New notions in a classic classroom

Applying late modern sociolinguistics and socially informed SLA to foreign language learner data

Ritzau, Ursula

Publication date:
2014

Document version
Early version, also known as pre-print

Citation for published version (APA):
Ritzau, U. (2014). *New notions in a classic classroom: Applying late modern sociolinguistics and socially informed SLA to foreign language learner data*. Det Humanistiske Fakultet, Københavns Universitet.

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN

PhD thesis

Ursula Ritzau

New notions in a classic classroom.

Applying late modern sociolinguistics and socially informed SLA to foreign language learner data.

Name of department:	Department of Scandinavian Studies and Linguistics
Author:	Ursula Ritzau
Title / Subtitle:	New notions in a classic classroom. Applying late modern sociolinguistics and socially informed SLA to foreign language learner data.
Academic advisors:	Juni S. Arnfast and Jens Normann Jørgensen
Submitted:	11 April 2014

Contents

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors Juni Söderberg Arnfast and Jens Normann Jørgensen. Jens – thank you for your inspiration, enthusiasm, and for believing in me. I wouldn't have started this journey without you, and I wish I hadn't had to end it without you. Juni – thank you for picking me up and getting me back on track, and for your never-ending, constructive, and encouraging feedback.

I am grateful to Janus Spindler Møller, Anne Holmen, and Jan Blommaert for taking time off their busy schedules to comment on various parts of the dissertation at various stages.

I owe a special thanks to *Lektoratsudvalget* and the Danish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Higher Education for financing my research. I also want to thank Jürg Glauser and Klaus Müller-Wille for reducing my teaching obligations at the universities of Basel and Zurich during my work on this dissertation.

I am especially indebted to every single participant in the study. Thank you for writing and speaking, and for sharing your thoughts with me.

Thanks to Aysenur Alev for transcribing the recordings, and to Terese Bröchner Christensen and Kate Heslop for proofreading parts of the dissertation.

Thanks to Nora and Anton for welcome distractions. And thank you, Lukas, for listening to all kinds of thoughts at all times of the day during a long period of time. Thank you for your love and your patience.

1 Introduction

This study draws on socially informed second language acquisition (SLA) research and on late modern sociolinguistics. The language view of late modern sociolinguistics is adopted in this study and heavily influences the analysis of the data collected in a foreign language learning setting. One aim of this dissertation is to explore the relevance of late modern sociolinguistic theory in research on SLA data. The foreign language class of the study is a classic setting for SLA research, and the beliefs expressed by the participants clearly relate to SLA theories. The view of the participants as social beings involved in identity work and the view of language learner beliefs as connected with institutional and societal language ideologies and norms relate to sociolinguistics. Moreover, the analysis of the participants' language use draws on late modern sociolinguistic notions such as languaging (Jørgensen 2010), polylanguaging (Møller 2009), and repertoire (Blommaert 2009). The phenomenon of polylingual behaviour has been thoroughly studied in ethnically diverse urban settings (Hinnenkamp 2008; Møller 2009; Møller & Jørgensen 2011b), but it is not clear whether it might be found in other settings as well, for instance in institutional foreign language learning.

Language is an inherently social phenomenon (Jørgensen 2010: 13), also when it is learned and used within the frames of educational institutions, in this case foreign language courses at university. Language learning involves social interaction, and several types of social interaction take place among the participants of this study, for instance self-positioning (Davies and Harré 1990) in relation to teachers and fellow students, and language play (Crystal 1998) between the participants.

Sociolinguistic studies of language ideologies and language use in foreign language contexts are rare, because the research fields of sociolinguistics and second language acquisition have emphasised different interests and proceeded from different underlying assumptions (Rampton 2006). On the one hand, the field of SLA has focussed too narrowly on concepts such as 'native speaker,' 'learner', and 'target language' (Rampton 1997), and largely ignored social and ideological aspects of language learning and use. Foreign language education emphasises referential and interpersonal meanings rather than social meanings, and foreign language education privileges speakers of the foreign language, whether in interactions abroad or in the form of foreign visitors, rather than showing interest in the cultural self-awareness of and social interaction between people in the classroom (Rampton 2006: 171, footnote 2).

On the other hand, sociolinguists have avoided research in foreign language contexts because of underlying assumptions that have been widely accepted within sociolinguistics (Rampton 2006: 138-141), namely

1. that language reflects society
2. that the central empirical problem space of sociolinguistics lies in the interface between minority languages and the language(s) of the nation-state, and
3. the assumption of a universal democracy of competence

The first assumption, that language reflects society, does not hold in the foreign language classroom, because the languages learned and used reflect not the society of which the educational institution is a part, but rather societies of other countries. The second assumption, that sociolinguistics should centre on relations between minority and majority languages, is equally irrelevant to the foreign language classroom, because the foreign languages taught do not fit the patterns of social power struggles between home languages and the language of the nation-state. The third assumption, that speakers are inherently competent, and that everyday, oral language should be the focus of attention, does not hold in foreign language classes where learners are expected to close gaps in their knowledge, and where official standard languages are being taught (Rampton 2006: 138-141). However, recent discussions of these underlying assumptions "promise to rehabilitate instructed foreign languages as a sociolinguistic research topic" (Rampton 2006: 144).

1.1 Research questions

As an answer to this promise of rehabilitation (Rampton 2006), this dissertation is a socially informed SLA study and a sociolinguistic study of instructed foreign language learning. The interaction between the two fields of research is necessary in order to compare what the participants *believe about* language with what they *do with* language. The main research questions of this dissertation are:

- What do Swiss university students of Danish as a foreign language believe about language and language learning, why do they hold these beliefs, and how do their beliefs relate to language ideologies?

- How do the participants present themselves in terms of beliefs, ideologies, and self-positioning?
- In what ways do the participants use linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages, to what degree can their language use be compared with polylingual behaviour, and how does their language use relate to the beliefs and ideologies expressed by the participants?

1.2 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of an introduction (Chapter 1), a theory chapter (2), a methods chapter (3), five chapters of analyses and results (4-8), and a conclusion (9).

Chapter 2 (Theory) opens with a description of the language view of late modern sociolinguistics, which is also the view adopted in this dissertation. The widely accepted chronological order of language learning is presented and challenged in the light of languaging (Jørgensen 2010) and repertoire (Blommaert & Backus 2011). Classic studies of SLA are outlined as a backdrop for more recent, socially informed approaches to SLA, and key concepts of this study are presented, among them learning strategies (O'Malley & Chamot 1990), positioning theory (Davies and Harré 1990), and language learner beliefs (Barcelos 2003). The chapter ends with a discussion of the interaction between sociolinguistics and SLA, a topic central to this dissertation.

Chapter 3 (Methods) first discusses the methodological background of the study, particularly the relation between sociolinguistics and SLA, and the change of research focus that gradually developed this study from a traditional SLA study to a socially and sociolinguistically informed SLA study. The macro-setting of Switzerland and the micro-settings of Danish as a study programme at university and of the Danish language courses are presented. The participants are introduced in terms of the variables age, gender, and first and other languages. Three data types, questionnaires, learning journals, and audio recordings, are presented and discussed, and the chapter further outlines the method of analysis employed in the survey of the learning journals.

Chapter 4 (Participants' beliefs about foreign language learning) offers quantitative analyses of the beliefs expressed by the participants in the learning journals, illustrated with data excerpts. The chapter is divided into beliefs about pronunciation learning, grammar learning, vocabulary learning, and beliefs about communicative language learning, as well as beliefs about Swedish and

Norwegian as an advantage or a drawback for learning Danish. The chapter discusses why the participants hold these beliefs and how the beliefs change over time. The relation between beliefs and experiences with language learning is discussed with a view to educational practices within the teaching of Danish as a second or foreign language in this chapter, and also in Ritzau (in press).

Chapter 5 (Changing beliefs in three case studies) adds a detailed case study perspective to the findings of chapter 4. The change of beliefs from structure-focussed to communication-focussed beliefs is illustrated with three participants, whose learning journals are studied individually. The question of why the beliefs change over time is discussed at the end of the chapter. A previous version of the chapter is published in Ritzau (2013b).

Chapter 6 (Language ideologies and learner beliefs) presents three ideas of language and language learning that are widespread in the learning journals. The ideas of language as a system, of languages as separate entities, and of authentic target language are illustrated with data excerpts and discussed in relation to language ideologies in educational institutions and in society.

Chapter 7 (Self-positioning among the participants) demonstrates how the participants position themselves as high expectancy students, language experts, and hard-working students in the learning journals. These positions are discussed in the light of the classroom context, the learning journals as a curricular activity, and in relation to the teacher and researcher. An article version of the chapter has also been published (Ritzau 2013a).

Chapter 8 (Language use in learning journals and group recordings) takes a different point of departure compared to the first four analysis chapters (4-7) by focussing on a detailed analysis of language use and linguistic form. The first part of the chapter studies how linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages are employed in the learning journals (see also Ritzau under review). The second part investigates how linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages are employed in the group recordings, and explores related effects such as language learning and language play in the conversations. The chapter further discusses to what degree the language use of the participants may be compared with polylingual behaviour.

Chapter 9 (Conclusion) summarises the findings of the dissertation and demonstrates how these contribute to the wider fields of SLA and sociolinguistics, concluding with suggestions for further studies.

2 Theory

While late modern sociolinguistics constitutes the theoretical point of departure and the view of language adopted in this dissertation, the field of Second Language Acquisition directs the focus of the dissertation to a certain context of language, namely foreign language learning. Navigating within the field of SLA with a late modern theoretical background requires thorough discussions of concepts traditionally used in SLA research. In this theory chapter, relevant notions from both late modern sociolinguistics and from socially informed SLA research are presented and discussed, while possible interactions between the two areas is reviewed.

The chapter begins with an outline of the language view of late modern sociolinguistics, including the notions of repertoire, languaging, and polylanguaging. The chronological order of language learning is challenged in a separate section, before some classic SLA studies and the area of language learner strategies are approached. The increasing focus on social aspects of SLA is illustrated by four research approaches; the ecology approach, the chaos/complexity theory, the sociocultural theory, and the identity approach. Identity work and positioning theory is presented and related to the field of language learner beliefs. At the end of the chapter, discussions of relations between sociolinguistics and SLA are revisited with reference to some late modern sociolinguistic notions and to the analyses of this dissertation.

2.1 Language in late modern sociolinguistics

This dissertation takes as its theoretical point of departure the framework of late modern sociolinguistics. In this view, language is not primarily a system of items and rules waiting to be followed by language users and described by linguists, but rather linguistic practices carried out by individuals and groups in socially meaningful ways. The notion of late modernity (or post-modernity) is associated both with real-world globalisation and with a "reworking of basic assumptions in the humanities and social sciences, often characterised as post-structuralism" (Rampton 2006: 4). Both of these lines are relevant to my work. First, globalisation is relevant for the participants of my study in the way that they understand themselves as learners and users of several languages, and in how they engage with beliefs and ideologies of language. Globalisation also has consequences for theoretical discussions of terms such as second and foreign languages. Second, the theoretical line of late modern sociolinguistics provide notions that are useful for the analysis of what the participants do with language and what they believe about language. Especially the notions of repertoire (Blommaert 2009), languaging (Jørgensen 2010), and polylanguaging (Møller 2009), as well as language ideologies are relevant for my work.

2.1.1 Critique of the ideology of separate languages

Recent critique of the idea of 'languages' as distinct, countable objects in the world can be summarised in the phrase "[t]here are no languages" (Pennycook 2007: 98). To comprehend this powerful statement it is necessary to take a closer look at some of the underlying arguments and discussions.

One of the central points of late modern sociolinguistics is that languages are inventions and ideological constructs, but that they are simultaneously perceived as natural and experienced as real. Languages are not natural, pre-existing objects in the world, although they may be perceived as such. Languages are constructs, but they are real constructs. The fact that languages are invented does not make them unreal. This is a further important point of late modern sociolinguistics. If people think of, for instance, 'authentic Danish' as a real variety, then it is real to them. Makoni & Pennycook (2007) state the need for an understanding of what people believe about language, what forms of talk they deploy, and what material effects their beliefs have. In the present work, I address the issues of beliefs about language and language learning and of language use.

The idea of languages as separate entities is historically related to the building of nation states and theoretically based on the idea of language as a system. Just as nation states and ethnicity, languages are ideological constructs often thought of as naturally given (Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Makoni (2012: 190) states that the naming of languages is what brings languages into being as discrete objects in the world, and that the idea of one language carrying one name is "pervasive in Western monolingual-oriented linguistic metalanguage." Codification and naming of languages are traditionally based on an ideological concept of language as a closed system of items and rules, a system "abstracted from actual human beings" (Hymes 1997 [1974]: 12). Especially within the institutional frames of foreign language learning it is clear that e.g. 'Danish' is treated as a discrete entity separate from e.g. 'Norwegian' or 'Swedish'.

Although the notions of 'a language' or 'languages' are common in everyday speech and in linguistic disciplines, we have no language-internal or structural means of defining what exactly 'a language' is (Jørgensen 2010). Concepts such as 'dialect', 'sociolect' or 'variety' do not solve the problem, as structural linguistic analyses cannot draw any clear boundaries between 'varieties' etc. Distinguishing between the concepts of 'a language' and 'a dialect' is a question of politics and of naming the varieties, and this similarly holds for distinctions between any other varieties.

Two examples will be used to illustrate this point here. One example concerns what is ususally regarded as closely related dialects, the other concerns what is usually thought of as unrelated languages. In the first example, Jørgensen (2010: 53) points out that what is usually thought of as two dialects of Venndsyssel and Thy in Northern Jutland, Denmark, are actually not divided by a cluster of isoglosses, but rather make up a continuum. The isoglosses do not cross at any point, but form a series of parallel lines on the map. Based on these these isoglosses, it is impossible to separate one dialect from the other.

In the second example, Jørgensen (2010: 172-173) discusses the following sentence from the Køge project, a longitudinal study of Danish-Turkish school children:

Original:	*len* lim*inizi* låne *edeyim benimki olmuyor*
English:	*man, may I* borrow*your* glue, *mine doesn't work*

Jørgensen (2010) states that it is impossible to decide whether Danish or Turkish is the base language of this sentence. It is neither a Danish sentence with Turkish insertions, nor a Turkish sentence with Danish insertions. Jørgensen (2010: 54) suggests that "varieties are different when language users think and agree that they are different." This is line with Makoni & Pennycook's (2007) statement that languages are real, but invented.

2.1.2 Repertoire

Human beings do not learn and do not master a complete, closed set of features, which make up 'a language.' Instead, human beings learn and use "real bits and chunks of language that make up a repertoire" (Blommaert 2009: 425). The notion of repertoire relates individual language use to individual life histories and to social interaction (Blommaert 2009). A repertoire is made up of the bits and pieces of language that an individual encounters and uses in interaction with other people throughout the stages of his or her life. Human beings do not learn and use 'languages' in the form of discrete, closed sets of features, because 'languages' do not exist as discrete entities (Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Heller 2007; Lemke 2002). Rather, a repertoire consists of language learned and used in different situated interactions with different people, and no two people will share exactly the same repertoire (Blommaert 2005: 13). An individual's linguistic repertoire reflects the lived real life of that individual in terms of situated contact with other people in physical and social space and in historical time. This does not entail a determinist view on language, however. The repertoire of an individual is shaped by life experiences, but it also shapes reality in the form of social relations and power structures, which in turn can have an influence on the repertoire. Therefore, "learning language as a linguistic *and* a sociolinguistic system is not a cumulative process" (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 9, italics in original), but rather a constant and never-ending reorganisation of linguistic resources.

