that first interview with Pankin, he cited his participation as a student actor in a French-language theater production as a pivotal moment in his development as a French speaker. His involvement in this theatrical experience was long-lasting: it took place for a year, both in California and France:

we had an exchange program with a school in Paris and one of the exchange students who came over wanted to put on a play which I thought was great um which I tried out for and he actually gave me the starring role in the play then...when **I** went to the French school um you know the other way because they always sent us one student and we sent them **one** student when I got to be the person who went to Paris...a group of students at that school happened to be doing the same play they were putting on their own production of the same play so I tried out for it again and really much to my surprise they gave me the starring role again (Interview, 9/13)

In this narration of his American doctoral program’s exchange program with a Paris school, Pankin emphasized his specific role in a French-language play. The syntax and word choice in this utterance reinforced the uniqueness and specialness that he felt in being part of this production. Pankin positioned himself as the beneficiary in the two clauses that indicate his starring role: “he actually gave me the starring role” and “they gave me the starring role again.” Suggested in these utterances was that, first, the exchange student and, then, the casting team recognized Pankin’s French ability; moreover, both grammatical subjects in his utterances referred to native French speakers.

This active sentence structure, in which someone else is the grammatical agent and Pankin is the indirect object, suggested that something was being bestowed upon him. This bestowed gift—the starring role in two different productions of the same French-language play—appeared to be unexpected for Pankin; he indicated this with his word choice of “actually” to describe his casting in the first production and again with his casting in the second production in Paris, which was “really much to [his] surprise.”

Pankin’s experiences of being recognized by French native speakers as a successfully proficient user of French were seminal. It was in this context of acting that his French and acting ability were recognized as being strong enough to earn him the lead role. Moreover, he played the lead role in two very different contexts, each one solidifying his belief in his linguistic ability. The first context, his American university, included both native and non-native speakers of French who evaluated his language use and performance; he performed for a broad audience. The second context, a Parisian theater group, was composed almost entirely of native French speakers, against many of whom he had auditioned for the part. To be selected from that group to play the starring role for mostly native-speaker audiences reinforced his identity as a capable, if not highly achieving, user of French. It is also significant to note that his self-identified use of French in these contexts was that of literary French, closely associated with formal study and memorization. This use of French called to mind his first experience with the language in elementary school, where it was compulsory to study it. This experience allowed him to demonstrate a capacity that others recognized as good, which he linked to a boost to his sense of self.

5.3.4 Performance Approach to Identities

In first examining Pankin’s stories then analyzing his classroom practices, I find it useful to employ and adapt the notion of a performance approach to identities (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004) in order to reflect Pankin’s own framing device in several of his narratives. This performance approach to identities highlights that “performance is highly deliberate and self-aware social display” and “occurs not only on stages and under spotlights but in frequent and fleeting interactional moments throughout daily life” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, pp. 380-381). To extend this key idea of social display of identities through interaction, I consider a performative model of identity in discussing Pankin, which includes Judith Butler’s notion of “becoming” an identity such as *woman* or *man*, [which] does not happen all at once but ‘by repeatedly performing particular acts in accordance with cultural norms (themselves historically and socially constructed, and consequently variable)’” (Cameron 1997: 49). In the video-recordings of Pankin’s teaching, several moments of performance—both on his part and on the part of his students—took place. The significance of those moments, in the context of his descriptions of himself as a French user, came to light only during my comparison of the videos with the transcriptions of our two interviews.

5.3.5 “Teaching as Being Like a Kind of Performance”

Early in his life, Pankin saw his eventual professional self as performative, if not interactive. He situated this desire for interaction within his ongoing discussion of performance-based activities:

my mom thought I was going to be a radio DJ which I tried for a little while never in a professional capacity but just sort of amateurishly for my college radio station but that that was too too too solitary you know you’re just talking to a microphone so you know talking to people actually in person and dialoguing with them in person (Interview, 9/13)

His first semi-professional, self-described “amateurish” activity, his job as a college radio disc jockey, was “solitary,” which he emphasized with the repetition of the intensifying adverb “too.” Rather than “just talking to a microphone,” he preferred “talking to people...dialoguing with them in person.” This realization, during his undergraduate years, pointed towards and reinforced two related motifs that would appear in the other stories that he would tell: the *performativity* of his ideas and the desire for recognition as a result of *interaction*. These motifs together underscore, especially in this particular passage, an immediate and direct recognition of his ability as a performer that Pankin had been seeking through his use of French in his student life and, later, in his professional life.

Professionally, the possibility of performance and the desire for interaction came together for Pankin when he decided to become a language teacher. This decision took shape over time, and, as he described, occurred “not in an epiphanous way but in more, like, a kind of gradual, analytical way.” I asked Pankin to name the components of teaching as he perceived them, and he responded with providing the following list:

I think at an early age I realized I was good at standing up and presenting I had a knack for presentation↑ I had a knack for public speaking I had a good memory↑ I had a strong vocabulary↑ like I said I like to talk I was into performance (Interview, 9/13)

The seeds for this decision took root early on, as he indicated by situating his realization of the components of teaching “at an early age.” He emphasized the list-like nature of these components by a rising tone after each element. That rising intonation separated each item, which is meaningful in examining the contents of the list. He cites only two examples of performance to illustrate the elements of teaching that resonated with him: presentation and public speaking. In this list, he led with a description of being in front of an imagined audience and of having “a knack,” a special skill or ability, for presentation and for public speaking. His word choice reinforced his identification of something special already in him that came out through these two types of performance. These performances per se are not entirely interactive, unlike other modes of performance, such as improvisational theater or sing-along concerts. Presentations and public speaking are often unidirectional performances, with the speaker delivering information and opinions to an audience. His selection of these two performance modes provided concrete

examples of performance, which was key to understanding Pankin's nascent sense of what teaching would later entail.

At the same time, these two performance modes also delimited to a certain degree the kinds of performance that would become meaningful models for his teaching. As genres of performance, both presentations and public speaking emerge from a formal learning environment since their content most often reflects learned facts and practiced reasoning and their structures are usually highly conventionalized. Pankin emphasized the importance of certain skills needed for these types of school- and work-based performances by listing that his memory (thus, ability to memorize and remember facts) was "good" and his vocabulary was "strong." In the context of a second and foreign language classroom, these two skills—good memory and recall as well as strong vocabulary and word choice—are often regarded as key in learning and using language, especially in formal assessments.

After having listed presentation and public speaking as forms of performance, Pankin then linked performance to teaching:

I've always seen teaching as being like a kind of performance um by and I don't mean by that that that it's in any way inauthentic or like I'm putting on an act when I teach (Interview, 9/13)

Pankin's use of "always" indicated that, over the course of his lifetime as both student and teacher, he saw the public part of teaching—classroom presentations, lectures, interactions with students—as some sort of performance. He was careful not to directly implicate teaching as a performance, as shown through the many forms of hedging and hesitation that he employed: the "like," "um," the repetition of "that."

The "like" in particular merits commentary because it could be functioning on two levels in this utterance. On one level, the word functions as a preposition before "a kind of performance," highlighting the comparison of teaching to performance. At the same time, the "like" as a preposition is syntactically unnecessary because of the noun phrase "a kind," which modifies "performance." That noun phrase alone, without "like," sets up the comparative relationship of teaching as a type or an example of performance. The addition of "like" into this latter context highlights its possible function as a discourse particle, particularly as a hedge, to provide some distance within this link of teaching to performance. This hedging then extends to the rest of the utterance, in which Pankin did not want to connect performance and teaching with inauthenticity, which he said explicitly in the latter part of the utterance. In other words, Pankin suggested that the notion of performance might be understood by other people as being inauthentic. He clarified that, for him, even if it were a kind of performance, teaching was not inauthentic. Moreover, as a performer, he was not "putting on an act" when he was teaching. "Putting on act" signifies an activity that is part of performance but one that is false or, at the very least, one that masks authentic activities.

Pankin continued to elaborate on this notion of authenticity and performance, especially in acting:

you know acting isn't inauthentic **either** actors aren't being deceitful or inauthentic when they act they're just presenting a character that they've learned

how to play so I think when I'm teaching I'm presenting a character or a kind of personality that I've learned how to play and every lesson is like a script (Interview, 9/13)

In this passage, he used the discourse marker “you know” to hold the conversational floor as he continued his clarification that performance in itself is not an inauthentic enterprise. He stressed the word “either” to add “acting” to the list of authentic performances, to which teaching also belonged. In the rest of the utterance, after defining what actors are not (“deceitful” and “inauthentic”), he drew a direct comparison between his own presentation of a character to the same work done by actors. Like an actor, he also “learned how to play” the part of a teacher, using lesson plans as a script.

One of Pankin's goals in describing this relationship was to stress the authenticity of his work as a teacher. His layering of performance onto this description had a particular effect, though: as he presented his teaching self as “a character or a kind of personality,” he created a distance between who he may have been outside of the class and who he played within the classroom. These two selves were relational: the thinking, academic self “learned how to play” the teacher character. Nonetheless, playing a character suggested the wearing of a mask of someone else, which made his discussion of authenticity rich to explore.

5.3.6 “I'm a Liaison for Them to the French Language and the French Culture”

When asked to describe specifically his identity as a speaker of both French and English, Pankin framed his response by spotlighting his role as a teacher of French:

I guess I would like for the students to see me as being like a liaison um so I I'm a liaison for them to the French language and the French culture I actually think it's kind of important that they know that I'm not a native sp- um French speaker or at least that I my my French and English are really on a par with each other so that I'm you know (.2) yeah and I think it's actually kind of important that they understand that I at least that I learned I I wasn't born speaking French that you know I have although I started speaking English first and then French later now I'm almost just as good in both languages (Interview, 11/13)

He would like students to see him as “a liaison...to the French language and the French culture.” The word *liaison* has as its French origin the verb *lier*, to connect, to attach, to put together two unconnected things. Through this word choice, Pankin positioned himself as the connector between two disparate entities: the American high school students and their English-speaking world and the Francophone, predominantly hexagonal French, world. He was not a neutral connector, though, since he wanted students to recognize that, like all of them, he learned French after his mother tongue, even as he claimed that his “French and English are really on par with each other.” Although Pankin claimed this, in his classroom, English was the only language of instruction and classroom management; he spoke French only when he was voicing textbook examples or reading from the whiteboard. His status as an English speaker moderated his use of French and his students' access to French, as evidenced by this use

of English as the language of instruction in his classroom. The dominance of English in the classroom—from his own talk to the artifacts on the walls—connected strongly to a second metaphor that Pankin selected to describe his instructional role.

This second metaphor that Pankin employed reinforced his positioning as an English-dominant teacher of French, but with reasons that were significant to him:

really I'm here to serve as their I'm their tour guide you know it's like I'll be your tour guide through the French language um but I can answer questions in English if you have them and I'm not going to make you speak French just to ask a question (Interview, 11/13)

After describing his instructional role as “being like a liaison,” an indirect comparison, between his students and French language and culture, Pankin renamed that role as that of a tour guide. But, in this new description, he first directly compared himself to a tour guide and invoked the notion of service in his choice of verb: being their tour guide through the French language was a service that he provided. Like a tour guide, he could use, not the target language in the classroom (French), but the language of the tourists (English) to answer questions. Pankin did not state directly that students themselves did not use French to ask questions, only that he would be able to answer them in English. Unlike other language teachers who require students to use the language itself to perform a function, Pankin chose not to “make [students] speak French just to ask a question.” Based on this description, Pankin prioritized students’ understanding of specific cultural ideas over their use of French, much like a tour guide whose job is to provide easily understandable cultural sound bites and direct tourists’ attention to what they (or tradition) deem significant.

Pankin went on, clarifying his decision to use English in his classroom:

I know there's some even native English speakers non-native French speakers who **try** to make their students ask questions in French at almost at all times and I've really pretty strictly avoided that {cough} because I felt like at least at the high school level it discouraged more questions than it encouraged you know I mean I understand that the ideal is to get the students comfortable asking questions in French um but that I just I felt it was a little bit counterproductive (Interview, 11/13)

Pankin distinguished himself from other non-native teachers of French; moreover, in emphasizing the word “try,” he questioned the success of their attempts “to make their students ask questions in French...almost as all times.” He deemed that immersive practice “a little bit counterproductive,” especially if students ended up not using the language because of being intimidated by activating it. As a teacher, he was interested in inviting student questions, and he assumed that making students use French would make them reticent, if not uncomfortable.

In these first discussions, Zeke Pankin described significant links between his first experiences of learning French and the construction of his identity as a French speaker. Like with Dionne Simpson, Pankin found that the use of French connected him to the people and places where he had practiced the language earlier in his life. Of the focal

subjects, he was unique in his explicit description of teaching as a performance and of the L2 teacher being a performer. This performance description would be useful in understanding how he positioned French as an L2 and himself as an L2 user of French in the classroom.

5.4 Filomena Gaos

5.4.1 Classroom Environment

Our first interview took place in her classroom at EBMHS after the school day. Her classroom was next to Dionne Simpson's in a corner of the high school's first floor. Their colleagues in the World Languages department were located upstairs on the opposite side of the block-long building. Together, these two Spanish classrooms were nestled between history and art classrooms. As in Simpson's and Zeke Pankin's classrooms, Gaos's classroom walls were covered with cultural artifacts representing the target cultures: in this classroom, images of Spain, Spanish-language signage, and student work. Unlike Pankin's classroom but like her colleague's room, all of the artifacts were in the target language; here, Spanish.

The classroom was L-shaped and mostly filled with student desks; of my three subjects' classrooms, it had the least amount of open space. All together, there were eight rows of four or five desks each; four rows faced the main whiteboard, and the other four rows were at a 90° angle, facing the other rows and another whiteboard. In the remaining open space was Gaos's desk, piled high with papers and lesson plan materials, and tables covered with student projects. In one corner of the room was a separate office with a closed door, and, unlike Dionne Simpson, I never saw Gaos use this office. She was always moving around her room, both during class and in prep times. Likewise, because of the arrangement of the classroom, students often moved around the room and turned to each other both during sanctioned worktime and during unrated byplay.³⁶

5.4.2 A Biography: Early Multilingual Encounters

Filomena Gaos described herself as a teacher from the very early years of her life. In our first interview, she shared a memory from the time that she began elementary school: "I always wanted to be a teacher because, when I was little girl, I was, and I remember this, being five or six years old, I put all my little dolls around me, and I was the teacher!" She exclaimed when she finished that thought because she realized how this profession had been in her life for as long as she had known what school was. Unlike Simpson and Pankin, who chose to become teachers later in life after graduate-level literature degrees, Gaos inhabited the role of teacher early on and throughout her life came back to it.

Gaos was born and raised in Barcelona during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939-1975), and she continued to live in Spain, moving between Barcelona and Madrid, until she moved to the San Francisco Bay Area in 2001. During our initial

³⁶ As defined by Goffman (1981), byplay is "subordinated communication of a subset of ratified participants" in talk (p. 137). In Gaos's classroom, byplay occurred when the students turned to talk to each other, and it was unrated when their talk was not on the topic established by Gaos.

interview, Gaos immediately identified her linguistic identity in the following way: “my native language is Spanish from Spain, *castellano* as we say.” She pronounced the *s* in *castellano* as the voiceless dental fricative /θ/, marking her as a member of the community of speakers of this Iberian Spanish variety. Her identification with this variety of Spanish, distinct from the varieties that would eventually appear in her Bay Area classrooms, became an important personal identifier, both in childhood and, later, in California.

Gaos situated her early use of Spanish in Barcelona by clarifying that “I live[d] in Barcelona at the time under the dictatorship of Franco so at the time [...] Catalan the language [...] that is the official language in Catalunya was not an allowed language it was a language that **you** talked with friends” (her emphasis). In this contextualization, she described the historically situated positions of Catalan but did not name herself as a member of that speech community, still identifying as a speaker of *castellano*. She continued with an example that appeared personal, but, again, without reference to herself as a member of the Catalan-speaking community specifically: “you could speak [...] Catalan with friends but not in an academic class you could talk to them at school with friends but it was not allow[ed] [...] or at work probably.” With seemingly insider status, she identified Catalan as a language that, officially, “was not an allowed language,” but that “you could speak...with friends.” Its lack of official status in Francoist Spain contrasted with Catalan’s presence in casual environments, shared with trusted intimates.

It was at this point in the description of her early linguistic history that Gaos included herself in the Catalan-speaking community: “but [...] we were not punished if we talked the language or at least that’s my memories.” The language in question here was Catalan. Her switch in deictics from the “you” in her earlier descriptions to the “we” in this final description personalized her remembering. For her, “we” speakers of Catalan did not experience the reported penalties and punishments for using the language that other members of this speech community experienced because of the Francoist language laws. She clarified the reasons for this lack of punishment in her experience:

when I was fifteen was when Franco died so when I was real-when I was a child I was not under the very very tough era of Franco so I have never been punished or [...] discriminated by speaking for speaking Catalan [...] because I learned Catalan with my friends not at home because my mom [...] talked to me in Spanish not in school because we did not learn Catalan in the school so it was only with friends at the school and out of the school language (Interview, 2/14)

Thus, Catalan, although not a private language for Gaos, was an intimate language, and the little threat of actual punishment did not hinder her social use of the language. Nonetheless, Gaos never identified herself directly as a Catalan speaker in the way that she did as a speaker of *castellano*. For her, like for Francoist Spain, Catalan was this unofficial language that did not count in the same way as *castellano*, her mother tongue. By the time the Francoist era concluded in 1975, when she was fifteen, her linguistic identity as a speaker of *castellano* had solidified. Even when I prodded her more about her possible identity as a Catalan speaker, she resisted that label, insisting that she “learned Catalan with [her] friends” and that she could understand and speak some

Catalan, but that she was not a speaker of that language. Gaos further solidified her identity as a speaker of *castellano* by earning two university degrees in that language and becoming a high school teacher of *castellano* in Spain.