The problem of separating languages and the chronological order of languages learned by an individual (L1, L2, etc.) is irrelevant to the concept of repertoire, or, as Blommaert & Rampton (2012: 28, italics in original) put it, "it is important to avoid the *a priori* separation of 'first' and 'second language' speakers – among other things, linguistic norms and targets change." Different bits of linguistic material are learned throughout different life stages, but languages are not learned as complete, closed entities, and they are not learned in a neat, consecutive order.

Furthermore, in the repertoire of an individual, the bits of language usually thought to belong to one language do not necessarily correspond to the bits of language usually thought to belong to another language in terms of, for example, linguistic function or proficiency. An individual will typically be able to interact within a wide range of situations using one language, whereas he or she will only be able to interact within a limited range of situations using other languages, and will be able to recognise further languages without ever having tried to employ these languages him- or herself (Blommaert & Backus 2011).

The notion of 'a language' as a countable entity may be useful dependent on the level of abstraction (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 8). When focussing on linguistic resources shared by a group of people, it can be convenient to refer to these shared resources as 'a language,' because people think of these sets of features as languages. For example, it makes sense to refer to a specific language course as a 'Danish as a foreign language' course, when describing the course on the university's website. Such a description is, of course, an abstraction, but it is a practical abstraction in some cases. For language users, there might not be much awareness (if any) about the abstractness of the concept of language. For researchers, languages are useful concepts, because people think of sets of features as languages. The fact that languages are ideological constructs does not make these constructs less real to people in everyday life. Definitions of languages in educational institutions provide contexts where languages are experienced as very real. This does not mean, obviously, that language discussed at this abstract level is identical to the linguistic repertoire of a single individual. For example, the abstract idea of 'Danish' does not precisely correspond to the 'Danish' repertoire of a single person.

2.1.3 Languaging and polylanguaging

Jørgensen (2010: 10) describes humankind as "a languaging species." Language is common to all humans, and what we do when we speak, shout, write, or sign language is languaging. We do not learn languages; we learn linguistic features that can be associated with languages understood as ideological constructions. Language is individual in the sense that no two people speak exactly the same way, and "language is also social in the sense that we share every aspect of our language with others, and in the sense that language would be impossible if it were not something between people" (Jørgensen 2010: 11).

Møller & Jørgensen (2011b: 100) describe languaging as "the phenomenon that human beings use language in interaction with others, in order to change the world." Languaging is a basic phenomenon common to all human beings, whereas polylanguaging is "the phenomenon that speakers employ linguistic resources at their disposal which are associated with different 'languages', including the cases in which the speakers know only few features associated with a given 'language'" (Møller & Jørgensen 2011b: 100). The use of a language that one does not know much of is also referred to as crossing (Rampton 1995). In the study by Møller (2009: 9), where a similar definition of polylanguaging is given, young Danish-Turkish speakers use linguistic features that can be associated with "codes generally recognizable as English, Asian English, German, Mock Chinese, etc." next to Danish and Turkish.

Although not foregrounded in these definitions (Møller 2009; Møller & Jørgensen 2011b), the important observation that polylingual languagers employ linguistic features "with an eye on the values ascribed to them" (Jørgensen 2010: 526) is central to the theorising of polylanguaging. A similar statement can be found at the end of Jørgensen's (2010) description of the polylingualism norm:

> [L]anguage users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages; this entails that the language users may know – and use – the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together. (Jørgensen 2010: 145)

The observation that speakers may know and use the fact that features are perceived as not belonging together is crucial, because it underlines that polylanguaging is not just about linguistic features in the structural sense, but indeed also about values associates with these features. To the sociolinguist this might be evident, which could explain why values are not always mentioned in definitions of polylanguaging. Linguistic features may, for instance, be associated with values ascribed to majority and minortiy languages (Jørgensen 2010: 105). Madsen (2011) demonstrates how some linguistic features used by comtemporary Copenhagen youth may be perceived as 'integrated', i.e. academic, polite, adult values, and others as 'street-wise', i.e. tough, masculine, and youthful values.

In an earlier paper on polylingual languaging, Jørgensen (2008a: 161) argues that "[t]hese speakers do not choose their features randomly," and that a specific choice of linguistic features serves a purpose and often relates to standard language norms. The issue of intention is, as illustrated above, often notably absent in definitions of polylanguaging.

In some cases, language users employ linguistic features associated with different languages for language play. Manipulating language forms and playing with language norms and stereotypes may be done for pure enjoyment and entertainment (Crystal 1998). Although the phenomenon of language play is not central to languaging, Jørgensen (2010: 26) points out that language play is carried out by all languagers, and language play is used as part of the explanation of the bilingual behaviour among adolescents (Jørgensen 2003).

At this point of the outline, it is necessary to take a short look at the notion of *code-switching* (Auer 1999; Gumperz 1977). Gumperz (1977: 1) defines code-switching as "the juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems, within the same exchange.” This definition of code-switching presupposes that ‘different grammatical systems’ exist and can be identified. As we have seen in section 2.1.1 on the ideology of separate languages, this presumption is rejected by late modern sociolinguistics (Jørgensen 2010; Pennycook 2007). Later definitions of code-switching include the speakers’ perception of codes, for example in Auer’s (1999: 310) definition of code-switching as cases where “the juxtaposition of two codes (languages) is perceived and interpreted as a locally meaningful event by participants.” Auer (1999: 310) further suggests the notions of *language mixing* for phenomena similar to code-switching, when these are “seen as a recurrent pattern,” and the notion of *fused lect* for “stabilized mixed varieties.”

Studies on code-switching usually investigate the use of two codes that can be distinguished lexically and grammatically (e.g. Auer 1999). Studies on polylingual behaviour (e.g. Møller 2009) investigate the use of linguistic features that can be ascribed to several ideological sets of features, commonly referred to as languages, styles, or varieties. The term ‘linguistic feature’ includes more than lexical and grammatical features. A definition of the term ‘feature’ is necessary for the analysis of the data of this study, and is provided here with Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller (2011: 30).

> Linguistic features appear in the shape of units and regularities […]. Units are words, expressions, sounds, even phonetic characteristics such as rounding. Regularities are traditionally called “rules”, but they are not rules in the legal sense, or even the normative sense. They are regularities of how units are combined into larger units in processes through which the larger units become associated with meanings.

In the analysis of the participants’ written language in this thesis, words and letters are analysed on the level of features. Analysing written data from a polylanguaging approach is nothing new. Jørgensen (2008b) demonstrates how polylingual languaging can be observed in graffiti. With several examples of graffiti, Jørgensen (2008b) argues that it does not always make sense to categorise single words as belonging to one language or another, but rather that the examples represent polylingual languaging. For example, the word *laav* in one graffito is “the English word *love* spelt according to Estonian principles” (Jørgensen 2008b: 248), and the word *perkerz* is a Danish noun with an oppositional spelling of an English plural morpheme (Jørgensen 2008b: 245).

Hinnenkamp (2008) also uses written material; in his case internet chat room conversations, for his analysis of polylingual behaviour. He demonstrates how the chatters write against the standard norm and display knowledge of other orthographical systems or other languages (Hinnenkamp 2008: 263). The chatters use linguistic features that can be associated with several varieties, and in some cases it is not even possible to decide whether a certain word or phrase belongs to one variety or another. This is the case with the phrase *der isch da* ('he is here'), which could be categorised either as Swabian dialect, or as Turkish-German ethnolect (Hinnenkamp 2008: 266). Consequently, the strict countability of separate languages is questioned. This insight is relevant for the analysis of language use in this dissertation (Chapter 8), where the discreteness of languages is questioned in a similar way.

Polylingual behaviour is usually observed among on late-modern young speakers in ethnically diverse settings, but I argue that a phenomenon similar or at least closely related to this can be found in language classrooms. Irrespective of ideological aims and norms in the classroom, it is common that features that can be associated with 'different languages' are used interchangeably by language students, and these features may be used for identity work (Arnfast & Jørgensen 2003a).

2.1.4 Norms and ideologies

Language norms and attitudes are reflections of and reflect language ideologies. Woolard (1992: 235) states that "ideology stands in dialectal relation with, and thus significantly influences, social, discursive, and linguistic practices." The practice of language learning is crucial to the participants of this study, and their ideas of language and language learning influence this practice and the way the participants view it.

Research on multilingualism and second language learning can be considered in the light of four different views on language use involving more than one language, namely the deficit, difference, dominance, and discourse views (Rampton 2006: 20-21; Jørgensen 2010: 150). The four views describe views on multilinguals, and as language learners also can be considered multilingual in the sense that they know or are learning more than their first language, the views can be said to include learners.

The deficit view regards multilinguals (and thereby also learners) as deviating from the norm. This view is prescriptive, and multilinguals and members of subordinate groups are expected to socialise into dominant group norms. Other varieties than the standard language are considered irrelevant from this theoretical point of view. In the difference view, non-standard language use is acknowledged as legitimate in subordinate groups. The view is descriptive, claiming that non-standard language use is as systematic as and equal to standard language use. The dominance view centres on language and power, and within this view subordinate groups are seen as repressed by dominant groups. The discourse view of postmodern sociolinguistics reject the understanding of culture and language described "*either* as an elite canon, *or* as a set of static ethnic essences, *or* as a simple reflection of economical and political processes" (Rampton 2006: 19). The elite canon in the quote refers to the ideology of standard language and monolingualism (the deficit view), the static ethnic essences as neatly separated languages and cultures belonging to different groups (the difference view), and the economical and political processes to power struggles between groups (the dominance view). The anti-essentialist discourse view regards all language use as situated and socially negotiable.

The four views on non-standard language referred to above are related to societal views on multilingual behaviour, as they can be observed in for example schools and media (Jørgensen 2010). The monolingualism norm holds that "persons with access to more than one language should be sure to master one of them before getting into contact with the other" (Jørgensen 2010: 145). This view takes monolingualism as the norm, and multilingualism as a problematic deviation that should be avoided or at least hidden. The double monolingualism norm suggests that "people who command two languages will at any given time use one and only one language" (Jørgensen 2010: 145), and their use of each of the languages is expected to be indistinguishable from that of monolinguals. The integrated bilingualism norm holds that "persons who command two languages will employ their full linguistic competence in two different languages at any given time adjusted to the needs and the possibilities of the conversation" (Jørgensen 2010: 145). This norm implies that people who command more than one language will use their languages according to context, interlocutor, topic, and so on. The polylingualism norm maintains that "language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages" (Jørgensen 2010: 145). This means that language users do not only use linguistic features usually associated with the languages they know well, but also features usually associated with languages that they do not 'know'. Language users might use phrases, words, phonetic characteristics, or other features of languages that they do not feel a sense of ownership of. This corresponds to the phenomenon of crossing described by Rampton (1995).

Language norms and attitudes are closely linked. Languagers, i.e. people engaged in languaging, associate linguistic features with 'languages', and they hold attitudes to these 'languages' (Møller & Jørgensen 2011a). To illustrate this with a well-known study on language attitudes, some people in Canada might think of themselves as speakers of 'French', and they might associate 'English' with professional competence and 'French' with friendliness and religiosity (Lambert et al. 1960). In Denmark, different versions of guise studies have repeatedly demonstrated that standard Copenhagen varieties of Danish receive more positive evaluations than regional varieties (Kristiansen 1997; Maegaard 2005) or accented varieties (Quist & Jørgensen 2001; Kirilova 2006). Even pre-adolescent children in Danish schools prefer non-accented speech (Hyttel-Sørensen 2009).

Language attitudes are connected to norms of language use in the way that attitudes decide norms at the same time as existing norms influence attitudes. The monolingualism norm and the double monolingualism norm described by Jørgensen (2010) fit the results of guise tests investigating Danish spoken with foreign accents. Guise test informants react positively to speakers without foreign accents, i.e. speakers who use features that are exclusively associated with one language, in this case Danish. This reflects the idea that languages should be (and can be) kept apart. Keeping languages apart is considered appropriate. Some norms of language use thus concern what features should or should not be used together according to the languagers. These norms match the modernist axes of order versus disorder, purity versus impurity, and normality versus abnormality laid out in Blommaert, Leppänen & Spotti (2012). Language users express attitudes towards language use in general, and about the use of more than one language at a time.

As mentioned above, language attitudes and norms are closely connected with language ideologies. Two important concepts here are referentiality and indexicality. The referential ideology of language advocates that "accurate denotation is the primary function of language" (Blommaert 2006: 516), and this entails concepts such as correctness and precision. Although language is also referential, it is never merely referential. Speech positions people in social space "*at the same time* *as* it represents information about some actual or possible world" (Wortham 2001: 9, italics in original). In the words of Blommaert (2006: 513), every utterance is "packed with indexical meanings". Indexical meanings relate language to contexts, and "suggest identities, tones, styles and genres that appear to belong or to deviate from expected types" (Blommaert 2007). The way language is used indexes situated roles and positions of the interlocutors.

Within some areas of SLA research, an increased focus on indexical functions of language is gaining ground (e.g. Norton 2000). Studies of this kind are further treated in section 5 of this chapter. With foreign language practitioners, indexical functions are rarely at the centre of attention, although there are some teaching materials that include politeness or genre (Jeppesen & Maribo 2003a), or regional accents of Danish (Snefstrup & Møller 2010).

Traditionally, indexical functions of language have been completely ignored in language teaching materials. A case in point is the course book *Danish* (Koefoed 1958), which is intended for self-study. The book is divided into three main parts consisting of a pronunciation chapter concentrated on segments (vowels, diphthongs, consonants, etc.), a chapter with texts and exercises (text, vocabulary list, questions, grammatical note, exercises, translation), and a grammar chapter mainly focussing on morphology (substantives, adjectives, verbs etc.). This structuring of teaching material is typical of modern linguistics, and a similar structure can be found in earlier fieldwork descriptions of non-European languages (Blommaert 2008). While the enormous variation in spoken language is reduced to a finite set of rules and words (Johansson 2011), that is the descriptive grammar or the language course book, it is expected that learners, after having learned the finite set of rules and words, will be able to produce and understand the enormous variation displayed in actual language in use (Blommaert 2008).

2.1.5 Authentic language

Second language speakers have to negotiate social legitimacy (Rampton 1995) in order to be accepted as speakers. Native speakers might identify the language of second language speakers as inauthentic, though authenticity may also be defined by commodity branding or life-style (Rampton 2000). Moreover, as will be rendered evident in the analysis chapter, second language speakers might also consider their own language use inauthentic. As Møller & Jørgensen (2011b: 100) state "[t]here are plenty of restrictions on what speakers accept from each other", and, one might add with an outlook to the foreign language classroom, what speakers accept from themselves. Norms and ideologies that prescribe language use may be internalised by speakers, as seems to be the case with the participants of this study.

Linked to the idea of authentic language is the idea that ‘a language’ belongs to a certain group of people. Native speaker language is perceived as authentic because native speakers have the right to use their native language; it belongs to them (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller 2011). Such groups of people are regularly referred to as speech communities, although this concept is problematic in several respects (Rampton 2000). Social groups in late modernity are transient and superficial, and membership of a certain group may be defined not only, or not even primarily, by language, age, ethnicity, or other traditional sociolinguistic variables, but also by material commodities or life-style (Blommaert & Varis 2011; Rampton 2006).

Blommaert & Varis (2011: 5) describe the identity practices that are required of an individual to pass as an authentic member of a group in terms of ‘enoughness.’ In order to pass as an authentic member of a group, an appropriate dose, not too little and not too much, of certain behaviours or artefacts is necessary. This is a difficult task, because “‘enough’ is manifestly a judgment, often a compromise, and rarely a black-and-white and well-defined set of criteria” (Blommaert & Varis 2011: 5). The appropriate dose of behaviours and artefacts is constantly changing, meaning that enoughness and the definition of authenticity change as well.

Linguistic purism and correctness are foregrounded in many institutionalised language learning settings, and authenticity also plays a great role in discussions about teaching materials. Authentic teaching materials are usually understood as “materials which involve language naturally occurring as communication in native-speaker contexts of use” (Kilickaya 2004: 1). Some authors of teaching materials (e.g. Jeppesen & Maribo 2003b) advocate the use of authentic materials, for example newspaper articles, in addition to course books.

2.1.6 Summary of language in late modern sociolinguistics

Following one of the main points of this section on language in late modern sociolinguistics, namely that languages are ideological constructs, a number of theoretical notions have been presented. People do not speak or learn languages, but rather bits and chunks of language that make up a repertoire for the individual speaker. A repertoire includes all pieces of language that a person knows, understands, or uses, including pieces that are usually thought to belong to languages that the speaker does not think of as his or her language. The notion of languaging is useful when discussing language in a theoretical framework where languages are seen as ideological constructs. Languages are constructs, but they are real constructs, and how we label and use language have real implications for our social relations with other people. Polylanguaging is the simultaneous use of linguistic features usually associated with different languages, and this notion will be discussed more thoroughly later in the dissertation. The norms and ideologies of language and language use are important phenomena that are referred to in the analysis chapter of this dissertation. With a theoretical stance based on late modern sociolinguistics, the following sections of this theory chapter will concentrate on SLA research, and on the interaction between late modern sociolinguistics and SLA.

2.2 The chronological order of languages in SLA

The field of second language acquisition is usually understood to include studies on language(s) learned after the first language(s) (e.g. Block 2003; Ellis 1994). The notions of second language and first language, however, are not unambiguous, and there is a range of related terms used according to specific circumstances or theoretical stance. In the following, an overview of the notions used to describe languages in terms of their chronological order of learning is presented and discussed. The section is divided into subsections on L1, L2, and L3 according to the widespread use of these abbreviations.

2.2.1 L1, first language, native language, and mother tongue

The terms mother tongue, native language, and first language (L1) are all commonly used and all refer to language(s) learned in early childhood, but different connotations apply to these terms. This subsection discusses some possible uses of mother tongue, native language, and first language.

The term *mother tongue* can intuitively be associated with the language of the child's mother, which is not necessarily the language first learned by the child, although this is often the case. For most infants and young children, the parents are the primary caregivers, and traditionally mothers play a greater role in nursing babies than fathers. The young child would typically first hear the speech of and interact with his or her primary caregivers, and thus learn the language(s) spoken by them. One drawback of the term mother tongue is that children do not necessarily learn their mother's first language first, or at all, although most children probably do. They might first learn the language spoken by their father, their nanny, their siblings, their grandparents, or others who fill out the role of primary caregivers. Moreover, children who grow up in families speaking more than one language will usually learn more than one language, for example one language from their mother and another language from their father. In addition, the mother (or another primary caregiver) might speak more than one language to the child. In order to avoid a historically based gender bias, the term mother tongue is often eschewed in favour of native or first language.

Another point worth mentioning is that the term mother tongue may be used synonymously with terms like minority language in phrases such as mother tongue teaching, community language teaching, home language instruction, and minority language instruction (Extra & Gorter 2001). Within this discourse, the term mother tongue is specifically linked to immigrants and their particular linguistic needs.

The term *native language* implies that the child is born if not with a language then into a language and a language community (Rampton 1990). Native language is a widely used term in SLA and in linguistics in general. "Native speaker is the ultimate referee of linguistics," as Jørgensen (2010: 153) critically describes the view in structural linguistics, and he continues "[i]f our native speaker can not acknowledge and accept the results of linguistics, those results must be discarded." The native speaker of formal linguistics is not represented by real language users, though, because even the language "produced by native speakers (samples of their 'performance') will, for various reasons, be ungrammatical" (Lyons 1991: 38). It is not a native speaker in the shape of a real human being that is the ultimate referee of linguistics, but rather a native speaker in the shape of an idealised speaker, created in the image of the linguist.

In a similar way, an idealised version of the native speaker is typically used as a benchmark for second language acquisition, and the language of second language speakers is often described with terms such as native-like, native level, close to native, and of course non-native. Non-native speakers are generally viewed as learners, as subordinate to native speakers, and as "unusual, anomalous or extraordinary" (Firth & Wagner 2007 [1997]). This understanding of native and non-native speakers is symptomatic for the monolingual bias (Kachru 1994) in SLA research, where the learner's actual language is compared with the native speaker's idealised language.

The term *first language* or *L1* explicitly relates to a chronological order of language learning. The first language is the language first learned in early childhood. From the point of view of second language acquisition, L1 is a useful term, because it defines what L2 is not. Although the first language is not completely learned, as there is no such thing as a complete language, it is the language that a person first starts to learn. As a rule, people keep learning their L1 all of their lives while also learning and using other languages. There are also situations, however, where individuals completely abandon or are deprived of their L1, for example international adoptions of small children.

If, however, a young child learns two or more languages more or less simultaneously, he or she may be said to have two or more first languages. In this case, the chronological logic of the terms L1 and L2 is challenged. With regard to early childhood bilingualism, different views entail different notions. Traditionally, there has been a division between coordinative and compound bilingualism (e.g. Genesee et al. 1978). A simplified account of the division is that the coordinative type of bilingualism describes individuals who have learned the languages consecutively and in separate contexts, and who master two functionally independent systems, whereas the compound type describes individuals who have learned the languages simultaneously and in similar contexts, and who have two linguistic signs for the same concept (Harding-Esch & Riley 2003; Vaid 2002). Hence this division relates to the contexts of the languages (e.g. at home, outside of the home), and to the chronological order of the languages (the home language is usually encountered before the community language). Scratching the surface of this area of early childhood bilingualism suffices to point to some of the difficulties of defining what a first language is. Furthermore, this sketchy outline of early childhood bilingualism also points to the fact that first language is an ideological term, as is mother tongue and native language.

The terms laid out in this section are ideologically based, but they might still be helpful in delineating what language users believe about the languages they speak. The terms are ideological constructs and do not objectively mirror reality (whatever that means), but they may be helpful as somewhat simplified guidelines for discussing language learning. To be able to discuss language learning, we need technical terms. The term first language describes the language(s) which is (are) usually first used in early childhood. Although we do not stop learning our first language(s), when we start learning other languages, the first language(s) is (are) still primary chronologically. Furthermore, the use of the term first language avoids potential theoretical difficulties related to mother tongue, for example the gender bias and the link to community languages, and related to the term native language, for example the idealised understanding of the native speaker. In this dissertation, the term first language or L1 is thus used to refer to the language or languages that the participants have used and learned from early childhood.

The outline of mother tongue, native language, and first language in this section has touched upon some of the uses of and some of the problems with these concepts. The problem of defining what a first language is, is reflected in the problem of defining what a second language is. In the next subsection, the terms second and foreign language are at the centre of attention.

2.2.2 L2, second, and foreign languages

The term second language or L2 is widely used to refer to any language learned after the first language (e.g. Block 2003; Ellis 1994). This usually describes a language learned after early childhood, after the first language has been established (e.g. Berggren & Tenfjord 2007; Mitchell & Myles 1998). Second language learning is different from first language learning in many respects, for instance in terms of cognitive maturity, metalinguistic awareness, as well as expectations and support from the social surroundings (Lightbown & Spada 2006). It is conventional in SLA to differentiate between a language learned through formal instruction in a foreign language scenario and a language learned without formal instruction in a second language scenario. These distinctions are presented in the following.

The distinction between second and foreign language learning is usually based on the local area of residence of the learner (Mitchell & Myles 1998: 1). If the learner lives in a community where the language learned is widely spoken, it is usually assumed that the learner has at least some opportunity to use the language in various situations, and the learner is said to learn a *second language*. If the learner lives in a country or area where the language learned is not widely spoken, it is usually assumed that the learner has no or only little opportunity to use the language, and that the learner does not need the language for everyday communication. In this case, the learner is said to learn a *foreign language*.

As clear as this distinction between second and foreign languages may seem on an abstract level, as diffuse and vague it may be in concrete situations. The assumption that people learning a new language in a community where the language is widely spoken do automatically have rich opportunities for using the language does not always hold. As Norton (2000) has pointed out, first language speakers of a country do not necessarily view immigrants as legitimate speakers, and they may therefore ignore immigrant speakers so that these will not have the opportunity of using the language they are learning. In some situations, first language speakers may refuse to speak their first language with newcomers and instead switch to a lingua franca, typically English, because they find it difficult or tiresome to listen to their first language spoken with a foreign accent (Ritzau 2007). Hence, being in the target language country does not necessarily mean that the learner has access to the target language (cf. Norton 2000; Tanaka & Ellis 2003; Yang & Kim 2011).

Another assumption foregrounded in the distinction between second and foreign languages is that people living in an area where the language being learned is not widely spoken do not have opportunity to use the language on a daily basis. This is doubtless true for many learners, but it is not necessarily the case. Although Danish is not widely spoken in Switzerland, for example, there are people and families in Switzerland who speak Danish on a daily basis. If a German-speaking member of such a family decides to start learning Danish, he or she will probably be able to use Danish in a wide variety of contexts, and this situation will in many respects be closer to a traditional second language learning context than to a foreign language learning context. Furthermore, with the rise and spread of internet-based communication channels such as e-mail, virtual social networks, online chat platforms, and internet phone calls in recent years, long-distance communication has become increasingly faster, cheaper and more available for most people (Coupland 2009; for an early account see Byram & Risager 1999). A foreign language learner today may choose to surround him- or herself with the language being learned in the shape of music, television, and other mass media, and connections with first language speakers may be initiated and maintained without noticeable limitations caused by time or geography. A general increase in international mobility due to cheaper plane tickets, and due to the increased possibilities of free movement between the European countries and beyond (for the privileged Europeans and Westerners, that is), also add to the picture of a globalised world where the difference between second and foreign language learning can be difficult to maintain. In my work, I use both terms. The term second language should be understood as a general term for languages learned after the first language(s), whereas the term foreign language specifically refers to situations where the language in question is regarded as a learning object and generally not used for everyday interaction.

In addition to the distinction between second and foreign language learning, it is common to distinguish between *learning* through formal instruction and *acquisition* without formal instruction (e.g. Berggren & Tenfjord 2007). A classic paper on the topic (Krashen 1976: 167) argues that "[B]oth formal and informal linguistic environments contribute to second language proficiency but do so in different ways." In an informal linguistic environment, on the one hand, the acquirer is exposed to linguistic data that is processed as intake when the acquirer is actively involved with the language. Krashen (1976) underlines that being actively involved with language is necessary in order to acquire language, and that the amount of time spent in the target language country does not necessarily correlate with the level of acquisition. In a formal linguistic environment, on the other hand, the learner can be provided with both intake, knowledge about grammatical rules, and corrective feedback. Again, the time of amount spent in a language classroom does not necessarily correlate with the level of learning, because factors such as teaching methodology and facilities like language laboratories may influence the learning process. The conscious linguistic knowledge learned in a classroom serves as a monitor (Krashen 1976: 163) that alters the output of the acquired system.

Although it is definitely always important to reflect on learning conditions and contexts, the distinction between learning and acquisition is not always possible to uphold in empirical investigations. For example, a learner in an informal setting might be able to identify grammatical regularities in the second language and employ these in his or her speech. Alternatively, a learner in a formal setting might not understand the teacher's explanation of a grammatical rule, but he or she might still benefit from the lesson, because it provides opportunities for listening to and speaking the second language. The notions of acquisition and learning cannot be completely separated, and they will be used interchangeably in this dissertation (cf. Mitchell & Myles 1998).

2.2.3 L3, third, additional, and other languages

Within the last fifteen years or so, a range of studies on the learning of more than two languages, or learning more languages after the L2, have been published (Amaro, Flynn & Rothman 2012a; De Angelis 2007; Hammarberg 1998; see also the special issue of *IRAL* 2010, vol. 48, edited by Lindqvist & Bardel). Similar to the discussion of a monolingual bias in SLA research (Kachru 1994), De Angelis (2007: 15) claims that there is also a bilingual bias in SLA, and that this "bias is so pervasive that it is virtually impossible to list all the cases in which it can manifest itself," though it is especially dominant in psycholinguistic research (De Angelis 2007: 16). The monolingual bias covers a view of bilingual individuals as exceptions to the norm, and the bilingual bias similarly refers to a view of multilingual individuals as exceptions to the norm, and to the fact that the linguistic proficiency of multilingual individuals is often ignored. De Angelis (2007) argues that studies within SLA research treat the learning of one second language as the norm, partly because many studies have concentrated on white, Anglophone speakers. This is a problem, because "[m]ultilingualism is, no doubt, a common achievement for many people around the world" (De Angelis 2007: 1). Focussing exclusively on the learning of one additional language after the L1 thus excludes large groups of people who learn more than one additional language after the L1. In SLA research, it is (or has been) common not to ask informants whether they know more than one language already, what those other languages are, and what level of proficiency the speaker has reached in those languages. The bilingual bias leads SLA researchers to think in terms of monolingualism versus bilingualism and ignore multilingualism. This is reflected in different types of studies, for example in studies on language transfer, where it is common that relations between two languages, and not more than two, are studied (De Angelis 2007).

Different terms are used for languages learned after the L2. Some of these terms are discussed below. The problem of determining when and under what circumstances languages are encountered and used after the first language, i.e. whether languages should be described as L2 or L3 or something else is illustrated with a practical example at the end of this subsection.

The term *L3* or *third language* explicitly relates to the chronological order of languages learned and continues the string of L1 and L2 (Hammarberg 2010). To take this logic of chronology a step further, languages learned after the L3 must be labelled L4, L5, and so on. Within the field of L3 acquisition research, it is discussed what level of L2 proficiency must be obtained, and when an L2 must be learned, in order for a subsequent language to qualify as L3 (Amaro, Flynn & Rothman 2012b). For example, if a learner starts out learning an L2 but drops out of class or moves away from the L2 country after the initial learning phase, will a later learned language then count as L3, or will it be a second attempt at learning an L2? Or, for example, if an early childhood bilingual learns a foreign language in school, will this new language count as an L2 subsequent to two L1s, or will it count as an L3? If SLA researchers use the terms L1, L2, L3, and so on, it should be clear what is meant by these terms. Moreover, studies on second language learning and use should not ignore the knowledge of and proficiency in languages that the speakers (or researchers) do not think that they know well.