It was both teaching and personal changes that brought Gaos to the United States in 2001. She remembered that around that time, her first marriage was ending and her employment was unstable.³⁷ She was open to a life change:

so a friend of mine told me okay well these are [...] this opportunity because there is a program uh in the United States that take teachers from Spain to the United States [...] it's a visiting program supposedly this program was create[d] to interchange teachers and teachers from here go there (Interview, 2/14)

Interested in this opportunity, she sent off a teaching portfolio and sample curricula of her work in Spain as a teacher of *castellano* to the program, and one Bay Area public school district sent representatives to interview her. Her strongest memory of that interview was the surprised reaction that she received from the interviewers when she told them that she would prefer teaching high school students to elementary or middle school ones, a rare desire expressed by candidates. Thus, this visiting program placed her for one year at Guardian High School (GHS), an inner-city public high school in a historically Spanish-speaking neighborhood.

At GHS, Gaos taught classes in both Spanish as a foreign language and as a heritage language. In discussing that inner-city school, she remembered that the “first year was um was really challenging was very challenging,” her repetition of challenging underlining the new kind of work and experiences that she encountered. However, Gaos chose to extend her stay past the required first year and remained at that high school because of “a very very very nice group of teachers that sheltered me very well[;] that was very important.” This group of teachers invited her into their professional learning community; if that community had not existed, she claimed that “I would probably be back to Spain next year so I have to thank and I always thank to my department that they shelter me they protect me and they really took care of me.” In this remembrance, Gaos strongly identified the community around her as key to her staying in California. This sense of a caring and empathetic community, even during tense and difficult moments, emerged as a touchstone in her professional identity, both in our interviews and in her classroom work. As we shall see in the following chapter, these tense moments emerged in her classroom when her students and she were negotiating their positionalities vis à vis Spanish and English during grammatical lessons.

5.4.3 Whose Spanish?

The *castellano* from Spain that Filomena Gaos used in her classes is a marked variety in Northern California high school classrooms. This belief does not pass by Gaos unnoticed:

³⁷ Still in Spain, Gaos had left teaching for several years, earned a Masters in Journalism, and worked as a journalist for radio and print until she left for the United States. She described her work as a journalist as highly competitive, which frequently meant that she did not have contracts if her peers received them first.

a question that they usually ask me students usually it's teacher you speak *español* or *castellano* so then I have to explain to them very fast the difference between one or the other that there is no difference it's only the the **title** that you put there (Interview, 2/14)

In this recounting, Gaos responded directly to students' inquiry about her Spanish, emphasizing that, from her perspective, "there is no difference" except for "the title that you put there," whether *español* or *castellano*. She believed that in effacing differences in linguistic labels, it would allow her students to recognize her variety of Spanish as just one realization of the many types of Spanish found in the world and in their classroom. Some of these students who would ask her this question were indeed heritage speakers of Spanish, scattered among the different levels of Spanish at the high school. For these students (and for Gaos herself), using their Spanish-speaking voices in new ways with new interlocutors, both native and non-native learners of Spanish, was an act of identity. Differences in phonology, lexis, and morphosyntax linked these speakers to particular, sedimented identities that they could then negotiate in the classroom.³⁸ Their choices to adapt their use of Spanish to academically standard forms, retain their home usage, or to hybridize the two to form ideolects created a dynamic, if not occasionally tense, negotiation in the local sites of Gaos's employment.

These identities were embedded in the local and transnational cultures that came together in Gaos's classrooms, particularly in her first job placement at Guardian High School (GHS). At first, Gaos felt "weird" and out of place in this gathering of diverse, mostly Spanish-speaking students:

actually I would say that seventy percent of the students [...] or sixty I think they were Latinos so [...] and the other percentage was mainly African American so what I was teaching there was more than Spanish as a second language I was teaching EPH [español para hispanohablantes] Spanish for Spanish speakers and I have to tell you how I felt okay I felt (.3) I had a weird feeling well they are kids and kids are different and um (.3) uh were mostly all Mexicans and it's probably made a very general judgment um Spain is a country that they don't like much they don't like much Spaniards and mostly all my students they were Mexicans and I could see how another country's person from Central America accept better [...] a teacher from Spain than a student from Mexico (Interview, 2/14)

At GHS, unlike her later position at EBMHS, she was teaching Spanish heritage-language courses, *Español para hispanohablantes*. She felt that her national identity as a Spaniard—and her accompanying use of northern Castilian Spanish—at GHS marked her as negatively different from her students, many of whom were Mexican or Mexican-American. She perceived that a historical dislike of Spain by many Mexicans would interfere with her students' acceptance of her as a Spanish teacher. Gaos distinguished this potential Spaniard-Mexican hostility from a possibly warmer acceptance by Central American Spanish speakers. From a bird's eye view, the speakers of Spanish all shared

³⁸ This notion of sedimented identities emerges from Pennycook's (2007) argument that repeated acts of identity, or repeated, willing and willful decisions by speakers, lead to a firm construction of a person's identity over time (p. 13).

one commonality in this classroom: the language that originated in Spain and was used to colonize the Americas. The one language could have linked their identities into one bloc, especially vis à vis other students at the high school for whom Spanish was not their native language.

However, the contemporary polycentric nature of Spanish (Mar-Molinero, 2000; Blommaert, 2007: 21) and the Spanish colonial legacy created a site of tension in this U.S. setting. Gaos feared that Spanish-speaking students, especially those of Mexican heritage, held a particular vision of what Spanish would be in an *Español para hispanohablantes* course, and that she was not part of that vision because, according to her, Mexican students “don’t like much Spaniards [*sic*].” Alongside the polycentric nature of Spanish is a hierarchy of prestigious varieties of the language, reproduced in official curricula in heritage-language Spanish classes. Namely, the Spanish that textbooks display and which inform the standardized assessment is based on Castilian Spanish. In such classes, speakers of Latin American varieties of Spanish confront the message that there is one academic Spanish that counts, it does not reflect their local varieties of Spanish, and, in Gaos’s classrooms, there is a representative of that one prestigious variety who directs their learning. The Spanish colonial legacy reappears in such a context, especially when the acquisition of one form of the language is tied to students’ symbolic capital in future contexts.

Gaos also believed that her variety of spoken Spanish alienated a few parents of her Spanish-speaking students as well. She described these parents’ conflation of her spoken, northern Castilian Spanish with the academic Spanish found in the curriculum:

they thought that I was teaching the Spanish from Spain actually talking to some parent[s] they told me this oh my daughter [...] isn’t passing your class because you are teaching the Spanish from Spain [...] well some parents eh but this was a [...] very very little percentage in general parents were happy to to have a Spanish teacher probably they were like I would say five percent of parents that came and say oh but you teach them the Spanish from Spain and that’s why my daughter is failing okay {laugh} it’s a good excuse but I didn’t uh buy it I didn’t buy it (Interview, 2/14)

In this description, language, language beliefs, language learning, and scholastic achievement intersect, positioning a small percentage of Spanish-speaking parents opposite Gaos. These parents could recognize the distinct nature of Gaos’s speech and assigned to that linguistic distinctiveness an academic legitimacy that might have proven difficult for their children and that, at the same time, Gaos herself may not have assigned. Rather, Gaos called it “a good excuse [...] I didn’t buy,” suggesting that a Spanish-speaking student who was failing the *Español para hispanohablantes* course was due to some factor other than difference in linguistic variety.

In these discussions, Gaos did not identify a parallel that could have linked her more closely with her Latin American students and their families. Because she grew up as a bilingual Catalan-*castellano* speaker during Franco’s dictatorship, she, too, had experienced mixed messages about her language use and linguistic identity. She described not having been punished for using Catalan at school, but she knew that that language was restricted to spaces outside of the classroom and that *castellano* was the

language of school. Like for her students, *castellano* colonized her academic experience, emerging as the prestigious language of the academy and the one that linked her to future work, travel, and lifestyles. Catalan remained at home, similarly to how many curricula for *Español para hispanohablantes* courses do not leave space for home Spanishes to flourish in the classroom.

Gaos acknowledged the legitimacy of the Spanish varieties that appeared in her classroom at the same time that she delimited academically appropriate Spanish:

I don't speak like them of course well but what kind of Spanish oh you you speak the Spanish from Spain when I give [...] them new words uh I had to make them understand okay only my pronunciation is from Spain that's for sure but all the words that I'm teacher here are words that you need to know if you are in an academic environment and they are the same words that a person from Venezuela /veneθwela/ that went to college uses that a person from Nicaragua /nicaraywa/ that goes to college or to the university they understand me a person from Argentina from Mexico from uh El Salvador /elsalvaðor/ from whatever whatever country in Latin America that go to college speak so the only difference I have here is my pronunciation but **all** the words I'm using are not the words from **Spain** are the words from a person that is teaching you the academic Spanish so my feeling was they couldn't understand that I was teaching them academic Spanish they thought that I was teaching the Spanish from Spain (Interview, 2/14)

In this reflection, Gaos made a general distinction between linguistic varieties of Spanish: the local forms that speakers in her classroom used (including herself) and “words that you need to know if you are in an academic environment.” For her, those words constitute academic Spanish and are shared by Spanish speakers “that went to college.” Those words, and their prescriptive use, were indeed affirmed by the Madrid-based *Real Academia de la lengua española* and thus do parallel a standard Castilian usage. Gaos also made more specific distinctions, based on phonological differences. She repeated that only her pronunciation was from Spain, emphasizing the distance between some students' belief in her legitimacy as a Spanish teacher in California and her own belief. In saying the names of Latin American countries, she foregrounded her Spanish accent, pronouncing them with standard vowels (universal in international Spanish standard varieties) and with northern Castilian consonants, notably the intervocalic voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ as represented by the grapheme *z*. In hinting at dialectal variation, Gaos affirmed her northern Spanish identity. In the narrative itself, as she affirmed that identity to her students, she also sought to affirm this third form of Spanish—academic Spanish—which was an object of study for all of them, students and teacher included.

Gaos attempted to balance speaker differences in the Spanish-speaking world with an academic Spanish that was colored by her locally developed usage, isolated from Spanish in the Americas.³⁹ Her negotiation was tricky because students heard her specific phonology and followed her lessons that included standard Castilian verb forms (particularly, her use and instruction of the second-person plural *vosotros* verb forms and their attendant personal adjectives and pronouns). Students, both native and non-native

³⁹ For example, the presence of nasalized vowels, standard in Catalan, appeared regularly in Gaos's Spanish, especially in the context of nasal consonant + /a/ + nasal consonant (e.g., *las manos* “the hands”).

Spanish speakers, were faced with assigning to her two types of legitimacy: (1) as a high school teacher, and (2) as a speaker of Spanish. In my observations and in Gaos's reflections, her students did not fundamentally question nor resist her legitimacy as a high school teacher, but, in her retelling, some of her students and their families positioned her as **the** legitimate and legitimizing speaker of Spanish. This latter aspect brought together both aspects of Gaos's legitimacy and power as a teacher of Spanish in California. Even though her students may not have fundamentally resisted her legitimacy as a high school teacher, as we shall see, some questioned how she participated in the various speech and learning communities to which she claimed membership.

5.5 Discussion and Looking Ahead

These teachers' narratives and the first section of survey responses offered a background to what I would be observing and interrogating in the focal subjects' classrooms. In their first interviews, Dionne Simpson, Zeke Pankin, and Filomena Gaos constructed and negotiated their linguistic identities within several constraints. The first constraint was that of time: we had set schedules for the interviews, and, due to their professional and personal commitments, those schedules were limited, lasting no more than 80 minutes each. Secondly, since these interviews were semi-structured, I provided the lead questions, and each subject responded to them along a continuum of creative freedom. For example, both Pankin and Gaos helmed closely to the direct questions I asked, explicitly checking to see if their answer satisfied my question. Simpson, on the other hand, used the questions as an opportunity to introduce her own framing device for her narrative; namely, a political-feminist one built around her linguistic identity. Finally, another constraint within the content of the interviews was the information I selected to elicit from them and that which they were willing to offer. Specifically, I did not set out to document other, not specifically linguistic aspects of their lives, such as their personal relationships with loved ones or friends, unless they affected or represented some aspect of their multilingual identity. Indeed, for all three of them, certain stories that they deemed significant to share involved the participation of their personal communities. For Simpson, it was her marriage to a native Spanish speaker and her ongoing, close relationship with her multilingual, adult children. For Pankin, it was the theatrical troupe in Paris whose relationship with him solidified his confidence in being a user of French. For Gaos, these relationships were not as clear cut: her hesitancy in naming Catalan as one of her early languages and her insistence on *castellano* as her only native language indicated a dualistic linguistic struggle that played itself out, albeit differently, in her pedagogical practices (see Chapter 6).

Simpson, Pankin, and Gaos offered specific insights into their past selves through their narrative choices. Indeed, in selecting certain stories to tell and then through constructing their narratives, these subjects "cross[ed] borders into the domain where selves and worlds are reconstructed" (Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000, p. 157). Not only were they constructing their narratives before me, they were *reconstructing* their sense of self through the very act of self-narrativization. For Gaos, in particular, she reconsidered the role of Catalan in her life; she eventually recognized it as one of the key languages of her childhood, re-signifying it as the language shared with her peers alongside the state-mandated *castellano* of the Francoist era. For all three of these teachers of Romance

languages, their narratives were focused on the experience of becoming and being multilingual, especially in sites of potential marginalization (following Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000, p. 157). These sites appeared at different times in each teacher's life, but all of them experienced the distinction that often occurs in tandem with marginalization in the early years of using their native languages and then learning to use subsequent ones. In their classrooms, we can readily see these moments of marginalization—from dominant cultural groups or within their own different personal subjectivities—and how they affect their instruction of target languages and cultures.

In the following chapter, we shall examine the focal teachers' classroom activities in light of their linguistic histories. In what ways might Simpson's politically charged context of using Spanish make itself present in her lessons? How will Pankin's experience of using French and of teaching itself as primarily performative influence the ways in which he presents the target language and culture to his students? Based on Gaos's gratitude to the school communities that had welcomed her, how and for whom will community be formed in her classroom through language use? This combination of Simpson's, Pankin's, and Gaos's narratives and classroom work will thus test the claim that "[m]aking and living our identities involves action and process, occurs in real time and depends on our connections with others, on what we do and say, and how we feel about it" (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 35).

Chapter 6 Focal Teachers: Beliefs and Classroom Practices

So why do we (most language teachers) approach second language acquisition completely differently? Because it's the way we were taught and it "worked" for us. Most students don't care what an indefinite article is or how to differentiate between a direct and an indirect object pronoun. They just want to learn to speak, read, understand, and write (but mostly speak and understand). But we stuff grammar down their throats for 4 years (those who can bear it enough to stick with it) and many stop trying, thinking they are terrible at learning languages. But we start them too late and teach them the wrong way. (Survey Respondent)

6.1 Introduction

As this opening citation indicates teachers of second and foreign languages can see their classrooms as places of possible conflict. These include, but are not limited to conflicts between their previous experiences and their current responsibilities; between their beliefs about language learning and their actual pedagogical practices; between their expectations and those of others; and between competing cultural, social, and historical ideologies. L2 teachers negotiate these potential conflicts daily within the space of their classrooms through their own and their students' language use. Consequently, the classrooms become sites of specific language ecologies, resulting from the "dynamic interaction between language users and the environment as between parts of a living organism" (Kramsch, 2002, p. 8). An ecological model for the language classroom focuses on the co-construction of meaning through interactions and relationships among language users themselves, the languages used and understood, and the artifacts present in the classroom. Through extended periods of time filming in Dionne Simpson's, Zeke Pankin's, and Filomena Gaos's classrooms, I captured those teachers' specific classroom ecologies and the ways in which their linguistic biographies, their theoretical and practical beliefs, and their students' participation interacted with each other in often surprising ways.

In this chapter, I compare these three teacher's perceptions of their use of language and of their work with their actual behaviors in the classroom. The study's second research question (*How do the classroom lessons and behaviors of Spanish and French teachers compare to their own identities as multilingual subjects?*) directed the analysis that I conducted in this chapter.

In order to respond to this research question, I analyze samples from the three focal teacher interviews and from recorded observations of those teachers' classrooms. These samples provide the opportunity to analyze both the ways in which these teachers describe their own personal and professional use of the target languages in the classroom and how those descriptions actually play out in three specific classroom ecologies. We look in Simpson's, Pankin's, and Gaos's classrooms to see how autobiographical, linguistic, and social dimensions play out. In showcasing the focal teachers' practices and narratives, I hope to highlight how these teachers have been and continue to be in the process of becoming L2 teachers, which "depends on a delicate balancing act, comparing and adjusting inner states in relation to external cues, calculating the seriousness of

negative signs and the value of positive approval” (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 75). What does this ongoing process of becoming an L2 teacher of French or Spanish look like in contemporary California classrooms? Moreover, how does the institutional context of these teachers affect their identity negotiation and classroom practices?

6.2 Dionne Simpson

6.2.1 “¿Nada de la historia de México?”

It was the end of the first period of the school day on my next-to-last day in Simpson’s classroom. Simpson wrapped up her lesson on the tenses of the subjunctive and began a cultural lesson in preparation for an upcoming, guided tour of the Mexican murals in San Francisco’s Mission District. The mural tour was not part of the textbook curriculum but an idea that Simpson developed for all third- and fourth-year Spanish students at EBMHS. Simpson was addressing the cultural and historical content of the chapter in the textbook *Realidades*, which featured a history of the initial contact between the Spaniards and the Aztecs alongside the grammatical presentation of hypothetical sentence constructions. The cultural notes displayed contemporary images of Mexico City’s tourist sites and created-for-the-book summaries, presenting the European-Aztec contact as a bloodless encounter leading to the inevitable adoption of Spanish as the civilizing language of the land.