A problem in such kinds of discussions, and an overall problem with the term L3, is that languages are not, or at least not necessarily, learned in a chronological order (Hammarberg 2010). Moreover, it is not possible to learn 'the whole of a language', because language is continually changing, and thus it is not possible for the learning of a language to be completed. It is, of course, also practically impossible to test whether everything under the header 'Danish language' has been learned or not. The assumption that a language can be learned 'completely' presupposes that there is such a thing as 'a complete language'. Language learning can never be complete and never stops. All language users are also learners in some respects (Firth & Wagner 1998), because even the linguistic inventory of a person's first language changes over the years, as this person learns new words, styles, or the like.

The terms *Ln* (Amaro, Flynn & Rothman 2012b) as well as *Lx, Ly*, and *Lz* (Cenoz 2003) are less chronologically fixed than L3, L4 and so on. Cenoz (2003: 72) argues that when three languages are acquired, there are four possible scenarios: "The three languages can be acquired consecutively (L1→L2→L3); two languages could be acquired simultaneously before the L3 is acquired (Lx/Ly→L3) or after the first language (L1→Lx/Ly) or the three languages could be acquired simultaneously in early trilingualism (Lx/Ly/Lz)." Here, L plus number represents languages acquired consecutively, and L plus letter represents languages acquired simultaneously.

Again, the fact that languages cannot be learned completely, and that it is thus not possible to determine when an individual has finished learning a language, turn this neat-looking orderliness into a rather abstract understanding of how and when languages are learned. Furthermore, the possible combinations of the simultaneous and consecutive acquisition of languages will logically increase dramatically when four, five, six, or more languages are acquired. Imagine the formula needed to account for the quite likely situation of an individual who learns Arabic and Swiss German in early childhood, then moves on to learn High German and American English from the media, and also High German and then British English in school, later French in secondary school, before dropping out of the French class and joining the Italian class, simultaneously with starting a crash course in Latin and still attending a course in English. The situation described here is similar to situations described by some of the participants who provide data for this thesis. The point is, here, that the learning of other languages after the first language(s) cannot be accounted for by a systematic model of language learning in chronological order.

Hammarberg (2010: 95) refers to “a three-order hierarchy for the languages to be acquired: L1, L2, and languages from L3 on.” The argument for this three-order hierarchy is that there is “a distinct qualitative difference between the conditions for acquiring the first, second and third language” (Hammarberg 2010: 95). According to this view, a first language is learned in early childhood, a second language is learned after early childhood and can profit from L1 knowledge, and a third language is learned after early childhood and can profit not only from L1 knowledge, but also from L2 knowledge. One problem here is the omission of the bits and pieces of language learned in other contexts than at home and in school, for example language learned through the media, from friends, on holidays, and so on. A ‘monolingual’ child might in fact know and use some words and phrases of different languages before or while attending the first language course in school. These bits of language might have an influence on the learning of other languages. Another problem is that the L1 may well be influenced in several ways by an L2 at stages later in life (Pavlenko 2000). Consequentially, an L1 can profit from an L2 or an L3, which makes the “distinct qualitative difference” (Hammarberg 2010: 95) between the L1 and later learned languages less obvious. Moreover, Hammarberg (2010) states that there is a lack of empirical evidence for the claim that third language acquisition is not different from fourth or fifth language acquisition.

As alternatives to first, second, and third languages, Hammarberg (2010) suggests the terms primary, secondary, and tertiary languages, with the abbreviations L1, L2, and L3. His main argument is that “[r]ather than associating to a language-by-language chronology, this terminology expresses a cognitive hierarchy between the languages for the user-learner” (Hammarberg 2010: 99). With this terminology, primary languages are learned in early childhood, and “an L2 is secondary to L1 in the sense that it has been added after the period of the child’s early encounter with the world and incipient social and intellectual development, when the categories and patterns of L1 were established” (Hammarberg 2010: 99). So far, I agree with Hammarberg. The L3, then, is “tertiary in relation to the L1 and L2, the primary and secondary background languages” (Hammarberg 2010: 99). At this point, I am not convinced that there are such differences between learning an L2 and an L3. The differences between learning a first language and learning other languages relate to cognitive maturity, social development, and to the social environment, where young children encounter very different expectations compared with second language learners. These factors do not vary nearly as much between the learning of an L2, L3 or further languages.

Hammarberg (2010) explains that the term tertiary language is already used in educational contexts to describe the second foreign language in school. It does not become completely clear, though, in what ways secondary and tertiary languages, or first foreign and second foreign languages, differ. A cognitive hierarchy like the one suggested by Hammarberg (2010) is closer to real-world encounters with language than a chronological hierarchy, but I prefer to draw only one line, between primary and secondary languages, and avoid further lines separating secondary languages from tertiary languages or potential further categories.

A general problem with labelling languages with numbers, be it first, second, third, or primary, secondary, tertiary, is that it is extremely difficult to decide when a language counts as 'having been learned', and exactly which language is the first to be 'learned' after the first language(s). In order to illustrate this difficulty with a trivial example, I will outline my own experience with languages up until the first foreign language class in school, based on memory. As many children in Denmark in the 1980s, I grew up in a monolingual setting with family and friends speaking only Danish with me. English was my first foreign language in school from the fourth year, i.e. from approximately 11 years of age. However, in spite of growing up in a monolingual environment and not having learned other languages in school, I had encountered other languages through television and on holidays. For example, a range of Swedish children's television programmes were broadcasted in Swedish with a Danish voice-over on Danish television channels, and German and English cable television channels were also available. I had been on holidays in Norway and Sweden and communicated in Scandinavian on those occasions, for example in the ski school. I had also been to Germany and France and was able to understand and produce single words and phrases in German, and single words in French. Moreover, English was already then encountered in the Danish media. This scenario is not untypical for children in Denmark, and today's children in Denmark will probably encounter even more languages, for instance immigrant languages and different varieties of English, before entering their first foreign language class in school.

Admittedly, from the perspective of cross-linguistic influence (Kellerman & Sharwood Smith 1986), the Norwegian, Swedish, German, and French bits of language understood and produced by the average child in Denmark may not be traceable in the English produced by the child. However, this does not mean that the average child does not profit from these bits of language. A child in this situation will at least learn that an object is referred to in different ways in different languages, and that for example greetings differ from language to language. This rather simple example of a child's language encounters before entering the first foreign language class in school points to the fact that it is indeed a complicated matter to determine what a second language is.

None of the terms L1, L2, L3, and so on, are entirely satisfactory, but this does not mean that they should be completely abandoned (Firth & Wagner 2007 [1997]: 769, footnote 15). When using any of these notions, it is important to reflect on and articulate the difficulties mentioned here. Throughout this dissertation, the terms first language, second language, and foreign language are used for the sake of clarity and convenience. When describing the linguistic background of the participants of this study, it is relevant that some parts of their linguistic background is common to most of them, for example that they speak Swiss German as their (only) first language. This does not mean, however, that the participants agree completely on the definition of Swiss German, nor that they have the exact same repertoire – they do not. To describe a number of individuals as belonging to the same group, it is necessary to decide what common categories the individuals can be said to belong to. Such categories, for example 'L1 Swiss German' may be constructs, but can nevertheless be applied because they are practical as technical terms, and because they are experienced as real by the participants.

The concepts of other or additional languages (Rampton 1997) eschew the problem of chronology after the first language(s). Other or additional languages are learned after the first language(s), but here there is no attempt of deciding whether these additional languages count as L2 or L3 etc. The terms other or additional languages reflect the differences in learning context related to first language learning as opposed to other or additional language learning, for example differences in cognitive maturity and metalinguistic awareness (Lightbown & Spada 2006). These terms are useful, also in relation to my work. A further notion well suited to account for real-world language encounters is repertoire (Blommaert & Rampton 2012; Blommaert & Backus 2011; Blommaert 2009; Blommaert 2005), which was treated in section 1.2.

2.2.4 Summary of the chronological order of language learning

The three subsections under the heading of the chronological order of languages in SLA have treated three widely used categories, namely L1, L2, and L3. With regard to the category L1, the most suitable term for my work is first language, which avoids some of the theoretical problems related to mother tongue and native language. In the category of L2, I stated that the terms learning and acquisition are used interchangeably in this dissertation, and that the terms second and foreign language learning are both applied with second language learning as the more general term. The third category includes a number of terms, most of which are not further used in this dissertation, but which are included in order to demonstrate the difficulties related to the concept of the chronological learning of languages. I agree with Hammarberg (2010) that there is an important difference between learning primary languages in early childhood concurrent with the child's social and intellectual development, as opposed to learning secondary languages, after this life stage. However, I do not agree that there is a similar difference between secondary and tertiary language learning. The difference between the learning of first languages and other languages is generally accepted in the literature (Berggren & Tenfjord 2007; Block 2003; Ellis 1994; Mitchell & Myles 1998; Rampton 1997). While I agree that there are differences between learning first languages and other languages, I also acknowledge that all language learning has in common that it can never be complete, and that any of the bits and pieces of language learned by an individual may influence other bits and pieced learned by him or her. Moreover, no two individuals learn and use language in exactly the same way. For these reasons, the concept of linguistic repertoire (Blommaert 2009) is also important in discussions on language learning and will be used in this dissertation.

2.3 Classic second language learning studies

While the view on language learning presented in Section 2.1 of this chapter emphasises that languages are constructions, and that full command of a language is never possible, classic SLA studies represent a view on language learning as a linear progress stretching from no command to native command of a language. Many of the terms discussed in Section 2.2, for instance native speaker and second language speaker, are central terms in early studies on second language learning.

2.3.1 Morpheme studies

In the 1970s, the field of SLA was dominated by form-focussed accounts of language learning, for example studies of the acquisition of grammatical morphemes (Bailey, Madden & Krashen 1974; Freeman 1975). The developments within the morpheme studies can help to illustrate how different views of language learning have partly changed over time, although these studies have kept grammatical structures at the centre of attention. Inspired by studies on the sequential learning of morphemes in first language (L1) learning (Brown 1973), and in child second language (L2) learning (Dulay & Burt 1974), SLA scholars introduced research on the sequential learning of morphemes in adult L2 learning (Bailey, Madden & Krashen 1974; Freeman 1975; Holmen 1993; Meisel, Clahsen & Pienemann 1981). The early studies focus solely on the linguistic structure of English as a second language (Freeman 1975; Bailey, Madden & Krashen 1974), whereas later studies include other languages and other aspects in addition to structure. Meisel, Clahsen & Pienemann (1981) study the acquisition of German as a second language and include socio-psychological features such as identification with and integration in the target language society. A study on Danish as a second language (Holmen 1993) include further factors such as semantic and functional development and the learners' growing awareness of the target language. Linguistic, and especially grammatical, structures are central to these SLA studies, but already at this point there are signs pointing in the direction of a more socially informed SLA research.

2.3.2 Interlanguage and native-speaker competence

The interlanguage theory (Selinker 1972) has been extremely influential in SLA (Kachru 1994), and so has the assumption that the goal of second language learning is to reach an interlanguage level as close to the target language as possible, ultimately to reach a level described as accuracy of usage (Bailey, Madden & Krashen 1974), native-speaker competence (Selinker 1972), or native-like (e.g. Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson 2000).

Interlanguage is thought of as the language a learner produces while learning a new language, and it is different from the L1 and from the target language. Selinker (1972: 214) defines interlanguage as „a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a TL [target language] norm." Some important points are embedded in this quote, mainly that interlanguage is a separate system in its own right, and that the learner attempts to produce target language norms.

To take the latter point first, it is characteristic for form-focussed SLA studies that learners are inherently thought of as wanting and trying to conform to target language norms. Selinker's (1972) claim that any learner's interlanguage is either developing towards a target language or is fossilised, points to an understanding of second language learning as a one-directional and norm-focussed learning process. For example, fossilised interlanguage structures are described as „*never* really eradicated“ (Selinker 1972: 221, italics in original). This clearly has negative connotations, and the notions of success and failure are used throughout the article. Selinker (1972: 212) defines "absolute success" as the achievement of native-speaker competence. Selinker (1972: 212) suggests that 5% of all second language learners attain native-speaker competence, although he does not provide any references for this number, and he further suggests that these successful learners "may be safely ignored" in a theory of second language learning, because they are exceptions. For the 95% of learners who "fail to achieve native-speaker competence" (Selinker 1972: 212), the notion of attempted learning, which may in turn be successful or unsuccessful, is central. Thus learners may be successful in learning certain aspects of language, although they are not absolutely successful because they do not reach native-speaker competence.

The second important point of the quote above is that interlanguage is a separate system; it is separate from the learner's L1 and from the target language. Interlanguage is the result of attempted learning, which may be more or less successful, meaning that the interlanguage system may be more or less close to the target language. Learners may experience "backsliding" (Selinker 1972: 215), which can be described as the re-occurrence of an error that had been "seemingly eradicated." Such backsliding is, Selinker (1972: 216) claims, neither random nor directed towards the speaker's native language, but rather a slide back towards an interlanguage norm.

Selinker (1972: 215) specifies five processes that are central to second language learning: 1) language transfer, i.e. structures or items from the native language that are brought into the interlanguage, 2) transfer-of-training, i.e. structures or items from language teaching that are brought into the interlanguage, 3) strategies of second-language learning, i.e. structures or items that are a result of approaches to the material by the learner, 4) strategies of second language communication, i.e. structures or items that are a result of approaches to communication with native speakers by the learner, and 5) overgeneralisation of target language linguistic material, i.e. undue use of target language grammatical rules and vocabulary in the interlanguage.

Although there are some problems with this list of five central processes, for example why *transfer* and *overgeneralisation* are not subcategories of *strategies* (Ellis 1994: 351), the list has been influential in SLA studies. The concept of interlanguage is not used in this dissertation, but has been included here because of the enormous influence it has had within the field of SLA.

2.3.3 Input and output

In addition to and related to the influential concept of interlanguage are the competing hypotheses of comprehensible input (Krashen 2009 [1982]) and comprehensible output (Swain 1985, 1995). The input hypothesis (Krashen 2009 [1982]: 21) consists of four parts:

1. The input hypothesis relates to acquisition, not learning.
2. We acquire by understanding language that contains structure beyond our current level of competence (i + 1). This is done with the help of context or extra-linguistic information.
3. When communication is successful, when the input is understood and there is enough of it, *i + 1* will be provided automatically.
4. Production ability emerges. It is not taught directly.

In this section, the three last parts of the definition will be in focus (part 1, the dichotomy of acquisition and learning was discussed in section 2.2 above). A learners' current level of competence is referred to as *i,* and the level just beyond this level is referred to as *i+1.* Krashen (2009 [1982]) suggests that when a learner receives input that is just beyond his level of competence, he will understand the input with the help of contextual cues. According to the hypothesis, we acquire linguistic structure while attending to meaning. The third part of the definition claims that *i+1* will be provided automatically by interlocutors and thus further contribute to the acquisition of grammatical structures. The final part of the definition claims that production ability emerges due to the received comprehensible input. According to the input hypothesis, there is no need to teach or practice production, as accurate production "develops over time as the acquirer hears and understands more input“ (2009 [1982]: 22).