Instead of using the textbook’s cultural notes, Simpson presented an alternative history through a self-designed lecture that focused solely on the pre-European history of central and southern Mexico. With the aid of a hand-drawn outline of Mexico and labels of its pre-European cities on the whiteboard, she spoke of the competition and struggles between the Toltecs of central Mexico and the Chichimecs of northern Mexico. The students in this third-year Spanish class listened to their teacher’s lecture intently, visually following her movement around the classroom and taking notes. A few students offered responses when prompted, but Simpson was constructing this history herself and monitoring the information that students received.

This particular lesson called to mind comments that Simpson had made during our initial interview two weeks prior to this class period:

and I also have been teaching them **history** th-that’s because their project this year at the end of the year is to choose something that really interests them about Spanish culture and then they have to research it one of the things they have to research is *la mezcla de culturas* [the mix of cultures] that they find so u:m I’m actually going to suggest that some of the kids could talk about so we’ve been talking about the Arab influence in Spanish but then it’s like well what about the Nahuatl in Mexican Spanish o:r you know the Quechua in Peruvian Spanish or the Aymara in Peruvian Spanish (Interview, 5/13)

In addition to lessons strictly about grammar and about language and culture, Simpson claimed to “also have been teaching [the students] history.” Her use of “also” shows that, in her judgment, this focus on history is beyond the set curriculum and but is equal to the officially sanctioned instruction of language and culture. In the official curriculum, the

textbook chapter included a cultural note on the Arab influence on Spanish architecture. This sidenote inspired a potential point of expansion for Simpson in her classroom. Beyond observing the book's mention of the Arab influence on Spanish *architecture*, Simpson said that her students and she had "been talking about the Arab influence in Spanish," the *language*. Simpson continued to extend this query about the cultural influence on language through political conquest to wonder about the relationships between indigenous Mesoamerican languages (i.e., Nahuatl, Quechua, and Aymara) and Spanish.

Simpson's interest in Mesoamerican history was apparent in that brief lesson on the pre-European peoples of northern and central Mexico. Simpson's lesson and her delivery of it pointed to different historical and situational timescales, which created a telling, double paradox. She conducted the lesson entirely in Spanish, yet the content of the lesson was about groups of people who did not speak Spanish. On one level, i.e., Simpson's classroom, Spanish as the target language was a privileged language, and the language teacher used this colonizing language to teach a history of non-Spanish speakers who were eventually colonized by the Spanish and their language. However, in a broader context, i.e., the Bay Area and the other non-second language classrooms at EBMHS in particular, Spanish is a marginalized language in most (but not all) contexts, where English occupies the privileged position. Thus, Simpson's use of Spanish to discuss indigenous Latin American histories, alongside colonial ones, pointed to the precarious position that Spanish occupied in this Bay Area school. Spanish is simultaneously a marginalized language in a larger Anglophone context, similar to other immigrant languages, and a colonizing one in a global context, similar to English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, among others.

Simpson used Spanish to present indigenous history to her students in a similar way to how the murals in the Mission represent this cultural history. Ironically, in both Simpson's lesson and in texts on the murals, the colonizing language provides its users the code to access stories that in themselves are not dependent on Spanish history and culture:

esto es el contexto de ir a ver estas murales también es porque quiero hablar bueno podemos leer en el libro y los que nos dan hoy XX leer en el libro pero quisiera hablar de la historia de los aztecas lo que es importante [...] había primero los olmecas? [...] oh yeah y este en el valle de México sí? okay olmeca y luego varios grupos y los ah los **tolteca**s oh recuerdan esta historia? que tuvimos el primer semestre de los volcanes sí la princesa tolteca sí e-y príncipe chichimeca okay entonces en el siglo doce los chichimecas vinieron del norte sí a ver la civilización de los **tolteca**s bueno y los toltecas estaban hm bajando y estos bueno se llaman porque dicen que vinieron de Aztlán un lugar al norte Aztlán entonces **Aztecas** okay? pero cuando vinieron a vivir cerca del lago se llamaban los **mexicas** [mejikas] oh y [o:i] por eso tenemos **México** okay entonces esto es el imperio (Classroom Observation, 5/13)

this is also the context to go see these murals it's why I want to talk well we can read in the book and the things that they give us XX read in the book but I would like to talk about the history of the Aztecs that which is important there were first the Olmecs oh yeah and east in Mexico Valley yes? okay Olmec and then various

groups and the ah the Toltecs oh you remember this story that we had in the first semester about the volcanoes yes the Toltec princess yes and Chichimec prince okay so in the twelfth century the Chichimecs came from the north yes to see the civilization of the Toltecs okay and the Toltecs were hm descending and they okay their names are because they s-said that they came from Aztlán a place to the north Aztlán so Aztecs okay? but when they came to live near the lake they were called *los mexicas* [meʃikas] oh and because of that we have Mexico okay so that is the empire

Simpson began this lesson with a justification of why she was about to present this history: “esto es el contexto de ir a ver estas murales también.” But that was not the only reason. She claimed that they all could read lessons from the textbook, lessons that “nos dan,” but she wanted to talk about an alternative history from the one presented in the textbook. In both presentations—the textbook’s and Simpson’s—students were the passive recipients of these cultural histories. Her decision to coordinate a class field trip to see these particular murals indicated her interest in presenting another way for her students to access actively an unofficial history of Latinos in the United States, one that added yet another aesthetic dimension to her instruction besides her classroom art and her personal dress.⁴⁰

Although her language remained Spanish, Simpson shifted topics from presenting a history of the Spanish language and culture in Mexico to a history of the Aztecs and other peoples prior to the Spanish Conquest. This use of Spanish marked a shift in its positioning: using the Spanish language to describe the Spanish language and culture in Mexico is not the same act as using the Spanish language to tell a history of Mexico’s indigenous peoples. The first context exemplified a traditional use of the language in a monolingual foreign language classroom: the use of the standard target language to describe the homogeneous target culture. In the latter context, Spanish became the language of the colonizers, the sounds, grammar, and semantics of that which came to reduce, if not erase, much of the linguistic and cultural history that existed before the Conquest. Yet another contextual layer, at work in the mind and personal experiences of Simpson, was using Spanish, a marginalized language in the context of the English-medium high school, to teach a less known history that may be absent in other classes that students take.

Simpson’s shift in pedagogical content from the textbook’s superficial focus on an official history to a subjective, self-curated history underscored her agency both as *teacher* (here, of both Spanish and of history) but also as *language user* (using Spanish to teach new content). Simpson demonstrated her power as a teacher, in a relatively autonomous classroom, by moving away from what she was officially *expected* to teach, i.e. the curricular presentation of the Spanish language and of Spanish-speaking cultures, towards teaching what she *wanted* to teach, these other, unofficial stories relayed through

⁴⁰ The Precita Eyes Muralists website provides the center’s mission, which aligns with Simpson’s classroom activities: “Precita Eyes Muralists Association and Center, established in 1977, founded by Susan and Luis Cervantes and other artists in San Francisco’s Mission District, is a multipurpose community based arts organization that has played an integral role in the city’s cultural heritage and arts education. One of only three community mural centers in the United States, the organization sponsors and implements ongoing mural projects throughout the Bay Area and internationally.” (<http://www.precitaeyes.org/about.html>, accessed 2/11/14)

Spanish. Her lesson resisted traditional expectations of what her instruction should look like from the perspectives of the state frameworks and even from her students. This pedagogical resistance demonstrated her own self-description during our first extended encounter: “I think...I’ve been a difficult personality all my life.”

Simpson attempted to activate students’ background knowledge first by asking the class generally if they remembered a prior lesson about a Toltec princess and a Chichimec prince. She then asked a specific student what he may have already known about pre-European Mexican history. As she explained to me after class, Simpson selected this student, Sid, because she knew that he had a personal interest and had done research on different indigenous peoples of Mexico and Central America.

DS1	okay bueno dime qué sabes de la	<i>okay well tell me what you know</i>
DS2	historia de México Sid	<i>about the history of Mexico Sid</i>
DS3	{points to student}	<i>{points to student}</i>
Sid 4	um uh well well um I know that	<i>um uh well well um I know that first</i>
Sid 5	first like uh before even the	<i>like uh before even the Mayans were</i>
Sid 6	Mayans were around there were	<i>around there were the uh not the</i>
Sid 7	the uh not the nahuatl um XX teca	<i>nahuatl um XX teca</i>
DS8	oh okay había primero los	<i>oh okay first there were the</i>
DS9	olmecas?	<i>Olmecs?</i>
Sid 10	yeah yeah	<i>yeah yeah</i>

(Classroom Observation, 5/13)

The student hesitated before naming the Mayans and the Nahuatl language as part of Mexican history. He attempted to name another indigenous group, as indicated by his muffled response ending in *-teca*. Simpson offered a conversational repair that was also a recast: she named the Olmecs (“los olmecas”) correctly as the first major civilization of Mexico. The student, who was familiar with the historical timeline of these pre-European peoples, agreed with her recast. It was at this point that Simpson focused her lecture on the intersection of the Chichimecs and Toltecs and the link between Aztlán and the Aztec empire.

Then, a moment of classroom management led to a subsequent moment of discovery for both the teacher and a student. At the end of her narration of the encounters between the Chichimecs and Toltecs, Simpson called on a student who was not paying attention: “¿qué más saben de esto Clarissa? (“what else do you [pl.] know about this Clarissa?”). The verb in this question was plural, signaling to all of the students that they could be potential respondents, but the tag of “Clarissa” signaled that Simpson was calling on a student who had been talking with a neighboring classmate during Simpson’s lecture. Clarissa responded, “Nada” [“nothing”]. This response prompted Simpson to ask, “¿Nada de la historia de México?” [“Nothing about Mexico’s history?”]. At this point, another student, Ben, interrupted the exchange between Simpson and Clarissa and responded to Simpson’s question. The interaction between this other student and Simpson provided insight into what this student understood to be going on in the classroom in the context of his larger schooling:

DS1	nada de la historia de México?	<i>nothing about about Mexico's history</i>
DS2	no?	<i>no?</i>
Ben 3	it's not something you learn in	<i>it's not something you learn in</i>
Ben 4	school	<i>school</i>
DS 5	it's not something you learn in	<i>it's not something you learn in</i>
DS 6	school?	<i>school?</i>
Ben 7	until like now	<i>until like now</i>
DS 8	okay {laugh}	<i>okay {laugh}</i>

(Classroom Observation, 5/13)

Ben responded to Simpson's first question in a matter-of-fact tone, simply declaring an observation based on his experience. When Simpson repeated the declaration, she turned it into a question with a raised tone. Her accompanying gestures indicated her incredulity regarding the student's statement: she simultaneously looked at Ben, slowly shook her head from right to left, raised her eyebrows and made her eyes bigger. Simpson reframed this statement and made gestures that suggested her disbelief that her students did not know anything about Mexico's history and "it [was] not something you learned in school." In response to the change in this student's awareness that had come about because of this particular lesson, the student tagged on the time-centered prepositional phrase "until like now."⁴¹ Ben's use of the hedge "like" before the adverb "now" mitigated the impact of what he was admitting. This phrase suggested that the teaching of alternative histories might have a place elsewhere in school, but it had been invisible until Simpson made it the focus of this lesson. "Now" referred to that specific lesson that had unfolded over time in this particular place, Simpson's classroom.

Through his admission, the student suggested that he was on to his teacher: in that space and in her scheduled classes she was teaching a history of a people in a context that was unofficial, giving voices to those silenced in other history lessons. The lesson in this second language classroom conflicted with the legitimized history sanctioned by the textbook and possibly went beyond content in other courses at the school. By the end of that lesson, the students knew something about Mexican history, and, based on Ben's addendum, that change had come about in that one moment in time.

Simpson's choice to talk about the history of the Olmecs, Toltecs, and Aztecs reinforced her use of alternative histories in her Spanish classroom, as the trip to the Mission murals also did. This posed an interesting series of questions for both the teacher and students: what is it that they do in this Spanish classroom? what role does history play in and alongside their grammatical and cultural lessons? whose histories do, alternatively, the textbook and the teacher showcase? how are these histories different from what students may study in a traditional high school history class?

One month after this class, I showed Simpson a video of this lesson, in which I had used the camera to follow her as she was talking, writing on the whiteboard, and interacting with students. I first asked her to explain to me why she had chosen to teach this history. She responded by stressing the importance for her of the historical context of language learning. Simpson brought to light other power structures in her Spanish

⁴¹ The deictic marker "now" could also distinguish this particular lesson from other lessons of alternative histories that Simpson presented in her class.

classroom, in addition to the textbook's construction of the unidimensional Mexican state. In reflecting on her teaching of alternative Mexican histories that highlighted indigenous histories alongside the official Conquest-centered history, Simpson claimed:

it has to be in a context there's a long long history that's these kids are living in this place where a hundred and fifty years ago there was so little here and other people live in cultures where they **have** a sense of history where it goes back and it goes back. (Interview, 6/13)

For her, teaching Spanish to residents of Northern California must be “in a context.” This context did not emerge entirely from the textbook and the district-approved curriculum. Rather, Simpson wanted her students to see the historicity of Spanish (indeed, of languages other than English) in the context of pre-modern, pre-national North American history. This “long history,” which she emphasized through the repetition of the word “long” and her elongation of its vowel, functioned on a different timescale than that of the European-American focus of her coursebook, *Realidades*. These “other people” had a “sense of history” that existed on different, multiple timescales, ones not regulated solely by modern nation-building. The timescale of this other history “goes back...and goes back,” predating, running contemporaneously to, and intersecting with the chapter's official history. As she brought the Toltecs, Olmecs, Aztecs, and Mayans back to life in her classroom alongside the Spanish figures of the Conquest, Simpson contested the curriculum's dominant timeline that began with Columbus's arrival in the Western Hemisphere and the subsequent arrival of Spanish colonizers.

She furthered her critique of this widely accepted, standardized timeline by extending its beginning point even farther than what the curriculum guidelines expected students to know⁴²:

when I was teaching them the history of Spain the book starts with the Romans and I threw in before the Romans you know there were it was Celtic before the Romans got there and then they it goes the fall of the the the book goes the Romans the fall of the Romans the arrival of the Moors and I said well you know there's something between that you know like what happened in those four hundred years I mean four hundred years isn't the same as eight hundred years but it still counts (Interview, 6/13)

Simpson positioned the history of Spain similarly to her presentation of Mexican history: these were long histories with overlapping timescales of different peoples. Moreover, she positioned the book's perspective as limited and even adversarial to her own: “the book goes,” but “I said.” In this reflection, she wanted to turn the students' gaze towards those histories that were not captured in the official, legitimized history of the Spanish-speaking world, often occurring in times and spaces not recorded by empires. These alternative histories, and the people they contain, “still count.”

⁴² A survey of other intermediate Spanish foreign language textbooks (e.g., *¡Arriba!* and *Horizontes*) reveals that indigenous histories, if included, occupy a lesson in a final chapter of a textbook or pepper explanations of the origins of celebrations. This latter presentation reinforces the food-and-festival framing of culture in the foreign language classroom.

I followed up this question by asking Simpson if she thought that a question of cultural prestige presented itself in the choice of histories taught. She made allusions as a response to my query:

of course it's it's just like you know the difference between a dialect and a language is an army um {laugh} and what you don't uh we saw a whole lot when we went to the Mission that was a lot of fun but there was a lot of you know we didn't cross the border the border crossed us u:m this **was** Mexico and so there's the power of (.) I just especially if I'm teaching Spanish the kids should know the cultures and the histories and the lo:ng histories of the Spanish-speaking cultures (Interview, 6/13)

Simpson first responded with a rewording of the quotation ascribed to the Yiddish linguist Max Weinreich, "A language is a dialect with an army and a navy."⁴³ She did not explain her choice of this quotation, but its first-position placement in her response highlighted the power (politically, economically, and militarily) of these codes called "language." She continued to refer obliquely to political and military power by invoking another quotation, this one identified with the immigrants' rights movement: "We didn't cross the border; the border crossed us." Simpson concluded this response with a reflection on her responsibility as a teacher of Spanish and what students should thus know in her class. Again, parallel to her description of learning history in Northern California, Simpson identified the history of Spanish-speaking cultures as both long and multiple and important for student knowledge.

In this lesson, it was Simpson's voice that was privileged in the classroom. Ironically, although the content of her lesson provided a space for often silenced indigenous voices to be heard, it was primarily Simpson's voice giving voice to them. The indigenous voices in this historical lesson did not speak for themselves during Simpson's lecture. Similarly, the lecture format of this presentation privileged Simpson's voice over those of her students, whose participation, although poignant, only occurred at the end of the lesson. The short view of this lesson, as contained in the fifty minutes of the class period, would underscore the focus on the teacher and her direct instruction. This short view aligns with Simpson's claims of her own intellectual curiosity and pedagogical confidence. A broader view of her work in this particular lesson, however, offers a glimpse into her broader pedagogical goals for this lesson. As she described in her first interview (and as we have seen already), Simpson states that "I also have been teaching them **history** th-that's because their project this year at the end of the year is to choose something that really interests them about Spanish culture and then they have to research it" (her emphasis). Simpson's dominant and singular voice in this lesson, retelling and reframing a complex narrative of early Mexican history, provided the linguistic and cultural input which students could then use to begin their end-of-the-year projects.

In contrast, in her description during our final interview of their field trip to see the Mission murals, Simpson employed the first person plural pronouns in English to

⁴³ The statement *a sprach iz a dialekt mit an armey un flot* (orig. Yiddish) appeared in *Der YIVO un di problemen fun undzer tsayt*, originally presented as a speech at the Annual YIVO (then known as the Yiddish Scientific Institute) Conference on January 5, 1945.

refer to her students, chaperones, and herself. In that passage, she spoke as a representative of that group: “we saw a whole lot.” The trip and seeing the murals was “a lot of fun,” but she juxtaposed this sense of fun with the politically charged “We didn’t cross the border; the border crossed us.” Who is this “we” in this recontextualized quotation? It could be, in continuation of the previous utterance, the teacher, her students, her colleagues, and the chaperones; in essence, all of the field trip attendees. It could also be a case of Simpson voicing others’ voices, members of a group with which she sympathized but in which she may not claim membership. One potential group could be the Latino artists who created the murals and her Latino students who reacted to the messages in the art. Another potential group could be the imagined community of Latino immigrants whose ancestry, both indigenous and Hispanic, predated the arrival of the English-speaking U.S. citizens. Both within that group and independent of it could be a third group of voices: indigenous, non-Latino, non-Spanish speaking subjects whose first communities predated the European conquest of the Americas.