The input hypothesis has been heavily criticised, for instace by Swain's (1985) output hypothesis and by Schmidt's (1990, 1993) noticing hypothesis. These hypotheses are outlined below.

The noticing hypothesis (Schmidt 1990, 1993) suggests that learners are not aware of and do not process all the input that is available to them. Rather, the input that a learner notices is converted to intake, and noticing is necessary and sufficient for converting input to intake (Schmidt 1990, 1993). In other words, the learner takes in what he or she has noticed, and only the input that has been noticed can be learned. Awareness plays an important role here, as learners who 'pay attention' to linguistic forms probably notice more, and thus learn more, than learners who do not pay attention to the same degree (Schmidt 1990; Schmidt & Frota 1986).

The input hypothesis is not further referred to in this study, but the outline of the input hypothesis here serves as a backdrop for an outline of the output hypotheses, which is referred to in later chapters. The output hypothesis can be seen as a reaction to the input hypothesis, and is based on observations of immersion students in Canada, who do indeed receive comprehensible input, but who do not acquire "nativelike abilities in the grammatical domain" (Swain 1985: 238).

Swain (1985, 1995) argues that comprehensible input is an important but not sufficient source for second language learning. Learners might understand input containing grammatical structures that they are not able to analyse or reproduce, and they are not motivated (or 'pushed') to learn these structures. To learn grammatical structures, learners must produce comprehensible output in conversations where meaning is negotiated. Learners must be 'pushed' to produce output containing grammatical structures just out of their reach, because this will lead them to analyse these structures. Learners are 'pushed' when they receive negative feedback, for instance when the interlocutor does not understand, and this creates a "social or cognitive pressure to produce language that reflects more appropriately or precisely their intended meaning" (Swain 1985: 249). Swain (1995: 128) lists three functions of output, namely

1. the noticing function
2. the hypothesis testing function, an
3. the metalinguistic function

The first function characterises the process when a learner notices a gap in his or her knowledge, which leads to consciousness-raising and might trigger cognitive processes leading to learning. The second function, hypothesis testing, describes what learners do when they experiment with new linguistic forms and structures and "stretch their interlanguage to meet communicative needs" (Swain 1995: 132). The third function refers to negotiation about form, which takes place when learners consciously reflect on their output and on their learning. According to the output hypothesis, these three functions are central to learning grammatical structures.

2.3.4 Transfer

The linguistic structures and forms used by learners may be analysed as following a sequential pattern, as suggested by the morpheme studies (section 3.1), as representing a separate linguistic system, as suggested by the interlanguage theory (section 3.2), or they may be thought of as deriving from the learners' first language(s), as suggested by studies of transfer and crosslinguistic influence.

Most language transfer studies investigate language transfer from a first language to a second language, but Selinker's (1969) early account does actually specify that language transfer covers "the influencing of a foreign language not only by the native language but by another foreign language, and, finally, the phenomenon of influence upon the native language by a foreign language" (Selinker 1969: 68, footnote 1). As an alternative to the notion of transfer, Kellerman & Sharwood Smith (1986: 1) suggest the term crosslinguistic influence, because it is "theory-neutral, allowing one to subsume under one heading such phenomena as 'transfer', 'interference', 'avoidance', 'borrowing' and L2-related aspects of language loss and thus permitting discussion of the similarities and differences between these phenomena." Crosslinguistic influence is thus a more comprehensive and less value-laden term compared to transfer. However, as the title of Odlin's influential book (1989: *Language transfer. Cross-linguistic influence in language learning*) on the topic illustrates the definitions may overlap. Koda (2007: 17) refers to a conception of transfer that has "shifted from characterizing L1 influences (e.g., as negative, positive, neutral) to identifying the resources available to L2 learners," and where "transfer is defined as the ability to learn new skills by drawing on previously acquired resources" (Koda 2007: 17). This understanding of previously learned language as a resource for learning more language illustrates a step away from essentialist theories of language. When a learner undertakes the complex process of learning a new language, the bits and pieces of language already known to the learner, be it first or other languages, might have an influence on and be influenced by the new language.

The notion of transfer has been influential in SLA studies, and even though the morpheme studies referred to above argue against transfer to a large extent, some researchers in that field use terms that are clearly linked to transfer. For example, the terms source language and target language used in Meisel, Clahsen & Pienemann (1981) point to an understanding of language learning as originating from the first language, the 'source', and moving towards a target language.

2.3.5 Summary of classic SLA studies

The classic SLA studies and the concepts outlined in this section have been influential within the field of SLA, especially interlanguage, native-speaker competence, and transfer. Some of the concepts are still very influential, both within SLA research, and within educational institutions. In educational institutions, for instance language courses at universities, language is often described in terms of structured items and rules, and language learning as a linear progress determined by the internal structure of the language. The goal of language learning, in such institutions, may be defined as native-like control of the language in question, and problems with reaching this goal may be explained by transfer. Thus, although there is much more to second language learning than these traditional concepts, they remain influential in practical language learning contexts.

2.4 Second language learning strategies

Apart from the influence of the first language on second language acquisition, a range of individual differences have been investigated in SLA, especially age, gender, personality, aptitude, learning styles, and strategies (Dörnyei 2005; Ellis 1994; Lightbown & Spada 2006). For the purposes of this dissertation, the field of second language learning strategies is particularly relevant.

Research on second language learning strategies arises from discussions about "the good language learner" (Rubin 1975), and how learning strategies used by 'good language learners' may be taught to less successful language learners in order to facilitate their learning. Rubin (1975) suggests seven strategies or characteristics of 'the good language learner': being a good guesser, having a strong drive to communicate, being willing to appear foolish, attending to form, practising and seeking out possibilities to practise, monitoring his or her own speech and the speech of others, and attending to meaning.

Learning strategies are closely related to learning styles, and as both concepts are theoretically unsharp, the line between them is unsharp as well (Dörnyei 2005). In short, a person's learning style refers to the way in which a learner generally approaches learning, his or her general preferences for dealing with a variety of tasks. Learning styles are difficult to change. Learning strategies are specific techniques that are appropriate for the learner when dealing with specific tasks. Learning strategies can be taught and learned (Oxford & Nyikos 1989; Rubin 1975) and are thus less fixed than learning styles.

Ehrman & Leaver (2003) place learning styles in a continuum between synopsis and ectasis. Synoptic learners trust their intuition and accomplish learning through “preconscious or unconscious processes” (Ehrman & Leaver 2003: 395), whereas ectenic learners consciously control their learning process. For example, synoptic learners use their own logic and preferences to organise information. Such individual processes may look random from the outside, but the synoptic learner is learning through his or her own system, and such learners are open and tolerate ambiguities. Ectenic learners prefer sequential steps laid out by a teacher or a textbook and prefer finishing one task completely before moving on to the next one. Ectenic learners may be frustrated by open-ended classroom activities and have a clear preference for systematic and planned activities.

In his book on individual differences, Dörnyei (2005) includes a chapter on language learning strategies, although he does not view strategies as true individual difference-factors, and although there is no watertight definition of strategies. The concept of learning strategies is, as described above, closely linked with learning styles, has been studied intensely since the 1970s and especially during the 1980s and 1990s (Dörnyei 2005: 167), and is “intuitively appealing to researchers and was also embraced with enthusiasm by language teachers” (Dörnyei 2005: 166). Research on language learning strategies is appealing for researchers and practitioners alike, because it might lead to practical suggestions for second language teaching.

Strategies are not directly observable (Chamot 2004) but may be observed via the physical aspects of a learner’s strategy, for example that the learner writes a list of words. To understand what is going on in the learner’s mind, however, the researcher is left with the learner’s introspection, for example in the shape of think-aloud data.

There have been several attempts to establish taxonomies of learning strategies (see Dörnyei 2005 for a critical overview), for example Oxford and Nyikos’ (1989) division of cognitive, metacognitive, social, affective, and compensation strategies. Cognitive strategies are used for “associating new information with existing information” (Oxford & Nyikos 1989: 291), that is the incorporation of new material, for example new words, into already known material, such as the learner's vocabulary. Metacognitive strategies are used for planning and organising the learning tasks. Social strategies affect interaction with other people, for example asking fellow students for help, affective strategies control motivation and feelings such as anxiety, and compensation strategies are similar to communication strategies as they are used for dealing with deficiencies by way of circumlocution or guessing meaning from context. For the purposes of my work, cognitive, metacognitive, and social learning strategies will be at the centre of attention. O'Malley & Chamot (1990) provide us with definitions similar to those offered by Oxford & Nyikos (1989): Cognitive strategies operate and manipulate linguistic input and output, and metacognitive strategies include selective attention, planning, monitoring, and evaluation.

Research on language learning strategies is often focussed on one L2 and one L1, and not on further languages. A monolingual bias (De Angelis 2007; Kachru 1994) is pervasive both in the second language learning strategies described here, and in the interlanguage, transfer, and morpheme studies described above. Similarly, within the field of vocabulary learning, studies usually focus on one first language and one target language.

In the following, research on vocabulary learning strategies is discussed. In the analysis chapter of this dissertation, strategies for learning pronunciation and grammar are discussed as well. The conclusion of the following sections, namely that combinations of strategies, the level of strategy use, and the learner's self-regulation and time spent on learning are better predictors for language acquisition than single types of strategies, is generalisable to research on language learning strategies in general (Dörnyei 2005).

2.4.1 Vocabulary learning strategies

This section first discusses what lexical competence means, and then moves on to discuss studies on vocabulary learning strategies. A range of studies investigates specific types of vocabulary learning strategies and find that some types of strategies are more efficient than others. In the following, a selection of vocabulary learning strategies are discussed; memorisation, reading, writing, translation, and learning from listening to and singing along with songs in the foreign language.

2.4.2 What does it mean to know a word?

Before discussing strategies for vocabulary learning in more detail, it is necessary to ask what it actually means to know a word. The following quote presents different understandings of 'knowing a word':

> What does it mean to know a word? Grasp the general meaning in a familiar context? Provide a definition or a translation equivalent? Identify its component parts or etymology? Use the word to complete a sentence or to create a new sentence? Use it metaphorically? Understand a joke that uses homonyms [...]? (Lightbown and Spada 2006: 100).

Lexical competence can be defined in different ways. Richards (1976) presents a list of assumptions about what it means to know a word. These assumptions are wide-ranging and encompass knowing the degree of probability of encountering a word in speech or print, knowing collocations, knowing situational or functional limitations of a word, knowing the syntactic behaviour of a word, knowing the stem and possible derivations of a word, knowing association networks, semantic value, and different meanings of a word. As Richards (1976) states, this information is simultaneously complex and inconclusive, and cannot be applied directly to teaching procedures.

Golden (1984) likewise considers ten different aspects of lexical competence and emphasises that it is common to master only some of the aspects of a word. For example, a learner might not know precisely what a word means, even though she might know something about collocations, positive or negative associations, or social acceptability of the word. On the other hand, it is also possible to know the meaning of a word without knowing whether the word is considered more appropriate in casual or formal contexts.

A question related to these discussions of lexical competence is whether the lexicon can be considered a separate domain at all, for example whether the lexical knowledge can be separated from grammatical knowledge. Singleton (1997: 214) suggests that it "makes sense thus to carve out (provisionally) an area of language which can be called lexical," although this area may prove not to be dissociable from other domains of linguistics.

Henriksen (1999) in turn proposes a system encompassing three component parts of lexical competence: quantity (the number of words), quality (the knowledge about words), and control (the use of words). This distinction is less detailed and less precise than those mentioned above, but it is useful as a point of orientation when discussing memorisation and other strategies for vocabulary learning. Henriksen (1999) primarily focuses on pedagogical aspects of foreign language learning such as task types and not on social aspects. Through reading and other types of input learners first and foremost expand the quantity of their vocabulary. If learners want to expand the quality of their vocabulary and be able to use their vocabulary, it is necessary, as Henriksen (1999) points out, that they engage in cognitive processing of the new words.

Meara (2009: 19) defines knowing a word in social and behavioural terms as "the ability to react to a word in ways which are considered appropriate by the speech community." This is a more complex, comprehensive, and socially informed definition of vocabulary knowledge, and also more appropriate. From a pedagogical point of view, one disadvantage of this definition is that this kind of vocabulary knowledge is difficult to teach and to test. The incongruence between what is easy to teach and what is important to teach will be discussed in the section on memorisation below.

2.4.3 Memorisation

Learning words by way of memorisation from word lists or flash cards is a much-discussed strategy, and it may be widespread among learners (Barcroft 2009). Nation (2002) argues that not all vocabulary learning must necessarily be done in context, and that "decontextualized study of vocabulary is an effective way of rapidly increasing learner's vocabulary size" (Nation 2002: 271). Nation and Waring (1997: 12–13) especially advocate the use of non-contextual learning techniques such as vocabulary flash cards at the very beginning of a language course, where students do not yet understand enough of a given (written or oral) text to infer the meaning of single words from it.

Importantly, learners' ability to infer the meaning of words in a foreign language text also depends on the number of words shared by the target language and the first language(s) or other known languages. Learners speaking German and English will probably be able to recognise and understand more words in a Danish text than, say, Chinese speakers with no knowledge of Germanic languages. Loanwords and cognates play an important role in foreign language reading. Melka (1997) addresses the issue of related words in different languages. When learners read or hear L2 words that are similar in form to words in their L1, they will anticipate that the meanings of the words in question are also similar. Melka (1997: 97) describes how learners make use of cognates and loanwords in different ways at different learning stages. In early stages, they rely heavily on similar words and generalise the meaning of the L1 and L2 words, i.e. they assume the words carry more or less identical meanings in both languages. Later on, learners will notice differences in meaning between similar words in different languages and thus be more cautious when making use of cognates and loanwords.

Nation and Waring (1997) do not only advocate the use of vocabulary cards in early stages of foreign language acquisition, but also argue that the use of vocabulary cards supports motivation, because they are easy to transport and use outside the classroom. They also consider vocabulary cards useful because they give the learner a feeling of progression, especially when specific goals are set as to the number of words to be learned.

It is, of course, possible that vocabulary lists and cards support motivation in some learners, especially if learners are used to memorising vocabulary this way. However, the arguments presented by Nation and Waring (1997) can be applied to many other learning strategies and materials as well. Books are easy to transport and can be read practically everywhere, and audio files with music, podcasts, or audio books are easy to use wherever the learner wishes to do so. As far as the motivating feeling of progress is concerned, it can also be achieved in other ways, for example when learners can understand longer and more complicated texts, read short stories without the use of a dictionary, become able to write a multifaceted text with the use of synonyms, or when they can talk about a certain topic without having to pause and actively search for words.

Further factors are relevant when it comes to memorising words. Hvenekilde (1984) argues that words with a familiar form (familiar orthographic and phonotactic rules) are easier to remember than words with less familiar forms. She introduces the nonsense word *krange* as an example of a word that is easy to remember for Scandinavian speakers (and readers) as opposed to the Vietnamese word *ngúng*, which contains an initial 'ng' which is not used in Scandinavian languages. Words containing unfamiliar letters and diacritics will also be more difficult to remember. In short, it is easier to memorise words that display a known structure and that can be fitted into an already existing system of forms, meanings and associations.

2.4.4 Learning vocabulary from reading or writing

Reading is often mentioned as a vocabulary learning strategy in the literature (Lightbown and Spada 2006; Nation and Waring 1997; Nagy 1997; Hunt and Beglar 2002), and this section concentrates on reading compared to other strategies. In a paper discussing reading versus other vocabulary learning strategies, Laufer (2003) concludes that more words are learned through tasks compared to reading. The paper presents three experiments carried out with learners of English as a foreign language at an Israeli university and in a high school with Arabic first language speakers. In experiment 1, sixty university students were divided into two groups, and the goal was for the learners to retain the meaning of ten low frequency words that they did not know in advance. One group read a text with marginal glosses of the ten words and answered ten multiple choice comprehension questions. The other group received a list of the same ten words with explanations in English and translations into Hebrew, and they were asked to write sentences containing these words. The learners were tested immediately after the experiment and two weeks later, and the sentence writing group scored higher on both occasions.

In experiment 2, another group of learners were divided into two groups, and the same ten words were selected for investigation. The first group carried out the same reading task as the reading group in the first experiment. The second group received a list of the same ten words with explanations in English and translations into Hebrew, and their task was to write a letter including the ten words. The letter was on the same topic as the text read by the reading group. Again, the students were tested immediately after the experiment and two weeks later, and the letter writing group scored higher on both occasions.

In experiment 3, the learners were divided into three groups carrying out the following tasks: a) reading and looking up unknown words in the dictionary, b) writing sentences with the target words, and c) completing sentences with the target words after looking up their meaning. All three groups focussed on the same ten words. In the immediate test and the test two weeks later, the reading group scored significantly lower than the two other groups. From these three experiments, Laufer (2003: 583) concludes that word-focussed tasks where the learners use the target words in context are “more effective and less time-consuming” for vocabulary learning compared to reading. The author does not deny the overall importance of reading, nor that vocabulary can be learned through reading, but she suggests that reading is not as efficient as productive tasks.

One point of discussion worth mentioning here is that the texts read by the reading groups in these three experiments were short, only 621 words in the two first experiments and 211 words in the third experiment. Other scholars who discuss reading for vocabulary learning select much longer texts for the reading tasks, and the texts are read several times; for example eight repeated readings of the same novel *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (Ronald 2009), or eight repeated readings of a *Lucky Luke* comic book which comprised around 6000 tokens (Horst & Meara 1999).

Reading as a strategy for vocabulary learning is generally uncontroversial (Gu and Johnson 1996; Lightbown and Spada 2006; Nation and Waring 1997; Nagy 1997; Hunt and Beglar 2002), but opinions differ about how much and what type of reading can be expected to lead to different degrees of learning. For absolute beginners, however, it can be difficult to use reading as a strategy for vocabulary learning, as it is necessary to understand the vast bulk of a text to be able to infer the meaning of a new word from the context. According to Lightbown and Spada (2006) and Nation and Waring (1997), readers must understand about 95% of a text in order to infer meanings from the context, but learners can supplement this strategy by using a dictionary. Ronald (2009) demonstrates how reading with the use of a dictionary considerably increases vocabulary as compared to reading without a dictionary. This underlines that reading is not just reading; several factors such as text length, number of readings, and the context and frequency of words must be considered when discussing reading as a vocabulary learning strategy.

2.4.5 Learning vocabulary from contrastive analysis and translation

In a study based on data from 75 pupils (15-16 years old) learning English as a foreign language in Israel, Laufer & Girsai (2008) compare three types of vocabulary instruction. The informants are divided into three groups representing three learning conditions: a) message-focussed instruction, b) non-contrastive form-focussed instruction, and c) contrastive analysis and translation. Ten words and ten collocational phrases constituted the items to be learned and tested. At the first stage of the study, all participants read a text and answered true or false-statements based on the text. At the second stage of the study, the three groups carried out different tasks. The message-focussed instruction group received the communicative tasks of reading comprehension and pair/group discussions about the text. The target words were not singled out for teaching. The non-contrastive form-focussed instruction group received the two tasks of meaning recognition of the target vocabulary, and a text fill-in activity with the target words provided after the text. The contrastive analysis and translation group received two translation tasks, namely translating sentences from English into Hebrew, and then from Hebrew into English. All participants were tested on the day after they carried out the tasks, and again one week later. In both tests, one day after and one week after the tasks, the contrastive analysis and translation group scored significantly higher than the other two groups, and the message-focussed instruction group “learnt almost no vocabulary” (Laufer & Girsai 2008: 709). The authors conclude that “there is indeed a place for contrastive analysis and translation activities in L2 teaching,” (Laufer & Girsai 2008: 712) although they do not wish to return to the grammar-translation method, nor to abandon communicative language teaching.

One point of discussion related to the study design, however, is the strict division between message-focussed and form-focussed instruction. The message-focussed instruction group do carry out tasks related to the text that they have read, but the communicative tasks do not mention any of the target words or phrases. It is possible, of course, to design tasks that are simultaneously meaning-focussed and form-focussed, but this was not done in the study by Laufer & Girsai (2008).

2.4.6 Learning vocabulary from songs

Milton (2008) emphasises the importance of focus on form, and of the learners’ autonomy and motivation to learn, in order for vocabulary uptake from informal learning tasks to take place. Milton’s study (2008) reports the lexical uptake of a single subject, an English L1 speaker learning Greek as a foreign language. The participant listened to a CD with 23 Greek songs once a week during eight weeks, while reading the lyrics and singing along. The participant was tested for retention and translation of 100 target words before the experiment, once a week during the experiment, and again three months after the experiment. At the end, 77 out of the 100 test items were learned, and Milton (2008: 231) suggests that “[i]f extrapolated to the whole unknown vocabulary corpus this would represent the learning of 242 lexical items over these 8 hours, a rate of more than 30 words per hour.” Milton (2008: 233-234) refers to further studies that similarly demonstrate an hourly uptake of about 30 words from listening to, singing along with, and reading the lyrics of songs in a foreign language.

Because many people enjoy listening to music and singing along to the same songs repeatedly, this type of vocabulary learning task may be experienced as enjoyable and motivating, even by learners who consider themselves relatively unsuccessful in learning languages (Milton 2008: 234). It is important to underline, though, that learning is not inevitable, and that such singing along-tasks “still require considerable autonomy and motivation on the part of the learner” (Milton 2008: 235). This relates to Schmidt’s (1990) claim that input must be noticed before it can be learned.

2.4.7 Learning vocabulary from combined strategies

While the studies cited above (Laufer 2003; Laufer & Girsai 2008; Milton 2008) discuss specific strategies for vocabulary learning, other scholars argue that it is less important what strategies are used, and more important how learners combine strategies. In a review of empirical research on vocabulary learning strategies, Gu (2003) concludes that a search for "*the* "best" strategy for vocabulary retention" (Gu 2003: 18, emphasis in original) is less promising than research on how different learners use a range of different strategies in order to learn vocabulary. He bases this conclusion on two studies (Gu & Johnson 1996; Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown 1999).

Gu & Johnson (1996) combine the investigation of foreign language learners' beliefs about vocabulary learning strategies and their actual vocabulary learning outcomes. Data was collected from 850 Chinese-speaking students at a Beijing University who studied English as part of their curriculum. The participants filled in a questionnaire concerning their beliefs about vocabulary learning and their self-reported use of vocabulary learning strategies, and they participated in a vocabulary size test and a proficiency measurement test. Based on cluster analyses, five groups of learners were identified: *Readers*, who believed that vocabulary should be picked up through natural exposure and strongly rejected memorisation strategies, and who reported using different strategies including extensive reading; *Active Strategy Users*, who also believed in picking up vocabulary through natural exposure but did not exclude memorisation as an efficient strategy, and who spent much time and effort on learning through a wide range of different strategies; *Passive Strategy Users*, who believed in visual repetition of words, and who generally showed a low level of motivation; and *Encoders* and *Non-Encoders*, two groups that behaved similarly except for their encoding strategies, and who generally used many different strategies but only to a low degree. The Encoders and Non-Encoders make up more than 87% of the participants, and these two groups showed average scores on the vocabulary size and proficiency measurement tests. The most successful groups, the Readers and the Active Strategy Users, constituted 11% of the participants, and the least successful group, Passive Strategy Users, represented only 2% of the participants. The authors conclude that only one type of strategy, visual repetition of new words, is negatively correlated with both vocabulary size and general proficiency. The authors suggest that with regard to the other strategies reported by the participants, it is of less importance what strategies they use, and of more importance to what degree they use the strategies (time and effort), and to what degree they combine different strategies.

A similar conclusion is drawn by Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown (1999). Their study presents data from two informant groups, one group of 47 ESL (English as a second language) learners at a university in Canada, and another group of 43 ESL learners at a university in Yugoslavia. A cluster analysis reveals eight learner profiles, two of which are particularly successful in both vocabulary knowledge and overall English proficiency. The learners of these two categories use a wide range of strategies, and it is pointed out by the authors that their high level of learner independence is particularly indicative of their success, as is the fact that they spend much time on language learning outside of class. The authors conclude that "no vocabulary learning strategy can be effective for all learners" (Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown 1999: 190), but that awareness of possible strategies and willingness to take responsibility for their own learning are important points for all learners.

2.4.8 Summary of vocabulary learning strategies

Specific strategies for vocabulary learning may be useful for specific learners in specific contexts, but there is no perfect strategy that works for all learners in all contexts. As argued by some scholars (Gu 2003; Gu & Johnson 1996; Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown 1999), combinations of strategies are indicative of success. Learners who employ a range of different strategies are mostly autonomous and motivated, and they generally spend more time and effort on language learning compared to learners who use only few strategies.

When comparing strategies for vocabulary learning, it is important to keep in mind that such direct comparisons are difficult to carry out. In Laufer (2003), for instance, the strategies of reading and writing are compared, but the activity of reading is described in quite a different way from reading in other studies (for example in Horst & Meara 1999; Ronald 2009). This illustrates that one activity, such as reading, may be understood in many different ways and that one reading activity cannot necessarily be directly compared with another reading activity. This further means that the findings of studies dealing with different learning strategies are not necessarily comparable.

A further point from the discussion above is that vocabulary learning can indeed be enjoyable for the learners (Milton 2008). Time and effort are important, as demonstrated by Gu & Johnson (1996) and Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown (1999), but a 'no pain no gain'-approach to vocabulary learning, or to foreign language learning in general, is not necessarily useful.

To sum up, certain learning strategies may be effective for certain learners in certain context, but there is no 'best' strategy that fits all learners. The contexts and situations that learners find themselves in, and their social encounters with other people are central to the way they learn. SLA approaches that centre on social aspects of language learning are treated in the following section.

2.5 Socially informed approaches to SLA

Within the field of SLA, a series of traditional notions, such as native speaker, target language, and the division between L2 learners and L2 users have discussed and questioned (Block 2003; Cook 1999; Firth & Wagner 2007 [1997], 1998; Kramsch 2002). Such traditional concepts have not been entirely dismissed, but a more reflected use is now prevalent, at least in socially informed approaches.

Although there are several differences between the approaches outlined in this section, they all have the important joint quality of including more than just linguistic structures and individual learner differences in their analyses. The approaches outlined below are sociocultural and activity theory, the ecology approach, the chaos/complexity theory, and the identity approach. The sociocultural and activity theory and the identity approach are particularly relevant to this dissertation. The two other approaches, ecology and chaos/complexity, are included so as to give a brief overview of approaches that share some assumptions about contexts and complexity with the sociocultural and identity approaches.

2.5.1 Sociocultural theory and activity theory

Sociocultural theory and activity theory (Lantolf 2011; Thorne & Lantolf 2007; Lantolf & Genung 2002; Lantolf & Pavlenko 2001; Magnan 2008) work from a dialectic rather than a dualistic point of view and thus regard dichotomous pairs such as input and output, or learning and acquisition, as "part of a unified process" (Lantolf & Poehner 2008: 4). The integration of a large range of factors, which traditionally have been perceived as oppositions, is common to chaos/complexity theory as well as the ecology approach, and activity theory. According to activity theory, it does make sense to focus on single components, but only as long the component is regarded as part of a larger whole. Lantolf & Poehner (2008: 5) use the metaphor of magnetism to explain the relation between single part and the totality that includes components. The process of magnetism cannot be explained only by looking at positive or negative electrical charges; it is the relation between positive and negative charges that it is interesting.

Central to activity theory is the understanding of language as activity (Thorne & Lantolf 2007), and language learners and users as agents (Lantolf & Pavlenko 2001). Language use and development and central to the concept of activity, and language is seen as structuring and being structured by the social, political, and material world (Thorne & Lantolf 2007). The interaction between language, people, and the world is emphasised. The integration of a wide range of relevant factors allows for "a more complex view of second language learners as agents, whose actions are situated in particular contexts and are influenced by their dynamic ethnic, national, gender, class and social identities" (Lantolf & Pavlenko 2001: 155). With this quote, Lantolf & Pavlenko (2001) explicitly relate their article to the work of Norton and others and acknowledge the importance of identity and social relations for language learning (see section 2.5.4).

A further sociocultural approach to learning is flow theory (Csikszentmihalyi 1997). The context and the task that a person is engaged in are closely linked to the way the individual experiences the learning process. If there is a perfect match between a task and the corresponding skills of an individual, and when the goal of the task is clear and immediate feedback available, a feeling of an optimal experience, or flow, occurs (Csikszentmihalyi 1997). The individual is completely immersed in the task, and the sense of time is distorted. After the state of flow, the individual will feel that time has passed faster than usual while being absorbed in the task. Flow theory, like activity theory, includes context and situation when describing how people learn.

2.5.2 The ecology approach

The metaphor of ecology used in this approach compares language to natural phenomena. This is a starting point that the ecology approach to second language learning shares with the chaos/complexity theory (Kramsch 2002: 4; van Lier 2000: 259; Larsen-Freeman 1997: 150).

Kramsch (2002) points to the drawbacks of the ecology metaphor and is reluctant to replace earlier SLA metaphors (e.g. learner-as-computer and learner-as-apprentice) with yet another SLA metaphor (i.e. ecology). Nevertheless, the integration of language acquisition and language socialisation is central to the ecology approach (Kramsch 2002). Similarly, van Lier (2002) underlines the importance of studying the relationships between different relevant factors, and he describes ecology as "a complex and messy field of study about a complex and messy reality" (van Lier 2002: 144). As in chaos/complexity theory, the foregrounding of complexity and messiness points to a more comprehensive view of second language acquisition, and to a view related to real-world language learning as opposed to laboratory studies. The importance of various kinds of contexts is stressed in the ecology approach (van Lier 2000).