The heteroglossic possibilities of the “we” in Simpson’s quotation echo Simpson’s self-positioning as a speaker of different languages, some of them learned at different moments in her life. She, like her students, is a lifelong language learner, who encountered French as first vaguely present in her childhood home and later the object of her high school and college foreign language study. Through falling in love with politics, literature, and a man rooted in different Spanish-speaking cultures, Simpson expanded her linguistic repertoire and practices. Raising multilingual children and becoming a teacher of Spanish as a foreign language connected her personal and professional subject positions through her multilingual practices in different contexts at different times. In the end, Simpson’s shifting use of “we” indexed, in all the contexts that she provided, multilingual communities who negotiate their identities through different codes.⁴⁴

6.3 Zeke Pankin

6.3.1 “Long and Fantastic, Wonderful Journey into the Subjunctive Mood”

In his French 3/AP French class, Pankin was beginning his presentation of the subjunctive mood during the time I spent in his classes. On the day that he introduced the subjunctive to his students, it was a block schedule day, which meant that his normally 50-minute class was eighty minutes. He thus planned the lesson in two parts around a short break halfway through that period: in the first forty minutes, a teacher-led presentation and some scaffolded practice of the subjunctive; after the break, independent practice by the students of textbook exercises of the subjunctive. The moments leading up to the break included an improvisation on Pankin’s part that linked the lesson to a type of performance, as we shall see after a brief description of the class presentation.

On this first day of presenting the subjunctive, Pankin gave his students oral examples of impersonal complex sentences with the invariable clause *il faut* (“it is

⁴⁴ Here, I think of the use of Spanish and English with her adult son in her home after his return from living in Mexico; the use of written Spanish and English on the Mission murals depicting the hybrid histories of Mexican and Central American cultures; Simpson’s use of Nahuatl vocabulary in a cultural lesson otherwise in Spanish.

necessary”) that required the subjunctive in the dependent clauses.⁴⁵ His pedagogical approach in this part of the lesson was teacher-directed: he provided examples and then asked questions. The interaction with the students was limited to their individual responses to his questions. He did not begin by naming the grammatical focus of these sentences—the subjunctive; rather, he asked the class to pay attention to anything unique that they may notice in his sentence constructions. After he said each sentence, he then wrote them on the whiteboard for students to review visually:

1. Il faut que je finisse mes devoirs.
2. Il faut que j’écrive une lettre.
3. Il faut que je téléphone à mon copain.

One student identified the repetition of the “il faut” sentence starter in each of Pankin’s examples, and then another student said that the verbs in the first two sentences sounded different than other forms that she knew. It was at this point that Pankin told the class that these sentences were in the subjunctive mood.

After a few more minutes of presentation, using the course textbook as a visual aid for the students, Pankin wrote student-generated responses to new *il faut*-sentences on the whiteboard (see Figure 1). These sentences reflected distinctions in verb class (-er, -ir, -ir/-iss-) and in verb person and number (third person singular and plural; first and second person plural).

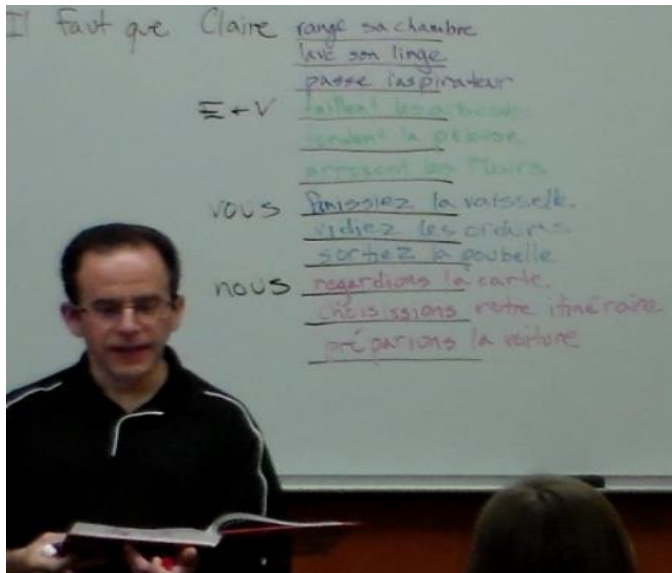


Figure 6.1 Pankin in front of student-generated *il faut*-sentences

⁴⁵ Compare the general statement *il faut faire les devoirs* to *il faut que tu fasses les devoirs*. In the first example, the statement can be general or can point to a specific referent if the interlocutors already understand the context. Since there is no addition of a specific, agentive subject, the second verb remains in the infinitive. In the second example, the introduction of the subordinator *que* and a specific, agentive subject (*tu*) in the dependent clause requires the use of the second person subjunctive form of *faire* in standard French.

Pankin then had students comment on the forms of the verbs in their sentences, underlining their similarities to other verb forms in the indicative. After the students described what they saw, Pankin glanced at the wall clock, noticing that it was time for their mid-class break, and he put the cap on his marker. While he did so, he instructed the students to “stay in the subjunctive mood” while they were taking their break:

okay so that's the beginning of your long and uh fantastic wonderful journey into the subjunctive mood so in a moment we're gonna take a break but I want you to stay in the subjunctive mood during the break do not leave the sub the subjunctive mood {quiet student laughter} all right so five minute breaks but stay in the subjunctive mood please all right we'll resume the subjunctive mood after the break (Classroom Observation, 10/13)

In this pre-break instruction, Pankin told students that, during the break, he wanted them “to stay in the subjunctive mood” in three iterations, followed by a fourth statement that they would “resume the subjunctive mood” once they were all back in class. Students giggled after the second time that he instructed them “to stay in the subjunctive mood,” suggesting either that they were casually dismissive of his instruction or that they thought it was amusing, but they neither interrupted nor questioned his imperative. Interestingly, in the final statement of this segment, he claimed that they would “resume the subjunctive mood,” suggesting the possibility that students may not stay in the subjunctive mood during the break, but that the class would re-enter it “after the break.” This final prepositional phrase echoed the voice of a television announcer who tells a viewing audience what is to come once the show continues. This comparison to an announcer is one that Pankin himself will use during our final interview to analyze this moment in his classroom.

6.3.2 “It’s About Being in a Mood”

Pankin revisited this scene in his classroom in which he asked his students “to stay in the subjunctive mood” during our final interview. I showed him the video-recording of this moment of transition in his classroom and asked him to tell me more about this particular presentation of the subjunctive and of verb mood and what it meant for him to present them in such a way. His response indexed first his work as a multilingual language teacher:

I think it actually is the Sp-Spanish book that describes the so-subjunctive as a mood rather than a tense and I remember reading that and thinking that's really a propos because it is kind of like a mood um a lot of it does go with mood you know when you're talking about how you feel or what or what you wish or what you want um even when you're expressing what you have to do that's kind of like a mood and when you're doubt what you believe or more like what you **don't** believe that's all kind of a mood so yeah formally structurally it is a verb tense um but it also really is a mood (Interview, 11/13)

Pankin first referenced the Spanish book used in a course that he was no longer teaching at the time of my research in his classroom. The memory of that book indexed his status as an instructor of Spanish in addition to the dominant—and more current—status as a French instructor. He recalled that that textbook described the subjunctive as a verb mood, as something other than his usual understanding of it as a verb tense.⁴⁶ The polysemy of *mood* offered Pankin a way to map the grammatical sense of the word to its broader use both in classroom, grammar-based usage and in non-academic contexts. In other words, Pankin made sense of *mood* as a grammatical category by linking it to a person's subjectivity and state of mind. His listing of the classic, textbook types of situations in which the subjunctive is used ("talking about how you feel," "what you wish," "what you want," "what you have to do") exemplified how he was mapping this new understanding of the subjunctive as something other than a verb tense.

This implied intersubjectivity between speaker and listener, iterated through his repetition of "you" followed by what "you" do, formed an important link to the next part of his response, in which he continued to respond to his videotaped instruction of the subjunctive. In this next section, Pankin extended his explanation of selecting the mood to being in a mood, a direct response to what he had instructed his students to do:

it's about being in a mood so yeah I don't know I thought it was just clever it was just something that occurred to me on the spot so it's just like take a break but stay in the subjunctive mood you know so I don't know to me I just thought it was I didn't know what they were going to do with that but I thought it was something to just kind of put out there and like yeah like you know when like when you're watching a TV show and they say don't go away we'll be right back you know so even if you do get up even if you do change the channel or you get up to get something from the refrigerator you know like okay you know kinda violating the contract a little bit you know they said don't go away but I'm gonna sneak away so anyway yeah it was just kind of a little trick that I decided to use (Interview, 11/13)

From talking about grammatical mood to being in a mood, Pankin realized that his specially worded instruction to his students "to stay in the subjunctive mood" was "clever." Moreover, it was improvised; it "occurred to [him] on the spot." This improvisation exemplified an aspect of teaching that Pankin had identified earlier in this interview (see Chapter 5.3.5), that teaching as a performance was "a bit like improv" with the lesson-at-hand "like a predetermined script." His positive evaluation of his ability to improvise the imperative to the students "to stay in the subjunctive mood" reinforced the self-perception of his success as a teacher and a performer. He called his improvised imperative "a little trick" to keep his students on topic, which pointed towards his expectation that students would not stay in that mood. His trick was to make them still

⁴⁶ Posner (1997) explains verb mood as a category that refers to the actuality of an event by comparing the event world(s) with the actual world (p. 199). The subjunctive, as a set of verb conjugations that also indicates verb tense and aspect, expresses both syntactic *mood* (the grammatical status of a verb) and semantic-pragmatic *modality* (the attitude of the speaker towards an event).

think about the subjunctive mood during their break because of his pun instead of not thinking about it at all during their time out of class.

He then compared the students' potential behavior during the break to that of a television spectator during a commercial break. This comparison positioned the students as passive receivers of information (in the form of entertainment). It also positioned Pankin (in the place of the announcer) as someone providing the information unidirectionally; there is no real interaction between participants in either schema. The television metaphor also introduced the image of the television screen, a physical division between the world of the announcer and that of the students. This physical divider found its equivalent in the classroom door that, during the break, separated the exiting students from Pankin, who remained in the classroom.

The separation and difference between Pankin and his students were reiterated in the roles that existed in his comparison. Different voices and participants appeared in his comparison:

- the television announcer who, like Pankin, gives instructions of what the spectator should (or should not) do during the break;
- the spectator who, like the students, has the agency to follow the instructions or violate the social contract and do something else;
- Pankin himself who made an improvised pedagogical decision.

These different participants were spatially opposed to each other, both in Pankin's classroom and in the imagined living room context of television viewing. Both sides offered sites of power since all participants had agency in the scenario that Pankin established. On both sides of this opposition, the participants had choices about how to behave: to provide the imperative (announcer/teacher only), to obey the imperative (students and announcer/teacher), or to ignore the imperative (students and announcer/teacher). Pankin aligned himself first with the television announcer, providing instructions to his spectators/students, but then aligned himself with the spectators who may choose to ignore the imperative.

Pankin's narration shifted between different pronouns, moving their referential targets and his own subject position. He first used the first person singular pronoun to refer to himself as the teacher who was improvising this moment in his teaching. The students were first spoken about in the third person ("I didn't know what they were going to do with that"), but, later on, because of the comparison he detailed, they became addressees. His use of "you" was especially complicated, because he shifted from a general use of "you" ("like when you're watching a TV show") to a more specific "you" who is spectator with agency and choice ("you do get up," "you do change the channel"). This "you" referred symbolically to his students, whose break time afforded them the option of choosing to remain in "the subjunctive mood" or not. Finally, Pankin shifted from "you" to "I," indicating his own ability to violate the performance contract. He changed his positioning, first aligning himself with the TV announcer then identifying with the spectator. This realignment underscored both Pankin's ability to perform all the roles in this scenario, and, like his students, his positioning as a non-native learner of the French subjunctive, a "long and fantastic [...] wonderful journey" that he himself was still undertaking.

In sum, the comparison reintroduced the notion of a unidirectional performance, one in which a voice speaks *at* an audience but does not open up the floor for interaction. Pankin had first described this type of performance in his first interview. In the comparison with the television commercial break, once the announcer's voice finished speaking, the spectator could choose from a variety of activities other than staying in their seat on the same channel. If the spectator chose another activity, it would be "kinda violating the contract," the tacit agreement that the television station, represented by a bodiless voice, and viewers share. To illustrate this contract violation, Pankin introduced the idea of a viewer, no longer "you" but now "I," who was "gonna sneak away" from the television and the announcer. This act of sneaking away was a very real possibility as well for Pankin's students, who were about to leave the classroom to use the bathroom or go to the water fountain during the break time. Potentially all participants could both violate the contract—a contract imposed by Pankin—by changing mental states and still think about the grammatical topic. In the end, Pankin likened this way of having the students consider grammar—to stay in a specific mental and emotional state—as "just kind of a little trick that I decided to use."

6.4 Filomena Gaos

6.4.1 Four Ways to Say "My"

Through her language use in the classroom, Filomena Gaos positioned herself as a member of different speech communities. Her use of Spanish in conversation marked her as a member of the transnational community of Spanish speakers as well as a speaker of a local variety from northwestern Spain. Gaos used English as well, particularly in her elementary-intermediate Spanish classes, which linked her to the English-speaking community, although as an English language learner, which she found to be frustrating:

so my frustration is that when I want to write in English I have so many limitations still that this makes me angry because I say oh my gosh if I **could** write or I could express myself in English as well as I do in Spanish ay: I'd feel **so happy** and so: confident and so **everything** (Interview, 2/14)

In expressing her frustration as an English learner, Gaos identified that she still had limitations in her English expression in comparison to her abilities in her mother tongue (cf. Pankin's belief that his competence in French was on par with that in English). She equates the potential of being as fluent in English as in Spanish with feeling "so happy," "so confident," and "so everything," the latter term referring to a spectrum of positive associations. Her use of a hypothetical sentence ("If I could..., I [would] feel..."), her emphasis on the modal *could*, and her interjection of the discourse marker *ay*, whose diphthong she extended, underlined this lack of confidence in her English fluency. *Ay* in particular reinforced her frustration since this discourse particle marks pain, worry, or vexation in Spanish. This contrasted sharply then with the possible, positive feelings that fluency in English could bring about in her.

In this last excerpt from our interview, Gaos was highly aware of the speech communities to which she belonged, one more fully than the other. In her classroom, she

moved between these positionalities as she balanced instructing students directly, modeling language use, and eliciting student participation, all through her use of language. Moreover, her use of language, from its complexity to the linguistic code itself, changed depending on the course level. She openly admitted that, according to some theories that she had encountered, she was aware that she should use the target language of Spanish exclusively when she taught, but that in “my classes four of my periods are delivered in English although I try I try it’s a Spanish 2 and I try to insert a lot of Spanish language.” She made this choice to use English primarily out of fear of student rejection of the material and the target language itself. In my classroom observations, I recorded much movement between English and Spanish by Gaos, not simply for content presentation but also for negotiation of meaning between the two languages. In other words, Gaos and her students often discussed the ways in which some grammatical concept was expressed in Spanish and what its equivalent, if one existed, might be in English.

In one specific lesson, Gaos found herself moving between different speech communities in one of her classrooms. In one period of second-year Spanish (elementary-intermediate), Gaos was presenting the personal possessive pronouns in Spanish (ex., *el mío/la mía, los míos/las mías*, etc.). In her presentation, she was doing several activities simultaneously: she was filling in a chart of this system on the whiteboard, she was giving examples using Spanish of complete sentences using the forms while moving around the classroom and using student items as props, and she was explaining the systemically grammatical differences using English. The following passage captured three general types of talk: teacher instruction, student response, and rupture between teacher-student.

FG1	{tapping her chest with open hand} we can say <i>mío</i> or we can say
FG2	<i>mía</i> or we can say {both hands open, palms raised} <i>míos</i> or we can
FG3	say <i>mías</i> so we four different ways of using this possessive what we
FG4	have four {holds up four fingers} Spanish have four in English how
FG5	many do you have {pointing her chin towards students}
John6	one
FG7	okay <i>muy bien</i> one you see how greedy we are
John8	oh for mine? yeah
FG9	you only have one and we have four
John10	well you can say my also
FG11	what? you can say what?
John12	never mind
FG13	you don't say mine's no
SS14	no mine's is not a word mine backpack my backpack
John15	that's different in Spanish because that's <i>mi</i>
FG16	yes <i>exacto muy bien</i>
John17	i guess it would be like backpack mine
FG18	<i>muy bien</i> [John] {affirmatively pumping fist} okay so this is mine
FG19	<i>donde está mi libro</i> what would you say if I come here <i>dame mi</i>
FG20	<i>libro no?</i> okay
John21	<i>es porque es mío</i>

FG22	okay you see it's mine <i>es mío</i> so we have four of them and we can
FG23	choose <i>mío mía míos mías</i> {right hand flashing four fingers; neck
FG24	moving left to right; smiling} and you guys only have one and we
FG25	have four you see? with the second box how many-
S ₂ 26	why do you keep saying you guys and you don't say English
FG27	well yeah I do I do actually {waves hands; furrows face} yeah but
FG28	you know you know I always say this you guys you have in English
FG29	this and we have in Spanish that okay
S ₃ 30	yes
FG31	{nodding head} okay

Classroom Observation (2/14)

Gaos began this passage by using declarative sentences with the subject *we*, emphasizing the options that Spanish speakers have when using possessive pronouns. When she said this description (l. 1-4), she tapped her chest and moved back and forth within the space directly in front of the whiteboard and away from the students. When she asked the students how many forms of the personal possessive “do you have” (l. 4-5), she moved directly in front of the first row of desks, weaving back and forth between two desks in the center of the front row. This movement was significant because it created a shift between zones for Gaos in relationship to her students. In lines 1-4, she occupied a zone that did not include them and that focused on the Spanish forms that Spanish speakers (who were not necessarily her students) used. In the next two lines, she crossed the boundary of that self-created zone to enter the space where her students sat. Students responded by engaging with her questions and descriptions once she was in the same zone as they. Over the course of this lesson, she moved between these zones but remained physically closer to her students than in the beginning of this passage.

Later in this passage (l. 23-24), she underscored once again the different communities, this time smiling and moving her face and neck in a way that revealed a pride in the variety of possessive forms available in Spanish that are absent in English. At this moment in the lesson, she moved back to the whiteboard, distancing herself from the students. The combination of her statements and questions, the deictics *we* and *you*, and her changing use of space and of her body reinforced two speech communities, which then created two types of divisions.

The first division was between Spanish speakers (*we*) and English speakers (*you*), both of whom were present in the classroom, regarding their possessive pronoun selection. The second division was between Filomena Gaos, self-positioned as the expert representative of Spanish speakers, and her students, broadly positioned as representatives of English. This second position was problematic since it elided the linguistic differences among the students in the class, and not simply between Spanish and English speakers. It also elided the distinctions within the English-speaking community (all included in *you*) since some students in that class also spoke African American Vernacular English, in which the possessive pronoun *mine's* is a viable option, but which Gaos and one of her students dismissed in her translation (l. 12-13).

At first, student speakers, especially John (l. 6, 8, 10, 15, 17, 21), went along with these distinctions as they were negotiating the meaning of the Spanish system. Gaos's interactions with John and other students reinforced the contrastive analysis that was

happening in the classroom. As John took up Gaos's examples and clarifications, she approved his meaning negotiation (l. 16, 18), reinforcing the lesson's focus on forms. At this moment in classroom talk, Gaos restated twice that "we [Spanish speakers] have four of them and we can choose *mío mía míos mías*, and you guys only have one and we have four you see?" This reassertion prompted another student to question her use of deictics: "why do you keep saying you guys and you don't say English." This *you* singles out Gaos specifically, reinforcing the separation that she had caused between herself and the students. Additionally, when this student interrupted Gaos to identify her use of these pronouns, Gaos had positioned herself away from the students and next to the whiteboard. In responding to the question (l. 27-29), she reapproached the students, moving away from the board.

In describing the four ways to say "my" in Spanish, Gaos displayed positionalities that passed by some students and upset others. It was through her use of English in talking about the Spanish language, English speakers, and Spanish speakers that she positioned her second-year Spanish students as the Other, especially as speakers of a less creative language (suggested by her gestures and emphasis in l. 22-24). When her student questioned her, he was doing several things with his utterance. He was asking for information: the reason for using those pronouns in describing the two languages. He was also putting into question her choice of those pronouns and their divisive effect on him, and potentially on his peers. That he asked the question at all and that Gaos took it up revealed an underlying relationship that I had observed in all of Gaos's classes: many of Gaos's students viewed her as an ally and mentor, if not an outright member of their community. Their feelings resulted from Gaos's reaffirmation of their learning and participation in class, which allowed for many voices to be heard and which approached language learning as a cooperative experience. In other instances when Gaos used "we," it frequently marked all class members, including herself. Her student's reaction against her use in this particular sequence underscored the disturbance to what he sensed was normal in her class: the "we" that was all-inclusive, not exclusionary within the walls of the classroom.

6.4.2 Playing with Words, Playing with Language

When I asked Filomena Gaos to describe some of her childhood memories of using Spanish, she told me that her mother, also a teacher, loved to do crossword puzzles and instilled this love in her daughter. In describing what interested her about crossword puzzles in particular, she stated that:

it was **words** they were **words** just words but I liked the challenging of learning new words the challenging of figuring out how the words worked so that's one of my first memories of enjoying with words (Interview, 2/14)

It was the acquisition of new lexical items that engaged Gaos in this memory. This acquisition was challenging for her, and she liked that challenge. Part of the challenge and part of the enjoyment stemmed from the design of this activity: the crossword puzzle itself. This type of wordplay became a motif in the descriptions of her love of language and, later, in her pedagogical practices as a Spanish teacher.

Gaos continued her description of wordplay by citing a favorite teacher who inspired her love for language:

another one was a great teacher that I had when I was in high school she was my literature and language teacher and she was really an inspiration for me because I really enjoyed that class and then I really realized that I really loved languages and I love the uh reading and and **playing** with the words (Interview, 2/14)

Gaos remembered that, in the context of this high school class, she “really realized that I really loved languages...and playing with the words.” The coordinated structure of the sentence “I really loved languages and I love the uh reading and and **playing** with the words” placed playing with words on par with loving languages and loving reading, but she singled out “playing” by emphasizing it strongly. Her response suggested that, for her, playing with words and language is part and parcel of loving them, and she demonstrated this statement of hers in some of her classroom lessons, as we shall see. Significantly as well, in both these remembrances, it was two women teachers who inspired her love for “playing with the words,” one of whom was her mother. Those two roles—teacher and mother—appeared prominently in her classroom as she negotiated students’ learning needs in a context of support and evaluation, occasionally fraught with tension between those two.

In order to engage her learners and introduce different learning methods into her lessons, Gaos used different types of language games and prompts in her classes. Alongside textbook-based lessons, Gaos used open-ended questions; multiplayer, grammar games; and Spanish proverbs, or *refranes*, to get her students to see some of the deeper structures of Spanish in creative ways.

6.4.3 *Los cubos cubanos: Una tía generosa*

In one second-year class, Gaos used soft, hand-sized cubes to help students construct sentences with the given subject *Una tía generosa* (Eng., “a generous aunt/gal”). On the sides of the cubes were personal pronoun subjects, personal pronoun indirect object pronouns and verb infinitives. The cubes also had illustrations of substantives, such as bottles of water and sports equipment. With these cubes, Gaos invited the students to play a game called *los cubos cubanos*. For the game, students moved from their rows of desks into groups of three or four, and each group had one cube. Their task was to create as many logical and grammatical sentences in Spanish with the base words on the cube and the subject *Una tía generosa*. The following interaction provided an example of how students took up the game and how Gaos monitored their play:

FG1	{holding up picture word cubes} <i>agua</i>	{holding up picture word cubes} water
FG2	<i>yo</i> what’s the sentence going to be?	I what’s the sentence going to be?
Ss3	Por lo general mi tía XX compraba me	In general my aunt XX used to buy me
Ss4	compraba	used to buy
FG5	{frowning her brow; pointing towards	{frowning her brow; pointing towards
FG6	sentence on white board} okay louder	sentence on white board} okay louder

Ss7	me compraba un agua una agua un	used to buy me a water a water a water
Ss8	agua a mi padre	for my father
FG9	{gesturing with the cube face that says	{gesturing with the cube face that says
FG10	“yo”} a mi padre?	“yo”} for my father?
Ss11	a mí a mí	for me for me
FG12	a mí a mí mi padre okay so	for me for me my father okay so
S ₁ 13	can't you just say <i>por lo general mi tía</i>	can't you just say in general my aunt
S ₁ 14	<i>me compraba una agua</i>	used to buy me water
FG15	yeah that's true actually that's what we	yeah that's true actually that's what we
FG16	say but as we are pra-practicing this we	say but as we are pra-practicing this we
FG17	are going to repeat <i>a mí</i> or so	are going to repeat to me or so

Classroom Observation (2/14)

Gaos led the students through the first sentence-creation exercise by showing them one substantive on which they were to focus their attention (l. 1). Students then had to create the correct morphology of the verb *comprar* in the past imperfective and figure out where to place the indirect object pronoun *me* (l. 3-4, 7). Finally, students had to decide on a matching indirect object prepositional phrase, which was *a mí*, and where to place that prepositional phrase. Several students at first provided an illogical phrase (l. 8), which Gaos questioned and whose correct answer she reinforced with her hand-held prop (l. 9-10). A chorus of students then correctly identified the phrase, which Gaos affirmed (l. 11-12).

The addition of another student voice in the next conversational turn introduced competing speech communities into this talk. In lines 13-14, one student, whom Gaos later confirmed was a heritage speaker of Spanish, questioned the necessity of the prepositional phrase at the end of the model sentence. He provided another model sentence, dropping the *a mí* phrase, also grammatically possible. Gaos acknowledged the correctness of his sentence, but reasserted the preeminence of the class-constructed sentence for this particular lesson (l. 15-17).

Several interesting moments of meaning-making occurred in this talk. The closed activity with cubes led students and the teacher to negotiate meaning, but, from Gaos's perspective, there was one model sentence that she was seeking (l. 9-10, 12, 15-17). Her desired sentence contained both the first person singular indirect object pronoun, *me*, and the matching indirect object prepositional phrase, *a mí*. In a standard variety of Spanish, the prepositional phrase in this particular sentence is unnecessary syntactically and semantically; there is no ambiguity in who is the recipient of the water.⁴⁷ Pragmatically, however, the phrase emphasizes the recipient, as if to say “me and only me.” Pedagogically, Gaos's insistence on the fully expanded form made it clear the function of the indirect object pronoun to her students. Her Spanish-speaking student's question resisted the pedagogical realness of Gaos's model sentence and asserted a more common form used in less formal registers.

⁴⁷ This is not always the case, however, in the third person indirect object pronominal system. Depending on context, the third person singular/plural indirect object pronouns *le/les* could refer to “to/for you/him/her” (singular) and “to/for you/them masc. or fem.” (plural). In such cases, an added prepositional phrase at the end of the clause disambiguates the sentence.

This exchange between two speakers of Spanish, one of whom was a student, also highlighted the different speech communities in the classroom. As we saw in Gaos's use of "we" in teaching the Spanish possessive pronouns (see section 6.4.1), the first person pronoun "we" indexed different groups to which Gaos belonged. Similar to that other lesson, the "we" in this lesson shifted referents. In responding to the heritage speaker's query, Gaos affirms the possibility of his sentence but clarifies for him and the other listening students that "yeah that's true actually that's what we say but as we are [...] practicing this we are going to repeat *a mí*." She was addressing both the one student in question as well as all of the students in the classroom, and these different interlocutors formed, with her, different but overlapping speech communities.

In reviewing the video of this lesson, Gaos described that "when I say 'we' I meant Spanish people the first time." She continued, clarifying that, by "Spanish people," she meant "Spaniards": "I'm not gonna repeat all time we Spanish people we Spanish people if I was American probably I would say **Spaniards** do this but as I am **Spanish** I am part of this language of course this culture" (her emphasis). Gaos strongly affirmed her Spanish national, linguistic, and cultural identity in this description. This particular affirmation both overlapped with and separated her from the heritage speaker's possible identification: his use of Spanish and physical appearance suggested that he was of Latin American descent, linguistically and ethnically. In the classroom, her first use of "we" suggested a linguistic kinship between teacher and students: "we" both speak Spanish, and "we" can use this shortened form of the sentence. However, in her reflection on that interaction, she insisted not only on her Spanish-speaking identity but also on her Spanish-national identity; the former attribute united her potentially with her student whereas the latter distinguished, and potentially separated, her from him.

The "we" in line 16 indexed another group, however, to which both Gaos and the native speaker student belonged: the class community. In our post-observation interview, Gaos singled out this use of "we," saying "in this case it was 'we the classroom'... as we are practicing this 'we as stu-' we right now." This was no longer the "we" as speakers of Spanish (specifically, from Spain) but "we" as Spanish language learners in that particular setting. In that context, the heritage speakers of the class were also language learners insofar as they, alongside their peers, were developing literacy skills in academic Spanish. Gaos's insistence on the expanded form of the sentence *por lo general mi tía me compraba una agua a mí* reinforced the student acquisition of the indirect object pronoun *me*. The sentence served as a display sentence reflecting Gaos's pedagogical intent to teach the indirect object pronominal system.

On the surface, this ludic, language learning activity was a game that engaged students visually, orally, and kinesthetically. As Gaos claimed at the end of this slice of the lesson, she did have a specific sentence in mind that she intended her students to create. A question from one of her native speaker students pushed the activity in a new direction: from being simply a morpho-syntactic exercise, it became about pragmatic meaning-making. This question also pushed Gaos to reassert her identity as a speaker of Spanish, and, in our subsequent interview, as a representative speaker of *castellano*, the Spanish from Spain. Her reassertion suggested a complicated relationship with her students, particularly her native speakers. Her response "actually that's what we say" indexed a speech community that connected her to other native speakers, but her subsequent self-identification as a part of "the Spanish people...Spaniards" might have

distanced her from these same native speakers, who displayed Latin American identities. In the end, the strongest identity that she enacted and that closed this sequence of talk was that of the expert teacher, insisting on a particular written form so that students could understand and learn an academically appropriate way to communicate.

6.4.4 *Los refranes*

Gaos's use of *refranes*, proverbs or traditional sayings, in her classes provoked much analysis and discussion among her students and offered them a cultural context for their language learning. Additionally, Gaos and her students approached the proverbs as a form of wordplay, in which they had to decode the sayings on all linguistic levels, from lexical meanings to their pragmatics. In one period of the AP Spanish class, the students used these sayings as warm-up activities at the beginning of class.⁴⁸ Gaos intended this particular warm up for students to display communicative competence; moreover, the activity had playful and social participation at the heart of it.

In their first encounter with the individual *refranes* they were assigned, students moved around the room, each with a different saying, and they had to read the saying to other students and find someone with a different saying that had a similar meaning.⁴⁹ The activity required students to talk to each other in Spanish, negotiate the meaning of their proverbs, make comparisons and contrasts, and then report back to the whole class. While students were performing these actions, Gaos circulated among them, helping with vocabulary and asking questions that would assist them in moving from the literal meanings of the words to the figurative sense of the sayings.

One particular *refrán* proved to be difficult for students to map onto English: *La avaricia rompe el saco*.⁵⁰ Students were able to translate it, word-for-word, but, when their teacher asked them to identify an English equivalent, they struggled to find the right semantic fit:

FG1	oooo: como qué refrán se utiliza en una	oooo: how which saying is used in a
FG2	situación como esa: □	situation like that one □
S ₁ 3	la avaricia [rompe el saco]	greed [breaks the bag]
FG4	[la avaricia] rompe el saco	[greed] breaks the bag
S ₁ 5	dang	dang
FG6	dang {covers mouth with left hand}	dang {covers mouth with left hand}
FG7	{laughing}	{laughing}
Ss8	{laughing} Ms. G	{laughing} Ms. G
FG9	hay alguna expresión en inglés que	is there any expression in English that you
FG10	vosotros utilizaríais en este caso?	would use in this instance
S ₂ 11	a lot	a lot
FG12	no well pero que sea más o menos-	no well but that would be more or less

⁴⁸ Gaos called these activities *calientamotores* (lit. “motor-warmers”), a substantive that she created metaphorically, inspired by the memory of warming up her father’s car when she was a child.

⁴⁹ The *refranes* were the following: *Aunque la mona se vista de seda, mon se queda*; *Dios los cría y ellos se juntan*; *A dios rogando y con el mazo dando*; *Más vale pájaro en mano que ciento volando*; *Cuando el río suena, agua lleva*; *Más sabe el diablo por viejo que por diablo*; *Perro labrador, nunca buen mordedor*; *Cría cuervos y te sacarán los ojos*; *A quien madruga, Dios le ayuda*; *La avaricia rompe el saco*.

⁵⁰ This means, literally, “Greed breaks the bag.”

S ₃ 13	no no no puedo pensar en esto como	no no I can't think of this like
S ₃ 14	cuando	when
H15	when you put your hand in the pickle	when you put your hand in the pickle
H16	jar?	jar?
S ₄ 17	yeah	yeah
S ₃ 18	cuando cuando	when when
FG19	the what? the more the better?	the what? the more the better?
S ₄ 10	oh yea:h	oh yea:h
FG21	the pickle jar	the pickle jar
S ₅ 22	well that's more like the more the	well that's more like the more the merrier
S ₅ 23	merrier but it's like-	but it's like-
FG24	-no cuánto más mejor cuánto más	-no how much much better how much more
FG25	tengas mejor mejor so-	you might have better better so-
S _s 26	-XX	-XX
FG27	that's very interesting guys because-	that's very interesting guys because-
S ₁ 28	-no no no no-	-no no no no-
FG29	-no it's muy interesante ver el contraste	-no it's very interesting to see the contrast
FG30	e:ste	this one
S ₅ 31	it's not what the more the merrier means	it's not what the more the merrier means
S ₆ 32	what's the pickle jar	what's the pickle jar
S ₇ 33	you put your hand in the jar for more	you put your hand in the jar for more but
S ₇ 34	but then your hand gets stuck	then your hand gets stuck
S ₅ 35	if you take one it doesn't get stuck but if	if you take one it doesn't get stuck but if
S ₅ 36	you try and take a bunch then it-	you try and take a bunch then it-
FG37	-so you have some sayings yes-	-so you have some sayings yes-
S ₅ 38	-yes-	-yes-
FG39	-so it's the same□	-so it's the same□
S ₈ 40	but it's just this story about this Jewish	but it's just this story about this Jewish
S ₈ 41	people-	people-
FG42	-no pero os dais cuenta□ os dais cuenta	-no but you realize□ you realize
FG43	entonces de que la avaricia rompe el	then that greed breaks the
FG44	saco es un refrán que se acomoda a la	bag is a saying that matches the
FG45	forma un poco de: de de la form- mm	form a little bit of of of the form mm
FG46	okay	okay
S ₉ 47	say it	say it
FG48	un poco de como es la cultura del país	a little of how the country's culture is
FG49	okay la avaricia rompe el saco como	okay greed breaks the bag like
FG50	quiere decir si tu quieres mucho□ al	means if you want a lot in the
FG51	final te vas a morir con todo con todo lo	end you are going to die with all with all
FG52	que tu quieres allí no seas avaro no seas	you may want here don't be greedy don't be
FG53	no quieras tanto yo me pregunto en	don't want so much I wonder in
FG54	inglés no hay una expresión que	English is there not an expression that
FG55	signifique más o menos lo mismo y que	may mean more or less the same and that
FG56	aconseje no ser avaricioso	may advise not to be greedy
S ₃ 57	no no seas avarXX	no don't be greedy
FG58	no sabes muchos refranes	you (sing. inf.) don't know many sayings

FG59	okay vamos al siguiente okay vamos al	okay let's go on okay let's go
FG60	solamente al siguiente XX la clase	only on XX the class
FG61	mañana continuaremos con esto	tomorrow we'll continue with this

Classroom Observation (2/14)

Gaos opened up the whole-class review of the *refranes* by asking students to identify which saying would be used in a discussion about greed (l. 1-2). As one student began to respond correctly (l. 3), Gaos echoed her and provided the full saying (l. 4). That student then exclaimed, “Dang,” which Gaos repeated, covering her mouth and then laughing, seemingly because she repeated the slang discourse marker (l. 5-7). After another student said her name in a good-natured, mocking way (l. 8), Gaos then switched the topic of discussion. For the rest of this talk, Gaos initiated a discussion about possible English equivalents to *La avaricia rompe el saco*.