2.5.3 Chaos/complexity theory

Larsen-Freeman (2007; 2002) suggests bringing together cognitive and social approaches to SLA under the notion of chaos/complexity theory. The chaos/complexity frame, according to Larsen-Freeman (2002: 36-37), embraces the mainstream SLA interest in individual acquisition of systematic language rules measured against native-speaker performance (with a focus on acquisition) and a more socially informed SLA interest in communication (with a focus on participation). Chaos/complexity theory seeks to explain how complex, dynamic, open, non-linear systems function, and how classic dichotomous pairs such as acquisition and use are related. It is worth noting, though, that the language use of learners is viewed as different from the language use of native speakers: „I suggest that language use and language acquisition are also synchronous: the act of using the language has a way of changing the language or, in the case of learners, their interlanguage" (Larsen-Freeman 2002: 41; see also Larsen-Freeman 1997). Overall, an important point in chaos/complexity theory is the integration of different factors relevant for language learning, because „[L]ooking at one factor at a time obscures relationships among them" (Larsen-Freeman 2001: 21; see also Larsen-Freeman & Cameron 2008).

2.5.4 The identity approach

Norton & McKinney (2011) suggest an identity approach to second language acquisition, and their scepticism towards binary terms fits in with the integration of a large range of the factors and contexts mentioned above. Their scepticism towards a dualist approach specifically concerns how second language learners are viewed. Identity theorists question the view that learners can be defined in binary terms as motivated or unmotivated, introverted or extroverted, inhibited or uninhibited, without considering that such affective factors are frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways within a single individual (Norton & McKinney 2011: 73).

The identity approach points to the fact that language is not only a structural, linguistic system, but also "a complex social practice through which relationships are defined, negotiated, and resisted" (Norton & McKinney 2011: 77). The social practice of language is inherently integrated with personal identity, which is understood as multiple, dynamic, and socially constructed (Norton 2000). Similar to the approaches described above, the identity approach embraces complexity as an inherent part of the second language learning process, and furthermore includes social practices and power relations as deciding factors.

For example, one participant of Norton's study (2000), experiences anxiety when interlocutors address her foreign accent, and she feels that her command of English becomes less fluent and less grammatical in such situations. This example indicates that "anxiety is not an inherent trait of a language learner, but one that is socially constructed within and by the lived experiences of language learners" (Norton 2000: 123). The way that people interact with each other shape the way they conceive of their own and others' identities.

Identity and learning are also studied from an ethnographic perspective by Wortham (2010), who argues that scholars need to listen "beyond the speech event" in order to be able to account for how individuals are positioned and socially identified in groups, for example in classrooms. Wortham (2001: 41) argues that "all speech positions speakers and audience members interactionally," and that this positioning may have an influence on how students learn and understand new information. Learning may be influenced by the way interlocutors position themselves and others.

2.5.5 Summary of socially informed approaches to SLA

This short outline of some of the socially informed approaches to second language learning leads to one important observation common to the presented approaches, namely that language learning is a complex and context-dependent phenomenon. There are, of course, also differences between the approaches, for instance the degree of inclusion of identity, which is especially pervasive in Norton (2000), or the degree of focus on social interaction, which is particularly important in activity theory, whereas identity and social interaction are less central to chaos/complexity theory. For the purposes of this dissertation, it suffices to show how all these approaches differ from form-focussed SLA.

Where classic SLA studies mainly focussed on linguistic structure, especially grammatical structure, the socially informed approaches draw on a large range of further factors, such as contextual, social, interactional, and identity factors. Moreover, the socially informed approaches to SLA emphasise the relation between factors that are traditionally regarded as separate or opposite. In this dissertation, for example, the relations between language learner beliefs and language use are emphasised, as are the relations between SLA and sociolinguistics. Language is much more than linguistic structure, and this simple but crucial insight brings SLA into contact with related research such as sociolinguistic studies of identity work and positioning theory.

2.6 Identity work and positioning theory

One study that demonstrates how identity work is carried out in a language learning context is Arnfast & Jørgensen (2003a). The study concentrates on code switching done by two groups learning Danish as a second or foreign language. The first group consists of four 18-year-old American high school students spending a year in a Danish high school, and the second group consists of six Polish students (18-22 years of age) learning Danish in Poland. Interviews with the two groups form the data of the study, and code-switches in the interviews are categorised according to their function. With the Polish students, the code-switches are used as a communication strategy and for meta-commentaries throughout the data collection and the code-switches are flagged, for example through voice quality or nervous laughter. The American participants also use code-switches as a communication strategy and for meta-commentaries at the beginning of the data collection, but their code-switches also have other functions, and they develop throughout their learning process. The American students take part in four interviews. In the first interview, the code-switches are mostly flagged, and mostly used as a communications strategy, for example requests for help, but the code-switches might also promote learning, when an L1 word triggers an L2 word. In the second interview, the code-switches are less flagged, and the interviewer does not always react to the code-switches, which indicates that they are becoming an integral part of the conversation. In the third and fourth interviews, the code-switches are even less flagged, and some of them are used for identity work. For example, one participant uses two English words associated with American popular youth culture, 'pizza' and 'high school' with an American pronunciation, in order to present herself as a young North American in Denmark (Arnfast & Jørgensen 2003a: 38-39). The paper by Arnfast & Jørgensen demonstrates that some of the functions assigned to code switching in sociolinguistic studies can also be found in code switching among participants in second language learning contexts.

Obviously, identity work and work on our social image is not only dependent on the individual, but also on the community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991) around us. All human beings, at any given point in time, belong to several communities of practice, and these communities are intimately linked with how we perceive ourselves. One example of such a community of practice could be the group of 'young North Americans in Denmark' as mentioned above. Wenger (1998:

145) understands identity as "a pivot between the social and the individual, so that each can be talked about in terms of the other." There is no opposition between the individual and the social; they are two aspects of the same phenomenon. We all belong to communities, but with unique identities, and we engage in joint practices, but with unique experiences (Wenger 1998: 146). Identities are negotiated in interaction with others, and this negotiation of roles and positions takes place in communities of practice.

2.6.1 Positioning theory

Language users constantly position and define themselves and others through discursive practices in social space (Davies and Harré 1990; van Langenhove and Harré 1999; Wortham 2001). Harré & Moghaddam (2003: 4) describe positions in the following way:

> "Positions" exist as patterns of beliefs in the members of a relatively coherent speech community. "Positions" are social in the sense that the relevant beliefs of each member are similar to those of every other. Of course, we can assess the similarity of each person's clusters of position-defining beliefs to those of every other only in how each social actor expresses his or her beliefs about positions.

According to this quote, positions exist within groups of individuals as shared beliefs, and as researchers we have access to positions through the ways individuals or groups express positions, i.e. "positioning processes are discursive" (Harré 2012: 1). In this way, the beliefs of a group of people become visible through discourse.

Positioning theory involves three aspects of interpersonal encounters, the socalled positioning triangle (Harré 2012; Harré & Moghaddam 2003). First, *positions* are clusters of rights and duties distributed within a specific group of people. Depending on the positions individuals are granted by others or take themselves, these individuals are expected to behave in certain ways. Second, *social acts* are socially meaningful interpretations of actions. An action, such as a handshake (example from Harré & Moghaddam 2003), can be interpreted as different kinds of acts depending on the setting and on the positions of the actors, for example as a greeting, the seal of an agreement or of a bet, and so on. Third, the *story line* refers to readily established patterns of development for a specific episode, a loosely connected cluster of narrative conventions. Episodes do not develop randomly, but rather follow social conventions and patterns.

An example of an everyday situation described within the theoretical framework of the positioning triangle could take ‘foreign language learning in a university class’ as its story line. The positions of ‘teacher and students’ carry certain rights and duties. For example, the students have the right to demand information about relevant topics and the duty to write assignments, while the teacher has the right to choose teaching materials and the duty to teach the students. Actions undertaken within this group, for example a student’s action of hushing another student, might be interpreted as different kinds of acts, for example as a demonstration of power between students, or as a way in which the first student positions him- or herself as a serious learner and the other student as an obnoxious disrupter.

Positioning can be reflexive, i.e. performed by the individual herself, or interactive, i.e. an individual can be positioned by others (Davies and Harré 1990). Accordingly, De Costa (2011) describes how language learners position themselves, and Yoon (2008) describes how language learners are positioned by their teachers. Although Davies and Harré (1990: 45) describe positioning as “largely a conversational phenomenon,” similar processes can take place in written communication, as writing is also a way of producing “social and psychological realities” (Davies and Harré 1990: 45). In this dissertation, positioning is seen as a conversational and interactional phenomenon. Roebuck (2000) thus describes how language students position themselves in a written psycholinguistic task, and further examples of positioning theory employed in SLA studies are presented in the next section.

2.6.2 Positioning theory in SLA

In studies of positioning and identity work within SLA, the participants are usually quite proficient in the second or foreign language, which is, in most cases, English. Morita (2004) illustrates how six female Japanese students at a university in Canada negotiate their identities in academic contexts such as classroom discussions with English-speaking Canadians. Similarly, De Costa (2011) studies the self-positioning of a 16-year-old Chinese English as a second language student in Singapore, who has attended English classes at her previous school in China before the study took place. This participant is allowed to, and able to, follow instruction in English after passing a language diagnostic test. Pavlenko’s (2003) study of self-positioning in a Second Language Acquisition class at an American university includes both native and non-native speakers, all able to attend and participate in academic discussions in English. All of these participants are proficient learners of English. Until now there are, to the best of my knowledge, no studies of beginner learners' positioning.

In Pavlenko's study (2003), written linguistic autobiographies were collected from 44 university students enrolled in an SLA course. The group was ethnically and linguistically diverse, with 24 Americans (including two Puerto Ricans), and students from Korea, Japan, China, India, and Albania. Most participants were multilingual and multicultural, and all had experience in language teaching. The autobiographies were analysed from the perspective of discursive positioning, and the notions of imagined communities, communities of practice, and nonparticipation formed the theoretical framework. Based on analyses of the written data, Pavlenko (2003) concludes that the reimagining (or self-positioning) of the participants as second language users and learners may influence the way they act in second language contexts. Not surprisingly, the participants who speak English as a second language are more engaged in challenging established roles and positions such as native speakers and non-native speakers, and they embrace "the new community of multicompetent speakers" (Pavlenko 2003: 266). Among other things, the study demonstrates how established positions and discursive interaction influence how new positioning is taking place, and by whom it is done.

Morita (2004) is an ethnographic multiple case study of six female Japanese students at a Canadian university. Data was collected during one academic year in the form of written and oral weekly reports, interviews with the participants, classroom observations, and interviews with instructors, as well as documents such as course outlines and handouts. One interesting case is the participant Rie who is positioned as a non-English speaker and as a student with a deficit by one teacher in one course, and as a competent student in another course by another teacher. Rie resists the negative positioning and tries to "project herself as a legitimate but marginalized participant" (Morita 2004: 593), but this attempt is not accepted by the teacher. The participant, Rie, is positioned as competent and as problematic in two different courses at the same university, at the same time. Thus, a central finding of this case study is that positioning and identity negotiation depend on context, situation, and interlocutors.

Within a theoretical framework that combines positioning theory and language ideology, De Costa (2011) collects data in the form of observations, interviews, and documents such as subject syllabi from five immigrant students enrolled in an English-medium Singapore school. In the paper, data from one participant, Jenny, is presented. Jenny is a 16-year-old Chinese student. De Costa (2011) demonstrates how Jenny positions herself as a non-Singaporean speaker of English, thereby creating a division between ‘us’ and ‘them’, and she positions herself as an active learner. Jenny aligns herself to the standard English ideology at the school and distances herself from Singaporean English. De Costa (2011: 355) describes this alignment as utilising discursive positioning, and he concludes that the alignment also results in positive positioning by the teachers. For example, one teacher positions Jenny as “a star performer” (De Costa 2011: 355). The main point of De Costa’s paper is that the learner beliefs framework should be extended to include language ideology and positioning.

These three studies (De Costa 2011; Morita 2004; Pavlenko 2003) each contribute with conclusions that are relevant for my study. Pavlenko’s paper (2003) demonstrates how established positions and discursive interaction influence new positionings, Morita’s paper (2004) similarly demonstrates that positioning and identity negotiation depend on situation and context, and De Costa’s paper (2011) concludes that ideology and positioning should be included in the learner beliefs framework. These points are relevant for my work because the Danish course in my study is located physically and ideologically within the educational frames of a university. The positioning done by the participants is intimately linked to established norms and ideologies related to the university as an institution.

Self-positioning, in this dissertation, is to be understood as a process in which individuals situate themselves in a way that is recognisable and relatively coherent through some period of time (see also Pavlenko 2003), but which is at the same time dynamic. The process of positioning is at the same time coherent enough to be noticed and dynamic enough to be changed by the actors. As opposed to the above-mentioned studies by Morita (2004), De Costa (2011), and Pavlenko (2003), the participants in my study are beginner learners. As emphasised by De Costa (2011), positioning theory is useful when investigating language learner beliefs. The next section presents and discusses research on beliefs.

2.7 Language learner beliefs

After defining beliefs, three approaches to belief studies are outlined; the normative, metacognitive, and contextual approaches. Whereas the normative and metacognitive approaches view beliefs as individual, mental traits and generally ignore social contexts, the contextual approach treats beliefs as socially constructed, dynamic phenomena.

Language learner beliefs are, as several scholars have noted, difficult to define (Barcelos 2003; Mercer 2011; Peng 2011; Woods 2003). However, a pragmatic, contextual, and I think also useful attempt of a definition is given by Kalaja (2003: 87):

> More specifically, I proposed that beliefs or metacognitive knowledge about SLA be viewed as a property of discourse, or as views held on aspects of SLA given by a student on specific occasions of talk (or writing) and used for specific (rhetorical) purposes

In other words, second or foreign language learner beliefs are dependent on context and on learners' intentions in different situations, and they can be centred on different parts of the learning process. This also implies that learner beliefs are dynamic and subject to contextual, situational, and temporal change. The quote furthermore acknowledges written data for the investigation of beliefs, which is relevant for my study.

The understanding of beliefs employed in this dissertation is similar to the understanding laid out in Barcelos & Kalaja (2011: 285), that beliefs are "context-dependent, in a number of cases variable even within one and the same context or over time – and at the same time constant – complex, discursively constructed through negotiation, dynamic and contradictory."

This dynamic view of beliefs is similar to dynamic views of other factors relevant in socially informed SLA and in sociolinguistics, for example the dynamic view of identity (Lantolf & Pavlenko 2001; Norton 2000). Beliefs are closely related to positioning and to language ideologies (Barcelos & Kalaja 2011: 286; De Costa 2011), two central concepts of this thesis. Learner beliefs do not emerge in empty space, but rather occur in situated interaction between learners, other actors such as teachers, and prevalent language ideologies. Learner beliefs may be seen as positioning acts, as is the case in Kalaja, Alanen & Dufva (2011), and in De Costa (2011). Again, De Costa's (2011) suggestion that research on learner beliefs need to include language ideology and positioning should be emphasised.

Goodenough (1990: 597) defines beliefs as "propositions about the relations among things to which those who believe have made some kind of commitment." According to Goodenough (1990: 608), beliefs evolve when they are expressed, but the mere expression of beliefs does not suffice for them to count as beliefs; a commitment to accept a "proposition as a basis for decision and action" is part of what constitutes beliefs. This means that beliefs cannot be separated into thoughts, expressions, and actions, because these three aspects interact. Barcelos (2003: 29) similarly states that "knowing cannot be separated from doing."