The discussion showed participant activity by Gaos and the students in co-constructing linguistic and cultural meaning through using English and Spanish. When Gaos asked the class if English had an expression that English speakers (addressed as *vosotros*) would use in the same situation (l. 9-10), a student responded, “A lot” (l. 11). Trying to find matching figurative expressions in English, students murmured in the background during the primary interactions. It was not until another student, Heather (H), provided “when you put your hand in the pickle jar” that the class had one specific sentence whose meaning they then negotiated (l. 14-17). Gaos also picked up on a phrase that someone else had whispered, “the more, the better,” which another student analyzed and rephrased as “the more, the merrier,” which was eventually rejected by another classmate (l. 21-27). In lines 26 and 28-29, Gaos remarked to the students that identifying a linguistic and a cultural contrast between English and Spanish was interesting, her first remark being in English then repeating it in Spanish. Gaos indicated to students how a *refrán* reflected the specific cultural context in which it was said (l. 44-47, 49), a goal of this lesson that Gaos later identified in our interview. Gaos concluded this lesson on proverbs by emphasizing the moral lesson of *La avaricia rompe el saco* (l. 49-53). She did so entirely in Spanish, which reasserted her authority as an expert Spanish speaker, after codeswitching between Spanish and English. Use of the latter language permitted English-speaking students to position themselves as expert language users. In this uninterrupted Spanish sequence, she repeated imperative sentences, using the *tú* form, which personalized the saying: it made each individual student a recipient of the wisdom in the saying.

During this discussion, Gaos was repeating, translating, and leading students in a negotiation for a clear match in English to the original Spanish saying. Her activities encouraged the participation of many members of the class, whose responses resembled those of in a guessing game. Students and teacher were playing with language in two different languages; they were all crossing linguistic boundaries while weaving the two together through their discussion and language use.

Gaos indexed aspects of her own linguistic identity during this lesson. Her use of certain Spanish phonetic and verb forms marked her role as the teacher eliciting participation from her students. In lines 2 and 29, Gaos elongated certain vowels that Spanish speakers often do in questions that require a response. Additionally, her use of the second-person *tú* forms (l. 50-53) reinforced her speaking directly to her students in

providing moral imperatives. Gaos's own status as an English language learner was revealed in her insistence on finding an equivalent proverb in English and in her direct statement "yo me pregunto en inglés [si] hay una expresión que signifique más o menos lo mismo." Significantly, she codeswitched into English at particular moments in the discourse when she, as English language learner, asked her students, as English experts, to provide an answer to her very real question. When she asked students if an equivalent expression existed, her desire came from her own lack of knowledge about English sayings (as reinforced by her use of the present subjunctive *signifique* in the dependent clause); she was not asking simply for a pedagogical purpose but from her own desire to learn as a non-native speaker of English. Students—who had been positioned and had positioned themselves as less legitimate speakers of Spanish—occupied the position of being English experts, i.e., teacher and students switching roles with each other. During our final interview, she iterated this point while reflecting on this lesson.

6.5 Discussion and Looking Ahead

The data in this chapter provide real examples of the links between the classroom behaviors of Spanish and French teachers and their own identities as multilingual subjects. These links, made clear in the teachers' post-observation commentary on their own classroom practices, contribute to the undeveloped understanding of how L2 teachers of Spanish and French view and do their work. The understanding that teachers' prior socialization into language use, whether through politics, performance, or games, directly affects the ways in which they use and present Spanish and French in the classroom responds to gaps in prior literature in the field of applied linguistics, particularly in language and identity, second language teacher education, and Hispanic linguistics. For example, what became apparent, even before the final interviews, were the diverse ways in which each focal teacher's languages framed their autobiographical reflections and classroom practices. Some of these ways were explicit: Pankin's linguistic metalanguage in English to teach French to his students, as if it were primarily the object of academic study; Simpson's use of political history to describe contact between competing indigenous groups and between Spanish *conquistadores* and indigenous peoples of Mexico. Other ways were implicit but reflected experiences described in their first interviews: both Simpson's and Gaos's explanations of linguistic variation and its role, if any, in their classrooms; Pankin's framing of the thinking in the subjunctive as a performance. These findings are significant for research on the linguistics histories and practices of French and Spanish L2 teachers, heretofore mostly absent in empirical studies but echoing those in prior research on ESL/EFL teachers and learners (especially Castro et al., 2004; Danielewicz, 2001; Johnson and Golombek, 2002, 2011a, 2011b; Ritchie and Wilson, 2000).

It became apparent that the focal subjects' use of the target languages formed linguistic communities in their classrooms that created groups of insiders and outsiders. These communities and the language that formed them were different in each space, influenced strongly by the teachers' relationship to the target language. For Simpson, using Spanish, peppered with Nahuatl, exclusively in the clips that I captured, made Spanish central in the classroom and modeled a multilingualism that was part of both Mexico's cultural history as well as her own. Pankin showed his ownership of French

through very specific and limited uses of it in class that he monitored. Since his classroom instruction was in English, except when French was used in a sample text, the moments when he used French spontaneously came at performative moments: a tongue-twister that he modeled for his students, subjunctive sentences expressing his desire for student behavior and participation. For Gaos, growing up as a member of politically distinct but culturally related linguistic communities influenced her understanding of who could say what in which contexts. This came out most strongly in her use of personal deictic markers with her students, the shifting “we” that marked who was in a specific linguistic community and who was not. All three of these teachers, in moving in and out of different linguistic communities, also moved between being central and peripheral participants in the activities happening in their classrooms. They were subjects on the edge of these different communities, volleying among them, sometimes only on the periphery themselves or situating their students on the periphery, looking in.

The next chapter puts into dialogue the findings from the surveys and the case studies, moving to a larger ecology in which I argue for the interrelationships between the linguistic identities of Spanish and French L2 teachers and what they do with language in their classrooms. In adding in an examination of schools’ learning expectations to the discussion of L2 teachers’ lives and professional practices, we can arrive at a more complete picture of L2 teachers’ identification processes and classroom practices.

Chapter 7 Becoming and Remaining a Teacher of L2 Spanish and French

7.1 Introduction

The present study sought to respond to the following core questions:

1. In what ways do teachers of Spanish and of French in California reflect on their identities as users and instructors of the language(s) they teach?
2. How do the classroom lessons and behaviors of Spanish and French teachers compare to their own identities as multilingual subjects?

The study was designed to represent L2 teachers of Spanish and French in their own words, in their own professional spaces. Mixed methods—namely, survey collection, one-on-one interviews, and classroom observations—provided data that captured much, but not all, of the dynamism that occurred in those instructional spaces. In recording and investigating the professional lives, personal histories, and linguistic repertoires of the study's participants, the study, in sum, showed the following key results:

1. Survey answers strongly reflected the pleasure that L2 French and Spanish teachers took in their work, particularly in their interaction with students and their tracking of student growth.
2. The survey responses and focal subject interviews showed that these teachers' linguistic identification processes were dynamic and constructed over time, impacted by pivotal social and cultural experiences of the languages they teach.
3. The comparison of the classroom lessons and behaviors of Spanish and French teachers to the description of their linguistic identities revealed a strong relationship between the ways in which the teachers had learned to use the languages they taught and the pedagogical choices they made in their classrooms.
4. The focal teachers reported an experience of distinction connected to degrees of marginalization in the early years of using their native languages and then learning to use subsequent ones.
5. The focal subjects' use of the target languages during their classroom lessons formed linguistic communities in their classrooms that created groups of insiders and outsiders.

In describing the teachers' linguistic identification processes, the study resists two polarizing tendencies. The first one is a description of identity that is fixed and neatly categorized by a set of features that do not change. The other is a tendency to describe vaguely the object of study; in other words, a tendency to avoid naming observable categories of how subjects come to be and how they change over time. Rather, the study recognizes that linguistic identification is a process, not of a set of fixed categories, but as "an ongoing social and political [one]" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 376). The nature of the present study, which combined the survey and the case studies, allowed the time to capture and situate each subject's making sense of language *through* language. In their own words, the subjects' sense-making revealed the social and political forces that impacted their L1 and L2 use.

Teachers of Spanish and French in California face complex challenges unique to the types of courses that they teach. These challenges include not only facilitating students' engagement with languages and cultures different from an English-speaking U.S. one but also justifying the necessity and the potentiality of world language education in the total school curriculum. Professionally, foreign and second language teachers, like their colleagues in other disciplines, must find ways to respond to the demands and constraints of formal schooling, most represented by their schools' learning outcomes, curriculum frameworks, and adopted curricula.

The teachers in this study, Dionne Simpson, Zeke Pankin, Filomena Gaos, and the 89 other respondents to the online survey, provided many accounts of how their personal and professional encounters with Spanish and French impacted their classroom instruction. Those narrativized accounts began to respond to the two research questions. To begin with, the study's participants positioned French and Spanish as more than linguistic systems that existed outside of social, cultural, and historical contexts. Indeed, data from the case studies of the three focal teachers offered insight into the inseparable network of language, society, and culture.

The three focal teachers had diverse linguistic repertoires that matched the composite profile of the survey participants. Simpson, Pankin, and Gaos had grown up with and later learned languages that corresponded to significant people and places in the course of their lives. For these teachers, professional and social context affected their selection and use of language, but it did not determine it. For example, all three teachers worked in English-medium schools, but, being teachers of other languages, they had the choice to move between languages if they chose, particularly in their classrooms. Simpson, for instance, described her choice to use Spanish in all-school faculty meetings when she was seated with her Spanish-speaking colleagues. In making that choice, she indexed her primary identity as a teacher of Spanish who felt an allegiance first to her fellow Spanish teachers, which is not to say that she also chose Spanish to address the whole faculty. English still was necessary in her life.

What of the relationship among L2 teachers' linguistic autobiographies, professional development, and pedagogical practices? How does the teaching of language and culture map onto their lesson plans? In Castro et al.'s (2004) study of L2 Spanish teachers' perceptions of the objectives of studying L2 Spanish, their findings indicated the following:

teachers may experience conflicting beliefs, another finding that has arisen from research of teachers' beliefs. On the one hand, they wanted to devote more teaching time to culture teaching. On the other hand, they felt frustrated they could not do so, mainly because of institutional constraints, but perhaps also because, deep in their hearts, they believed that teaching the language is more important than teaching intercultural competence. (p. 102)

In my study, institutional constraints emerged as a key motif in the final part of the survey (Chapter 4). Those constraints included schoolwide learning outcomes, L2 program objectives, state-approved curriculum, and school schedules. Additionally, those constraints framed the ways in which the teachers of Spanish and of French in California understood their identities as users and instructors of the languages they teach.

The power of institutional constraints for this study's subjects, however, differed among subjects and sites and was, in some cases, negotiable. For instance, Pankin's pedagogical practices and his reflections thereupon support Castro et al.'s (2004) finding regarding teachers' belief that "teaching the language is more important than teaching intercultural competence" (p. 102). On the other hand, Simpson's classroom behaviors push back against this, making culture the frame for all the observed language instruction as well as for her interview reflections. Gaos moves in a space somewhere between Pankin's and Simpson's practices depending on the level of the class (i.e., in AP Spanish she emphasizes culture through different text types and discussion topics vs. in Spanish 2 where grammatical structures drive instruction).

Survey respondents and the three focal teachers positioned themselves as social actors, or agents, with multiple competencies, alternately accepting, rejecting, and hybridizing social identities through their work and through their use of language. Those findings responded to the gaps in prior studies of both English L1 and other L2 teacher identities and practices (see especially Golombek and Johnson, 2011; Ritchie and Wilson, 2000; Varghese et al., 2005). As we turn to the final reflections from the survey and from this study's focal teachers, we examine how they defines themselves and their work within the tension that emerges from their ongoing linguistic identification processes, the possible invisibility of their programs, some teachers' rejection of a neoliberal idea of language learning, administrative constraints on their teaching, and creative possibilities in their content-based instruction.

7.2 The Survey

The online survey captured snapshots of the respondents' early experiences with the languages that they were presently teaching in light of their identity construction. These snapshots were revealed in their quantifiable responses and their written narratives, which provided a more general foundation of how language teachers viewed themselves as language users and instructors. The answers and narratives also provided specific moments that I could then use as a basis for comparison during the subsequent case studies, which would then provide answers to the second research question. Guided by the survey's organization, teachers focused on their lifelong experiences with the different languages in their lives, reflecting on their uses and on significant moments defined by the languages. The individual responses of these L2 teachers of Spanish or French, taken together, led to the following findings:

1. The respondents tended to isolate context and audience design as the key factors affecting their language use;
2. The respondents occupied subject positions at their schools that were often unclearly defined within their schools' total educational program and schoolwide learning goals;
3. As teachers of languages that were not the dominant academic languages at their sites of employment, many respondents found themselves on the margins of their schools' core programs;

4. The respondents identified the pleasure they took in their work, particularly in their interaction with students and their tracking of student growth in and enjoyment of L2 learning.

The nature of these findings suggests the complexity of L2 teachers' sense of themselves in the context of their work environments. With other bi/multilingual individuals and in L2 learning environments, respondents overall found an ease in navigating their language use (context and audience design). Switching contexts changed the game: when among non-Spanish or French-speaking colleagues or administrators, their language use changed. Also, in mixed groups of L1 and L2 speakers of the group's dominant language, their own sense of power varied, depending on their speaker status. This marginality suggested a sort of liminality, of being on the threshold between different worlds. If most respondents described complicated relationships with colleagues, administrators, and other speakers of Spanish or French, they overwhelmingly concluded that their classroom interactions with students and their ability to use the target language gave them pleasure.

What was not surprising about the findings was the participants' strong emphasis on audience design in their description of language use. Their survey and interview reflections exemplified Hymes's (1966) description and Goffman's (1981) elaboration of audience design as an element of communicative competence and participation. Moreover, the focal teachers believed, as they revealed in post-observation interviews, that their classroom use of language was keyed to, or designed for, student understanding. The role of the target language differed in that design process, in surprising ways. Simpson selected only Spanish to use with her students of all levels. Pankin selected English as the main language to use with his students of all levels, with French being the focal language only in practice exercises. Gaos selected English as the primary language of instruction for her lower-level classes and Spanish for her advanced classes. Although all three instructors had been trained in the communicative method, which emphasizes use of the target language, all the focal teachers still chose the classroom language based on their relationship with the target language and their perceptions of what students needed for understanding.

These key findings provided a relational model of the respondents' identification processes. The model used in this study was based on the network of teachers' linguistic histories, L2 learning beliefs, classroom practices, and school environments. These respondents described their identities as multilingual L2 teachers through connecting their learning and teaching to significant people and events throughout their lives. It was in the recording of their descriptions of these relationships that their identification processes and identities became visible. This theoretical, networked model of identity became a testable methodological model in conducting the three case studies. The methods of survey collection, pre-observation interviews, classroom observations, and post-observation interviews allowed me to return to each data source to triangulate, or compare, the findings. For instance, the theme of significant language learning moments that came out of the focal teachers' interview narratives could then be compared to the results in the first two sections of the survey. Additionally, the post-observation interviews offered the focal teachers the time and space to respond to moments of their classroom language use.

7.3 The Focal Teachers

In turning to Dionne Simpson, Zeke Pankin, and Filomena Gaos, the focal teachers of this study, I analyzed, through their negotiation of life events, teaching beliefs, classroom behaviors, and school expectations, how they constructed their identities as teachers of Spanish or French. This negotiation included the possibility of their acceptance of, resistance to, or reframing of these factors, and, in some contexts, a combination of these factors. Interestingly, these teachers revealed their thoughts about the place of language instruction in their schools differently through different media since they all had the opportunities to express themselves online, through the survey and personal emails; in class, through their pedagogical practices; and, individually, in semi-structured interviews.

The three focal teachers of the study shared one thing in common regarding one aspect of their language program's place in their school sites: they did not directly address the existence of or the impact on their teaching of any state-sponsored standardized expectations in our conversations or in their instruction. Two of the teachers, Dionne Simpson and Filomena Gaos, teach in the same public high school, East Bay Mechanical High School (EBMHS), which is part of a public school district and therefore supported by state and federal funding. The third teacher, Zeke Pankin, teaches in a diocesan Roman Catholic high school, guided by the local diocese's curriculum guidelines but not subject to state or diocesan funding. Funding comes instead from tuition and donors. My observations in their classrooms did not include the proctoring of any state-mandated standardized tests; rather, all assessment that I observed was teacher-created and specific to individual tasks. Additionally, in our interviews, none of the teachers discussed their perceptions of where their language programs and thus their teaching fit into the schools' total program.

Although Common Core, state frameworks or diocesan guidelines, and schoolwide learning outcomes were not central, if mentioned, in our conversations, all the focal teachers found ways to respond to the diverse beliefs of different school community members (including their own) about the place of their L2 instruction in their locales. Implicitly, for example, subtle differences in their classroom decorations and in their survey responses reflected a range of reactions to the place of L2 instruction in their sites and in California. Since each of these focal teachers exerted independence in the set up and decoration of their classrooms, their choices reflected some of their beliefs about what framed, if not directly influenced, their instruction of French or Spanish. For Simpson and Pankin, they provided direct answers to questions about the learning of second and foreign languages at their schools and any needs that their program might have to remain vital. These responses, taken with the decoration of their classrooms, provided analyzable data about their program's position in a larger context.

7.2.1 Dionne Simpson

Simpson's pedagogical practices in her Spanish classroom revealed many things about her identity as a subject whose multilingual practices inhabit every part of her life. Through her choice of historically rooted and politically engaged materials to present, Dionne Simpson imparted knowledge to her students, but she was doing more: she gave

her students something that might have represented ways out of restricting contexts, such as a monolingual speech community. Simpson herself sought ways out of situations where she felt boxed in at different moments in her life trajectory. As she identified in our first interview, she was still both language learner and teacher; her learning bled into her teaching of Spanish, and this positioned her as a subject who easily identified with her Spanish-learning students.

For Simpson, language was never a set of skills simply to be memorized and tested; rather, language provided connections and disconnections to different groups of users. First as a mainstream English teacher, she perceived an irreconcilable gap between the academic, literary English she taught and the different varieties that students used in class. Rather than connecting to that classroom speech community, Simpson sought another community through the use of Spanish. Unlike French, in which she had advanced fluency but which she associated with impenetrable and effete literature, Spanish linked her to communities grappling with political and social unrest. Spanish enabled her to manifest her desire to participate in those particular communities, especially in Nicaragua and Mexico. As she described her use of Spanish in political organizing meetings for Nicaragua in the 1980s, she hinted at a symbolic competence that she felt she possessed in Spanish, which moved her more than any competence in French or English.⁵¹ In those meetings, she appropriated Spanish and did things with the language that made it feel like “hers,” in her own estimation.

The focal lessons in this case study (variation in Spanish and Mexican history) amplified Simpson’s voice, agency, and choice as a teacher and user of Spanish, a non-native language for her. These particular lessons also highlighted important moments from her personal history. Her lessons and interview reflections on variation in Spanish indexed her own learning of Spanish in both formal and informal settings (classroom, academic, literary, political organizing, traveling, living in northern California). The Spanish language as a concept was not monolithic for her: it was complex, real people used it in real contexts to communicate certain things. However, her own primal use of the language was framed by those early, very personal and political contexts. Certain varieties of Spanish (namely, Argentine and Iberian *castellano*) were not *her* Spanishes. Finally, her presentation of non-standard, unofficial Latin American histories (i.e., early Mexican civilizations) reinforced her clearly stated belief that all these histories should matter for her students, not just the ones that the textbook sanctioned.

It was in Simpson’s classroom where she manifested her own multilingual symbolic competence and her desire for her students to develop their own. In her self-designed lessons on pre-Colombian Mexico, she demonstrated her ability to “shape the very context in which the language is learned and used” (Kramsch and Whiteside, 2008, p. 664). For Simpson, the context was a 21st century, L2 Spanish classroom in a California high school. None of those elements escaped her notice: she used her classroom to address contemporary political and social inequalities through the use of Spanish-language texts, including songs, novellas, and essays. For example, Simpson had students read excerpts from Galeano’s short stories and essays in order to see constructions using the conditional and imperfect subjunctive—and to learn about the

⁵¹ I employ Kramsch and Whiteside’s (2009) understanding of *symbolic competence*: “the ability not only to approximate or appropriate for oneself someone else’s language, but to shape the very context in which the language is learned and used” (p. 664).

economically, socially, and politically charged relationships between the United States and Latin America.

Additionally, her instruction of grammar also demonstrated sensitivity to linguistic variation within Spanish, especially for heritage learners. For instance, in the classroom moment when a heritage student of Spanish used a primarily oral, nonstandard form of the imperfect subjunctive (“*trajieras*”) and was immediately questioned by an L2 Spanish student, Simpson clarified both usages. She provided, essentially, a functionalist description of the variation in the imperfect subjunctive: in standard varieties of (primarily written) formal Spanish, speakers tend to select the form *trajeras*; in nonstandard, regional (primarily spoken), informal Spanish, speakers could also select the form *trajieras*. I contend that Simpson was able to create this discussion in her classroom because she had experienced Spanish in a variety of settings in her personal and professional life. Her clarification resulted, arguably, from her own learning to see herself “through ...her own embodied history and subjectivity and through the history and subjectivity of others” (Kramsch and Whiteside, 2008, p. 668).

Through these lessons and over the course of our emails and conversations, Dionne Simpson presented herself as a professional woman who had integrated her multilingualism through every aspect of her life. Her multilingualism was not tied just to language itself (although that was at the heart of her chosen profession); she linked it to her identity as a middle-class Euro-American woman and to the places in which Spanish was the dominant language for living. Additionally, her sense of self as an expert user of Spanish was not linked solely to her acquisition of native-like phonology and morpho-syntax. Indeed, her accent and the types of her spoken grammatical errors indicated her status as an L2 user of Spanish. Simpson demonstrated, nevertheless, a symbolic competence in Spanish, understanding not only how and where different varieties of the language operated but also how context framed the shifting power of the language itself. Theoretically, Spanish was the only language of power in this foreign language class since it was the target language and Simpson’s classroom talk was exclusively in Spanish. In practice, though, Spanish volleyed for power among English, the official language of the school and still the primary one her students used in the classroom to discuss cultural content, and other languages of the Spanish-speaking world that peppered Simpson’s lessons. Simpson’s knowledge of Nahuatl, her familiarity with Catalan, and her awareness of indigenous histories positioned her as a multidimensional expert in her classroom. She was not *just* a foreign language teacher, but also a teacher of culture, history, politics, and art.

Of the three focal teachers, Dionne Simpson positioned herself as the strongest resister to the expectations of people outside of her classroom. For example, her classroom décor demonstrated her resistance to putting up the standardized materials that she could have displayed on its walls. As I looked around the room, I knew that I was in a Spanish-language classroom, but, without seeing the textbook itself, I did not know what the official scope and sequence were until students produced the book during class. Instead of the posters and maps that had accompanied the entire package of the textbook *Realidades*, Simpson had affixed posters of political and artistic indigenous artifacts from her personal collection.⁵² The maps that she had put on the walls were from *National*

⁵² The textbook represents the standardized Spanish program, adopted by the department and purchased by the school as one of the state-approved textbooks. Since EBMHS is a public school, it must adopt these

Geographic en español, not the bilingual ones that came in the textbook set. Finally, student-created projects occupied the remaining space on her walls and display tables. Simpson symbolically backgrounded the standardized curriculum, adopted by her department in this public school, through its minimal presence in the visual construction of her classroom. As we have seen in her pedagogical practices (see Chapter 6), Simpson had a specific vision of what students should learn and know, and the lessons to address that knowledge often diverged from the textbook lessons. Simpson decorated her classroom similarly to her development of curriculum: personal interests and preferences became the basis for the politically charged texts in Spanish that she provided in her lessons. This personally curated space exhibited her beliefs about the complicated history and mapping of Spanish as a simultaneously colonial and immigrant; prestigious and overlooked; unified and variable language.

As a non-native user and instructor of Spanish who designed culturally and politically complex lessons, Simpson demonstrated her “thirdness” positioning (Kramsch, 2009b) in her ability to reflect, in both her self-designed lessons and in our interviews, on both her first culture and language (the United States and English) and her second culture and language (Spain/Latin America and Spanish/*castellano*). Her language teaching reflected her own hybrid identity (indeed, the hybrid nature of personalized teaching in general): she neither threw out the official curriculum wholly nor did she reinvent the curriculum. Rather, she selected from the scope and sequence of her courses and then supplemented and replaced lessons with her own creation. Her self-created lessons, particularly of Mexican history, brought her political positionality into the classroom. In foregrounding those lessons that featured alternative histories “that still count,” Simpson demonstrated that *her* life experience and history still counted as well. Her learning of Spanish and Nahuatl, her adult life in a multilingual family, her political organizing, her doctoral program: all those moments counted and directly impacted the work she did as a foreign language teacher of Spanish. In the end, and through her own admission, Simpson only taught what she knew and had lived.

Simpson’s authenticity as a multilingual woman may have been the reason that that group of students had lunch regularly in her classroom. It certainly allowed her student Ben to declare that alternative, potentially dangerous, lessons occurred in her classroom. Her classroom activities, as evidenced in these classroom moments and in our discussions, mirrored her beliefs about language and culture learning and about who she was as a multilingual subject.

7.2.2 Zeke Pankin

Zeke Pankin’s belief that students’ possible discomfort in using French as well as his own reticence to use it in class begged the question about the potential discomfort of using the target language in his foreign language classroom. Why would anyone in the classroom be uncomfortable to use the language whose use was one of the course’s main objectives? An answer to this lay in Pankin’s relationships to French and to teaching, which were not as tightly interwoven as they were for both Dionne Simpson and Filomena Gaos. Throughout both of our interviews, Pankin described his ability in

state-approved textbooks to align their curriculum with the state frameworks. For more on the ideologies that these approved Spanish textbooks represent language and culture, see Kramsch and Vinall, 2015.

French as something remarkable that he had accomplished that others then noticed and celebrated. His opportunity to use the language through performing the same role in a French-language play, both in California and in Paris, afforded him the opportunity to use the language symbolically, to explore new meanings in the language in different cultural contexts. Those performances also provided him further approbation of his status as a French speaker, this time from paying audiences in both contexts and native French speakers, two of whom selected him for the lead role. Thus, using French for Pankin was connected first to recognition from others of his unique ability, not to communicating with others in order to form a community of speakers nor to develop a pedagogical way of using the language.

Learning and using French were not immediately linked to Pankin becoming a teacher of French; they linked him to the discovery and recognition of a unique gift that he then developed through theater and performance. His aptitude and his desire for teaching were two separate things, and he realized each of them at different points in his life. As he described, his understanding of what it meant to be a teacher “evolved over time...it wasn’t just like a revelation.” Rather, “it was a picture that slowly came into focus.” The period of his life that put that picture of teaching into focus was his first year as a visiting assistant professor of French literature at a university in the Upper Midwest of the United States. He stated that his unhappiness in that position and in the specific location led him to quit an academic career and to return to the U.S. West Coast. Using his expertise in French as a high school teacher provided him the opportunity to exit the academic job market but still engage the language in an academic context. As he repeatedly pointed out during our interviews through comparisons to radio, television, and stage work, teaching itself gave him the opportunity to return to his love of performance. Teaching, in fact, became an ongoing performance featuring different roles for him to play.

These roles that he described and performed in his classroom all shared one commonality: they were individual ones, in which he inhabited characters in a one-man show who spoke at spectators but did not participate in a conversation with them. For example, when he compared himself to a television announcer, it highlighted two things: the separation between his students and himself as well as the potential for all of them to participate in or resist the performance. When he then compared himself to a tour guide, he introduced the notion of himself as a gatekeeper of French, someone who could provide and restrict access to French (and the French-speaking world) for his students. Formally, a tour guide speaks to tourists, takes their questions, and provides them answers, often in their native language. If the tour guide/teacher is fluent in the local language, as was the case with Pankin and French, then there is a certain continuity in his use of French in the classroom with how he characterized his prior experiences. In these scenarios, French was the language of these scripted performances: stage actor, television announcer, tour guide and classroom teacher. Indeed, Pankin claimed, in comparing teaching to stage performance, that “I think when I’m teaching I’m **presenting** a character or a kind of personality that I’ve learned how to play and every lesson is like a script.” Over his lifetime as a user of French, both as a learner and a teacher, Pankin collected different characters to demonstrate his ability in French. These characters invited recognition from different types of spectators, from theater audiences to high school students, all of whom sat in orderly rows to observe his performance.

On the surface, it first appeared that Pankin wondered about his authenticity as a teacher of French. If he were performing being a French teacher, would the idea of a performance make him inauthentic as a teacher? Later on, he took up the question of his status as a non-native speaker of French: would that too make him appear inauthentic? In his behaviors in and reflections on the classroom, his authenticity as a legitimate, multilingual speaker of English, French, and Spanish emerged. Rather than sensing a discontinuity resulting from different, performed characters, he saw himself as one type of general character, one who had something prepared to share with an audience. Specifically in the context of his multilingual knowledge of English, French, and Spanish, he saw himself as a liaison among these languages, from whom students could gain access to the target languages and cultures if they chose to do so:

yeah I'm a liaison and I know French culture I want them to see me as someone who's intimately familiar with French language and French culture but who in the end comes from the same linguistic and cultural background or at least a similar linguistic and cultural background to them and therefore somebody who's going to be a good guide somebody who's gonna have a strong sense of what they might want to know and what they might need to get from the er French language and French culture

In the end, he was the arbiter of “what [students] might want to know and what they might need to get from the...French language and French culture.” He believed that his status as a non-native French speaker, like that of his students, positioned him to be a worthy liaison and “a good guide,” coupled with his expertise in the language. In this understanding, it was his knowledge that only he possessed that could unlock access to French for his students. This self-positioning was consonant with Pankin’s descriptions of every stage of his French-speaking self: what made him stand out in academic settings throughout his life was his knowledge and performance of French.

7.2.3 Filomena Gaos

Like her constant movement within her body helix as well as around her room, Filomena Gaos’s speech filled the time I spent with her. Her use of language, both in the classroom observations and during our interviews, also shifted forms: primarily between a heavily accented English that reflected the influence of Spanish morpho-syntax and a Catalan-accented northern *castellano* with the salient standard pronominal and phonological features intact. Being a language teacher of Spanish was central to her identity as a multilingual woman, but this multilingualism was neither a simple nor fully realized part of her identity. Not unlike Dionne Simpson, Gaos positioned herself repeatedly as a language learner herself, as observed in our interviews, during which she expressed desire to be able to read and write better in English, and in her classroom, especially during the lesson on Spanish proverbs in her AP class.

Moreover, her status as a language learner with a multilingual childhood presented her with the possibility of inhabiting a third space vis-à-vis all of the languages that she knew. This possibility was fraught with tensions, though: as a native of Catalonia, growing up under General Franco, *castellano* and Catalan were both part of

her as well as outside of her. Catalan, as a publicly forbidden language at that time, remained a private, intimate language that, in her description, never equaled the prestige of the publicly approved use of *castellano*. This latter language, then, became *the* language to acquire: knowing it and using it became a goal for Filomena Gaos, and it was through wordplay and games that the language became something that she loved.

Although Gaos considered herself a native speaker of *castellano*, she grew up in a region of Spain where her daily life was multilingual (*castellano* and Catalan) as well as diaphasically and diastratically varied, comprising a regional variety of *castellano* influenced by Catalan and the standardized variety of *castellano* in institutionalized settings. Gaos's love for this particular register of *castellano*, i.e., the standard variety of Iberian Spanish, determined the Spanish that prevailed in her classroom. The academic Spanish that Gaos taught adhered closely to the Spanish of the *Real Academia Española*, the official linguistic, governing body of the Spanish language in Europe, centered in Madrid. Gaos studied and acquired this register of Spanish in some ways similar to how her Californian students did: through the socialization of school and mass media and the use of it in word games.

Indeed, much of what I observed in Gaos's classroom activities reflected what she had described about her history and beliefs in our interviews. A key idea that emerged in her descriptions and in her classroom practices was a paradoxical one: the languages she knew existed within her, but she also stood outside of them. On one hand, she described her experiences with Catalan, *castellano*, and English as things that lived inside her and as codes for expressing certain experiences. On the other hand, the collection of her linguistic remembrances, beliefs, and practices positioned her as an observer to all these languages. She was both insider and outsider to them. Spanish and English in particular were two languages of which she became part, which she consciously adopted, and whose forms and meanings she continued to negotiate through teaching and learning.

Becoming a part of a language was a goal for her students that Gaos identified in our final interview:

we use four ways to say *los pronombres* probably yeah this is -I don't because probably it's because I make them part of the language that's **your** language that's my language so it's like uh comparing more you English no no no **you** are the ones who use this language so to make it like more personal? it's your language and this is **my** language yeah I have this quite clear because still English is for me a **second** language maybe if I had been here thirty years they would be at the same level and I wouldn't feel so much difference between one or the other but for me still Spanish is my first language hm mm (Interview, 3/14)

In returning to her presentation of the personal possessive pronouns (Chapter 6), Gaos emphasized the distinct languages that separate the majority of her students (English) from herself (Spanish). Through repetition and vocal stress, she reiterated her identity as an L1 speaker of Spanish, especially one who possessed Spanish. Additionally, she positioned herself again as an L2 learner of English whose ability in the latter language was not at the same level as that of her students. Gaos believed that presenting the Spanish pronominal system in the way that she did made her students "part of the language," that her insistence on what each language had (or did not have) alerted them

to what they needed in order to become part of the target language. In making the distinction between the two languages, she believed that she was making the lesson more personal, although she questions its effectiveness as signaled by her raised tone at the end of that statement.

At this juncture in the interview, Gaos continued to identify her Spanish-speaking and Spanish-teaching identity by making another distinction, this time between her colleagues and herself:

I don't know how other teachers that teach Spanish and they are not Spanish how they how they **deal** with situations like that but she would probably I don't know Ms. Mrs. [Simpson] or Ms. [Balenciaga] they would probably say **they sa:y** in Spanish or or maybe they say when we speak Spanish we say I don't know ay it's something that I have never thought about (Interview, 3/14)

In this reflection, Ms. Simpson and Ms. Balenciaga were non-native Spanish teachers who worked in the same department at EBMHS. Gaos wondered how they might frame the language practices of target language speakers: would they also identify themselves as in-group speakers ("when we speak Spanish"), or would they distance themselves by referring to native speakers as "they"? Her wondering about the other teachers was telling: she did not suggest that she, too, could distance herself from the linguistic practices of Spanish speakers. Her identity as a teacher of Spanish, as an expert speaking about a subject to students, could have allowed her that distance; it could have even allowed for a reconfiguration of the in-group of Spanish speakers to include the Spanish language learners in the class. In the end, Gaos admitted that she had never before thought about the nexus of these issues: the simultaneous positioning of her students, her colleagues, and herself as language experts and language novices, and its effect on their language use.

In both interviews, Gaos's comments were telling in that they expressed again her desire to build a classroom community around language. I observed in her classes instantiations of her expressed concerns about the urgent obligations that her job required and her desire to "make [her students] part of the [Spanish] language." Some of her classroom practices reflected her beliefs about language learning: her invitation to students to play with language and to question their own and her use of language indexed her own love for wordplay and linguistic discovery. However, in other moments, mostly notably in her lesson on personal possessive pronouns and in her interview commentary on the different varieties of Spanish, Gaos created a separation between her own Spanish-speaking identity and the developing one of her students. In those particular moments, none of the participants, including Gaos, were living multilingual moments; instead, they performed competing monolingualisms or monoglossias which challenged the unified speech community that Gaos may have idealized. Though challenged, the classroom community was reinforced by the students' and their teacher's willingness to ask questions about the other language and culture (especially in the lesson on *refranes*, if not in the pronoun lesson), trusting that their expert interlocutors cared enough to help them learn and speak.

7.3 Limitations of the Study

Although the study sheds light on previously undocumented relationships between the linguistic histories of California K-12 L2 French and Spanish teachers and their classroom practices, several limitations affected the scope of the study.

7.3.1 The Survey

The question of the composition of the sample group and size was a limitation of the study. Although responses to the survey came from throughout the state, 63 of them were from the San Francisco Bay Area region. I can still make claims about the trends in that data set, but a study with more robust participation and a more balanced demographic sample might yield different results.

The survey's listing of UC Berkeley as the origin of the study might have influenced the types of responses. The possibility of respondents' positive perceptions of the university might have affected how they positioned themselves and their students as language users. For instance, one short answer identified the respondent's delight when her former students continued studying language at UC Berkeley. Another respondent claimed that Professor Rick Kern at UC Berkeley inspired her to become a French teacher: "Prof Kern's class! I wanted to be a teacher and teaching French seemed way more fun than teaching English." These types of comments reflected respondents' awareness of the study's context.

7.3.2 The Case Study Ethnographies

Some limitations were common to all ethnographies. Because of my researcher roles as observer in the focal subjects' classrooms and as interviewer-interlocutor in our semi-structured interviews, my presence likely influenced the subjects' participation. For instance, Gaos immediately positioned me as an expert language teacher and, when recordings were off, asked for my evaluation of her lessons and curriculum. I resisted that positioning but understood that she may have used some of her classroom display and interview self-description to position herself as confident in her skills teaching Spanish.

The design of the sample group of teachers also colored the findings of the study. The three focal teachers all agreed to participate in the study without coercion from their administrations or from the sponsoring university. In the end, they were self-selecting in the sense that they assented to my research call, implicitly (and occasionally explicitly) supporting the research agenda of the project.

Since the study's questions were interested in comparing teachers' linguistic histories and beliefs to their classroom practices, the study did not employ coding of the qualitative data for statistical weight in the case studies. In analyzing the three focal teachers, I was most interested in their individual histories, experiences, and practices, not in a strict comparison of the group's

tendencies altogether, which an analysis of coded data could reveal. Rather than coding the interviews and classroom observations for statistical comparisons, I compared details from the teachers' narratives with occurrences in their classrooms and then triangulated that with the teachers during the final interviews. The individual triangulation of the interview and classroom data provided accurate representation of the individual focal teachers but did not provide a complete comparison of them to each other.

7.4 Avenues for Further Research

The data from the survey and from the case studies pointed to the need for further research. Indeed, many avenues opened up for inquiry, primarily regarding the status of L2 programs in contemporary U.S. schools, L2 teacher education, and teacher identity and practices of those who teach languages other than English, Spanish, and French. The present study touched upon these strands, but its focus was on the identification processes and pedagogical activities of L2 teachers of Spanish and French.

7.4.1 Status of L2 Programs and Teachers

The “second class citizen” status of foreign and world languages in K-12 schools was a recurrent theme that teachers mentioned when asked about the role of their specific work and positions in their schools. Indeed, as one high school teacher stated in the survey:

In the US, languages are not given the importance...they deserve or should have. If a math or science teacher would teach their subject like languages are taught[t], they would lose their job (or would be tran[s]ferred to another district..[.]to avoid the screaming of the parents...) But languages are seen as 'a second class citizen'

Similarly, another survey respondent suggested the ongoing disempowerment and frustration she felt as an L2 French teacher:

It is a constant, and sometimes draining, battle to educate others, especially around here, about the vital importance of learning foreign languages...It bothers me that we keep hearing about requests to cut down language programs, to reduce WL [world language] department budgets or staffing, and to only keep Spanish and Mandarin because these are the so-called “marketable” languages, today.

These types of statements invite further research in the perception of world/foreign language departments and teachers at the K-12 level. Such research could capture the perceptions of the different school groups and community members to compare with these teachers' perceptions.

7.4.2 Standards-Based L2 Education

The Common Core State Standards Initiative in California has underscored for world language teachers the tensions between the goals of schooling and of education because the current iteration of the standards does not address non-English second and foreign language learning. In an era of economically driven standardized learning and assessment, as exemplified by Common Core, No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top, and the California High School Exit Examination, the goals of *schooling* become clear, but the goals of a rich, personalized *education* remain underdescribed, if not unaddressed.

World language teachers, their language departments, and school administrators are too often left alone to their own creative devices to link the learning that happens in world language classrooms to the school-mandated assessable goals. Teachers are indeed able to explore their creativity, but in the frequently tenuous act of balancing the official curriculum they are mandated to teach and the new lessons they develop. Respondents revealed that many of their lessons were inspired by a combination of what the curriculum demanded they teach and what their creative instincts led them to incorporate. Moreover, their responses supported and nuanced the earlier finding that “teachers feel frustrated in their attempts to treat the cultural dimension seriously because of pressures to produce measurable results and the curricular focus on linguistic competence” (Castro et al., 2004, p. 95).

Based on standards-based objectives, the goals of schooling include creating economically powerful and versatile students who can compete in the global marketplace. However, respondents described what goals of an education in second and foreign languages look like: both personalized, towards the development of the individual, and broad, towards the development of mindful citizens of the world. This personalized education in second and foreign languages also unlocks students’ desires and dreams along their journey of self-development. We saw in particular one teacher’s agency in presenting a personalized lesson in Dionne Simpson’s choice to replace a textbook cultural lesson on the Conquest with her self-designed lesson on pre-Conquest Mexico. One could argue that such a lesson provided students the opportunity to demonstrate critical thinking skills as described in the State Framework and in the Common Core language arts standard, but Simpson’s expressed intent was not to do that. Her goal was to engage student awareness of lesser taught, alternative histories in a historical site of conflict (i.e., Mexico). Further research dedicated to the impact of changing and recent standards, including those of ACTFL (2015), on foreign language teacher practices could illuminate the connections and disconnects between competing expectations.

7.4.3 Personalized L2 Teacher Education

The idea of a personalized education extends to that of a personalized teacher education, specifically for L2 teachers. In the survey, 63% of respondents wanted better professional development (as compared to 36% who wanted numerically more professional development opportunities). What could this professional development look like, especially in terms of personal and social needs for L2 teachers? Sixty-nine percent of survey respondents wanted more opportunities to network with other world language

teachers outside of their schools, and 63% desired more time to work and reflect on their teaching with their world language colleagues at the same school. These percentages, along with Simpson's, Pankin's, and Gaos's descriptions of their own departments, call for a reconsideration of the professional learning needs of L2 teachers. These needs are not just for more meetings but for a rethinking of the content and population of those meetings. Simpson and Pankin called for more meaningful and engaging professional development and support, whereas Gaos found that need basically met by supportive administrators who validated her work and her linguistic identity.

Further research could include a survey of past and current approaches to non-English L2 education in the United States. Additionally, further research could connect current trends in applied linguistics to non-English L2 training and professional development, responding to Kramersch's (1995, 2000) and Kramersch and Ware's (2010) repeated calls to do that.

7.4.5 Identity and Pedagogic Practices of Teachers of Less Commonly Studied Languages

The focus of this study was on L2 teachers of French and Spanish in California. I selected these two languages since they are the most commonly studied foreign languages in the state at the K-12 level. Consequently, this study did not include the reflections and teaching practices of teachers in other, non-English L2 classrooms. For instance, Mandarin and Italian L2 programs have expanded at the K-12 level in the past two decades at the same time that German, Latin, and Japanese programs have either stabilized their numbers or lost enrollments (California Foreign Language Project). Further research asking similar questions as the ones that I posed in the present study could turn up different results in these other language contexts.

In this study, we have seen, particularly in the survey findings, the struggles in which many L2 French and Spanish teachers participate to justify and to sustain their programs. The implementation of the Common Core Standards alongside the broader move of school districts and private schools towards standards-based learning has left some language departments unsure of their program's viability. It would be interesting to compare and contrast the experiences of teachers of these frequently studied foreign languages experience with those of teachers of less commonly studied languages. Questions of power, legitimacy, and communities of practice might provoke different responses from another group of teachers, especially in the context of particular regions of the United States.

7.4.6 L2 Spanish and French Teachers: Inside and Outside of California

California as a place was central to this present study. As the most populous state in the United States and a major center of national and international migration, California residents move commonly through multilingual spaces, whether in agricultural, suburban, or urban spaces. As we saw in Chapters 1 and 2, Spanish and French have particular histories in California. The study of Spanish and French, and attitudes about them as languages, may look different in other regions of the United States. For instance, besides being a foreign language, French carries the status as a heritage language throughout

much of the upper Northeastern United States and along the eastern Gulf of Mexico. Further study could identify the varieties of French used and taught in those regions, the perception of the different French varieties and of its speakers, and the identification processes and pedagogical practices of French teachers.

Likewise for Spanish, replicating the present study in other regions may have different findings and implications for L2 teacher education. California, other western U.S. states, and the northern-central East Coast have a significant history of Latin American immigration, but studies in regions where that immigration is newer and where the Spanish speakers are fewer might reveal different attitudes about Spanish and its speakers. Even within California and other states with more robust Spanish-speaking populations, further studies that triangulate the different varieties that exist in individual classrooms, the variety/varieties presented by course textbooks, and the identification processes of various classroom participants would illuminate more about Spanish in a language learning classroom. Such avenues for further research could respond to prior studies of Spanish language socialization of speakers of one Spanish variety into another one (Baquedano-López, 2001; Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002).

7.5 Becoming First-Class Citizens

This study returns to an idea that partly inspired me to undertake it: a perception that foreign language teachers were often low on the academic totem pole in mainstream K-12 education. Indeed, as one survey respondent remarked, “languages are seen as ‘a second class citizen’” in the context of a school. My prior observation in my credential program that non-English L2 teachers were not given theoretical and practical courses was echoed by many survey respondents and Dionne Simpson, who believed that there was inadequate support for their programs and ongoing professional development. Of the three focal subjects, it was only Filomena Gaos who described a deeply supportive administrator who provided for her program and advocated for her teaching—and he was a former Spanish teacher.

Despite the perceived limitations to their L2 programs that many of this study’s participants identified, the majority identified the personal creativity and linguistic richness that they brought to their duties. One survey respondent a teacher of French, spoke to this creative potential and the historical understanding that L2 teachers possess:

As schools transition to the Common Core standards, I hope that world languages are not marginalized, because we have understood for a long time the cognitive benefits of being able to communicate a concept many different ways, learning new vocabulary, understanding linguistics, phonetics, cultural differences in language, etc., reading nonfiction, thinking critically about texts, using multimedia as texts, and many of the other elements of Common Core. As our schools take stock of the resources they have to tackle Common Core, they would do well to remember that they have more language resources on campus than just the English department.

This L2 teacher’s “hope that world languages are not marginalized” echoed the majority of her surveyed colleagues and the three focal teachers. Their responses and classroom

activities provided examples of how and why such marginalization could occur. For Simpson, the very content of a Spanish course in California showcased controversial histories, which made the class a politically charged space. Her choice of material could separate the course from other classes that did not insist upon presenting their curriculum similarly. For Pankin, alongside Simpson and the majority of the surveyed teachers, marginalization could result from school administrations not affording enough meaningful opportunities to L2 teachers to continue their learning and to build social and professional networks. For Gaos, the fear of being marginalized was very real when she interacted with speakers of different varieties of Spanish in California, both families of students and colleagues.

In the way that survey respondent called out to California schools implementing Common Core and reevaluating their programs, L2 teachers of French and Spanish in this study believe that their work is broadly significant—has value—in a school’s total program. Through their lived personal and professional uses of the languages they know, they also believe that ongoing language learning (for both their students and themselves) adds to the uniqueness and richness of their lives. The positioning of L2 teachers outside of their schools’ core programs—by various members of the school community, including themselves—affords at least one creative possibility. From this position, researchers and teachers themselves can use “the importance of theorizing from one’s location on the margin” (Ritchie and Wilson, 2000, p. 84) to develop new ways of participating in their world language departments and in their schools.

This present study has shed some light on the life histories, professional trajectories, and classroom practices of a set of L2 French and Spanish teachers. Considering the impact of the local and broad contexts in which L2 teachers work on their pedagogical practices is paramount in understanding their linguistic and professional identities within communities of practice. Indeed, researchers and teachers themselves must

look critically at the social practices and situated contexts from which teachers have come, within which teachers are engaged in professional development as these practices and contexts will shed light on the social interactions [...] central to the development of new forms of thinking (Johnson and Golombek, 2011, p. 3)

In this study, L2 teachers of French and Spanish do not perform their classroom activities outside of the context of schooling: instructed SLA formally takes place daily in a set space with set participants and set expectations. Nonetheless, out of the social interactions among teachers, students, administrators emerge these new forms of thinking about L2 instruction and learning. In this study, we have begun to identify the professional identities of teachers of Spanish and French within the context of their schools by examining how they position themselves and see themselves positioned by others. We have also analyzed how their classroom activities have reinforced, challenged, and reconstructed their linguistic identities.

This study calls for a recognition of the significant impact that language teachers’ linguistic histories have on their classroom practices. This is not just a call for more theoretical description; the findings indicate some concrete applications. Like the student in Simpson’s class who stated that he had never learned other histories of North America

until Simpson's Spanish class, some participants in this study expressed that they had never formally been asked to reflect on their language use in the ways that this study invited them to do. Gaos admitted that she had never consciously compared her own linguistic history with her classroom practices. In the final comments of the survey, some respondents expressed appreciation for being asked to share their stories.

These findings have direct implications for L2 teachers' professional spaces. The survey responses that indicated a lack of time for building professional learning communities within language departments highlight a need for scheduled times for L2 teachers to be together. This, though, may not be enough, and, for other respondents, these scheduled times already occur. A larger group of respondents, including Dionne Simpson and Zeke Pankin in their interviews, indicated a need and desire for better use of scheduled departmental meetings. Setting aside time in departmental meetings and workshops for L2 teachers of French and Spanish to think about and share their own linguistic histories in light of their classroom work provides a way to strengthen their professional learning communities. It also offers those teachers the opportunity to compare their practices with those of their own prior teachers and with those of their colleagues. This kind of shared activity combines in an intentional way the identity and professional work that L2 teachers often unconsciously do.

Ritchie and Wilson (2000) show how connecting the life stories of their focal English teachers to their early experiences of teaching benefited their instruction, and Palmer (2007) reminds us that "good teaching comes from the identity and integrity of the teacher" and that "we teach who we are" (p. 1). This connection of the personal to the professional would benefit teacher preparation and certification programs. L2 teachers of French and Spanish (and of all foreign languages) have complex life stories that centrally involve language and culture. Finding ways to activating those stories and experiences in relationship to their pedagogical practices contributes to the ongoing integration of the different parts of themselves. In a pre-service teaching program, a course that included journal writing, partner sharing, and group presentations about L2 teachers' linguistic histories and language learning experiences would validate their identities as multilingual language users in the context of their classrooms. Such courses and workshops would integrate L2 teachers' identity into their pedagogy: the personal could be professional, with language use being the thread that connects those two parts.

In the final pages of *The Multilingual Subject*, Kramersch (2009) makes the following statement, the ideas within which inspired the research questions and data collection processes of the present study:

Language teachers themselves are multilingual subjects, with memories, passions, interests, and ways of making sense of their own and their students' lives. We have our own reasons for having desired the language strongly enough to go on teaching it for many years. (p. 208)

This study sought to investigate first the ways in which L2 Spanish and French teachers made sense of their lives and of the languages they knew. Through their narratives, either in writing or in storytelling, the study's participants provided their own reasons for having desired Spanish and/or French strongly enough to continue teaching them for many years.

More personally and uniquely, by the very nature of their work, these teachers are multilingual individuals, speaking, reading, writing, and living in two or more languages. This unique and personal challenge involves bringing their multilingual selves into their classrooms through their use of language and their encouragement of student language and culture learning. In a context of tension between possibility (intellectual, pedagogical) and constraints (linguistic, historical, administrative), world language teachers demonstrate their creativity through their teaching activities and professional reflections in order to develop meaningful learning experiences for their students.

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