People may have different reasons for holding learner beliefs, for example pragmatic or emotional reasons, or their beliefs may be based on experience (Goodenough 1990). The beliefs that people express are related to how they categorise the world. The world that human beings understand and live in, is, according to Goodenough (1990), always cognitively structured. From the point of view of this dissertation, it is relevant to point out that the world is also socially structured.

Some scholars (Boulton-Lewis et al. 2000) use the term *conception* instead of *belief*. The terms conceptions and experiences are opposed, and they are related to formal and informal learning conditions in Boulton-Lewis et al. (2000). Conceptions of formal learning are thought of as related to but different from experiences of informal learning. This is, in my view, an unfortunate contrast, because formal learning and informal acquisition (Krashen 1976) cannot necessarily be separated, and because conceptions (or beliefs) can be based on experience (cf. Goodenough 1990). Consequentially, conceptions are not only related to but might even be the result of experiences.

2.7.1 Three approaches to studying beliefs

Research on language learner beliefs usually represents three approaches, the normative approach, the metacognitive approach, and the contextual approach (Barcelos 2003; Bernat and Gvozdenko 2005).

With the *normative approach*, beliefs are seen as norms for actions. What a learner believes decides what the learner does, how he or she processes information, and thus how (or whether) he or she is able to learn. Beliefs are regarded as separate from knowledge in the way that learners' beliefs are generally regarded as misconceptions, whereas scholars' knowledge is regarded as correct (Barcelos 2003).

Within this approach, beliefs are closely linked with learning strategies in a cause-and-effect relation. Elbaum, Berg, and Dodd (1993) demonstrate how learners holding beliefs that stress the importance of declarative knowledge prefer formal learning strategies, whereas learners holding beliefs that stress the importance of communication prefer functional learning strategies. N.D. Yang (1999) similarly investigates the relation between beliefs and learning strategies, but he underlines that while beliefs may influence strategies, the opposite may also be the case, meaning that the use of strategies may shape beliefs.

The normative approach is characterised by quantitative studies, often carried out with Likert-scale questionnaires (Cotterall 1999; Horwitz 1999; Shen 2010; N.D. Yang 1999) based on the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) used in some of the first pioneering belief studies (e.g. Horwitz 1988). Horwitz (1999) gives an overview of a series of studies using the BALLI test that she developed herself. The BALLI test consists of 34 questions testing the following categories: ”’The difficulty of language learning’, ’foreign language aptitude’, ’the nature of language learning’, ’learning and communication strategies’, and ’motivations and expectations’” (Horwitz 1999: 560).

The BALLI was developed on the basis of second and foreign language teachers' and students' statements about their own and other people's beliefs about language learning (Horwitz 1988). Horwitz (1988: 284) "decided to keep the BALLI items in the subjects' own words whenever possible", meaning here the subjects that were asked when creating the BALLI. The subjects' own words, then, relate to the subjects who took part in the initial investigation used for the design of the questionnaire, and not to the subjects who answer the questionnaire. When filling out the questionnaire, subjects might find some questions more relevant than others, and the questionnaire might leave out topics that could be relevant for specific learners. Studies within the normative approach have focussed on describing and classifying types of beliefs (Barcelos 2003: 11) rather than on the development of beliefs.

Within the *metacognitive approach*, most often represented by Wenden (e.g. 1999, 2001), beliefs are defined as similar to metacognitive knowledge, except that beliefs are "distinct from metacognitive knowledge in that they are value-related and tend to be held more tenaciously" (Wenden 1999: 436). Beliefs are thus thought of as hard to change and predominantly static. A strong connection between beliefs and learner autonomy is central, and learners are generally seen as self-directed, competent people who are aware of and able to express themselves about their learning process. For this reason, the preferred research method is semi-structured interviews and self-reports, where the learners have the possibility of expressing their beliefs in their own words (Barcelos 2003). Questionnaires are also used to some extent, but not the BALLI questionnaire.

One example of a study focussed on learner autonomy is Graham (2006), a study using questionnaires and semi-structured interviews to describe the influence that metacognitive knowledge has on strategy use and motivational maintenance among 16-18 year old foreign language students. The study concludes that students focussed on improving their own performance are more likely to develop self-efficacy than students focussed on doing better than their peers. In another study, Navarro & Thornton (2011) use a contextual approach to investigate metacognitive knowledge, implying some similarities between the metacognitive and contextual approaches.

The *contextual approach*, also referred to as discursive (Kalaja 2003) or ecological (Bernat 2008), adopts ethnographic methods such as classroom observations (Barcelos 2003), learning diaries (Hosenfeld 2003), or metaphor analysis (Kramsch 2003), and lets students describe and comment on learner beliefs in their own words. Within such a perspective, it is plausible that students talk or write about the aspects of learner beliefs that they find most important (Kalaja 2003). This contrasts with the questionnaire surveys within the normative approach, where informants answer a range of questions that they might or might not find relevant. An important difference between the normative and metacognitive approaches on the one hand, and the contextual approach on the other hand, is that the two first approaches view beliefs as mental traits, while the latter views beliefs as social and context-dependent (Barcelos 2003).

The contextual approach focusses on how beliefs develop, how they are constructed, and how they interact with actions and identities (Barcelos 2011). This approach regards beliefs as dynamic. Cause and effect-explanations are seen as too simplistic within this approach. Learners are viewed as social beings who interact with other people and with their surroundings, which opens up for much more complex accounts of beliefs.

My study is predominantly contextual. The contextual approach regards beliefs as dynamic and centres on interaction and identities, which agrees with socially and sociolinguistically informed approaches to SLA. The participants of this dissertation are relatively free to write what they consider most important about their foreign language learning experience, and they are not explicitly asked about learner beliefs. The study is qualitative and explorative, and I let students describe their beliefs in their own words. The contextual approach facilitates analyses of the construction of beliefs and reveals beliefs as often complex and mostly dynamic.

2.7.2 Studies of dynamic beliefs

Within the contextual approach to language learner beliefs, a number of contextual studies mainly focus on how and why beliefs change. Two such studies are described in this section, and central to them are learning contexts, learning goals, and changes over time.

Peng's (2011) study of a first year college student's beliefs about learning English as a foreign language demonstrates how beliefs develop and change over time. Over a period of seven months, Peng (2011: 314) collected data consisting of semi-structured interviews, classroom observations and learning journals. The student in the study changes beliefs according to classroom affordances (cf. van Lier 1996), remaining time until next exam, and occasional boredom or confusion with learning goals. For example, when the participant experiences teacher-fronted teaching with little interaction, it creates in him "a sense of substantial learning, which was not perceived in his past communicative classes" (Peng 2011: 320). The participant evaluates his learning in the communicative classes in the following way: "I had no idea what I had learned" (Peng: 320). In the form-focussed classes, the participant is able to describe what he has learned, for example prefixes and suffixes. However, when the participant is overwhelmed by boredom in teacher-fronted classes, he expresses a preference for communicative classes. The participant does not think of communicative teaching as efficient or as necessary for fostering competence, but he enjoys communicative classes because they are motivating and support interaction between students. Based on these changes in beliefs that are related to classroom contexts and learning goals, Peng concludes that "beliefs are fluid, contextual and emerging" (2011: 322).

In J.S. Yang & Kim (2011), two Korean learners of English are followed before, during, and after their study abroad experiences. The first participant, a 27-year-old male student in his fourth university year, spends nine months in Utah, USA. Before his study abroad stay, the participant believes that fluency in English will enhance his chances on the job market in Korea, and he believes that such fluency will increase due to interaction with L1 speakers of English. At this point, he is not interested in increasing his score in the TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication), a test which assesses only receptive skills (J.S. Yang & Kim 2011: 328-329). During the study abroad stay in Utah, the participant did not feel that his fluency in English was improved by communicating with L1 speakers of English, and at the same time, he heard that a friend had not gained employment due to his low TOEIC score. These experiences lead the participant to change his beliefs about learning English. At the end of his study abroad stay, the participant believed that the best way to reach his goal of gaining employment in an international company in Korea was through a higher TOEIC score. He believed, contrary to what he believed before leaving Korea, that learning English as a foreign language in Korea would be more efficient than learning English as a second language in the US.

The second participant of J.S. Yang & Kim (2011) is a 32-year-old female teacher who plans to pursue a graduate degree in the USA after spending five months on a study abroad stay in the Philippines. Before leaving for the study abroad stay, this participant believed that corrective feedback from native English teachers would improve her written English. In spite of some practical problems with regard to opportunities for communication in English (for example, the participant did not have a room-mate, and most of the other students of English were Korean like herself), the participant did manage to find native English speakers for conversations. Among others, the participant spoke English with her teacher, with another university staff member who was interested in Korean culture, and with a local grocery store owner. The participant increasingly believed that her level of productive English skills was improved by casual conversations with L1 speakers of English. One important conclusion of J.S. Yang & Kim (2011: 332) is that "[l]earner beliefs are constantly (re)shaped in accordance with L2 goals and in the context of social interaction."

The two studies described here illustrate how language learner beliefs change in accordance with learning experiences, social interactions, and changes of learning goals. A further study by Tanaka & Ellis (2003) underline that beliefs change according to context and setting, in this case during a study abroad stay, and that beliefs held by learners are not necessarily homogeneous, but rather complex and contradictory.

Research on language learner beliefs needs to include learning contexts in order to be able to explain why the participants believe what they do, and to explain why changes of beliefs take place. This also means that research situated in a foreign language learner context at a university, like my study, needs to reflect on how that specific context might influence the beliefs of the participants. Discussions of the learning context of this study in relation to changing beliefs are elaborated on in the analysis chapter of this dissertation.

2.7.3 The use of learning journals in research on learner beliefs

Learning journals and other written data have been used in several studies within the contextual approach (Aragão 2011; Mercer 2011; Navarro & Thornton 2011; Peng 2011; J.S. Yang & Kim 2011). The studies have investigated learners with English as an L2, and both L1 and L2 have been used in the data elicitations.

In Aragão (2011), three Portuguese L1 speakers learn English as an L2, and the collected data is in English and Portuguese. It is not explicitly stated in the paper whether the participants were invited to use English or Portuguese, but both languages are present in the data excerpts of the paper. In Navarro & Thornton (2011), two Japanese L1 speakers learn English as an L2, and the collected data is in English. The participants are majoring in English at an American university, so their level of proficiency must be high. J.S. Yang & Kim (2011) investigate the beliefs of two Korean L1 speakers learning English, and it is neither explicitly stated or in any other way observable in what language the data is elicited. Peng (2011) studies one learner with Chinese as L1 and English as L2. The paper by Peng states that interviews are carried out in Chinese, but it is not explicitly stated whether the learning journals collected are also in Chinese. In all of these studies, discussions of why one language is preferred over the other for data collection are absent. This is problematic because the choice of language may influence how the participants express themselves.

In Mercer (2011), it is explicitly stated that the participant, who speaks German as L1 and learns English and Spanish as L2, prefers using English for the data collection. Mercer (2011: 339) argues that the participant "possessed the meta-language necessary to express herself fully" and that English is then suitable for the data collection.

Kalaja, Alanen & Dufva (2011) collect written data in Finnish from Finnish L1 speakers who learn English as an L2, and they also interpret learners' positioning on the basis of drawings. The participants are ELF university students and probably able to express themselves 'fully' (cf. Mercer 2011), but the choice of language is not discussed in the paper.

This outline of belief studies that include written data points to two weaknesses within such research: First, the studies are all concentrated on the learning of English as a second or foreign language, although Mercer (2011) includes both English and Spanish as L2. This is evidence of the importance attached to English as an L2 and as an international language, which is closely linked with language ideologies and politics. However, it is also evidence of a narrow scope of language learner belief research. With reference to the monolingual bias (Kachru 1994) and the bilingual bias (De Angelis 2007) in SLA research, the studies above point to an English language bias in research on language learner beliefs. It has not yet, to the best of my knowledge, been discussed how and to what degree the extreme focus on English as an L2 might influence the way researchers view beliefs.

Second, the studies do not discuss why they choose either the L1 or the L2 as data collection languages, or why they leave it to the participants to make this choice. Choosing one language over the other might have consequences for the way the participants express themselves and for the researchers' possibilities of interpretation. If data is collected in the L1, the participants will most likely be able to express themselves 'fully' (cf. Mercer 2011), and this can be seen as the unmarked choice in belief studies. There are, however, also good reasons for collecting data in the L2; the researcher will be able to compare beliefs with L2 use, the participants will have the possibility of practising their L2 while reflecting on their learning process (cf. Mercer 2011), and there might be practical reasons as well, such as integrating data collection as part of the course curriculum. Whether the researchers choose to elicit data in the L1, the L2, both, or other languages, it should always be clear what language(s) is chosen and for what reasons.

2.7.4 Summary of research on language learner beliefs

The studies above that rely on learning journals as part of their data all represent the contextual approach to studying language learner beliefs. Contextual studies approach the field of language learner beliefs with research designs that let the participants express their beliefs in their own words, for example in learning journals, interviews, and classroom observation. Questionnaires are used for background information, but not for eliciting beliefs, as opposed to the normative approach. Contextual studies of learner beliefs concentrate on how beliefs develop and change over time and according to context, and the participants are viewed as social beings interacting with other people in varying situations. The dynamic and contextual view on language learner beliefs shares some similarities with dynamic views on identity (Lantolf & Pavlenko 2001; Norton 2000), and it points to a link between socially informed SLA, positioning theory, and ideologies, which leads us to the relation between SLA and sociolinguistics.

2.8 Sociolinguistics and SLA research

Some resemblances between new sociolinguistic trends on the one hand and socially informed SLA on the other hand can be noted: Both fields focus on social aspects of language such as identity, and both investigate language in terms of communication while they are critical towards demands for standardised language, purity, and correctness. Studies on late modern youth investigate how speakers use language for stylisation and identity work, and a number of SLA studies, especially studies on learning in natural settings, have also involved identity work (Norton 2000; Norton & McKinney 2011; Riley 2006; Block 2007; van Lier 2008).

In spite of the obvious and important resemblances mentioned here, these two directions of research have different foci. Studies on language in late modern urban settings illustrate how speakers use non-standard forms in the shape of specific styles, registers, or codes, for stylisation, positioning, or rhetorical effects. Here, language *use* is in focus, along with attitudes and ideologies. From an SLA-perspective, when L2 users employ non-standard forms, they do so because they are not in control of their language (cf. Schmidt & Frota 1986; see also Canagarajah 2011). Here, language *learning* is central. As Rampton (1995: 289) puts it:

> With code-switching research, language mixing is generally construed either as a new form of bilingual sociolect, or as skilful and appropriate strategy. With SLA, it is generally interpreted as error and a lack of competence.

Rampton (1995) discusses the concepts of error and incompetence in relation to his own data and to the phenomenon of crossing, and argues that error and incompetence are "very salient in crossing" (Rampton 1995: 289). Language crossing or code crossing "refers to the use of a language which isn't generally thought to 'belong' to the speaker" (Rampton 1998: 1), which means that a lack of linguistic competence is part of the phenomenon. The language proficiency issues raised with the notion of crossing have not been completely absent from research, but there has been a "tendency to neglect these issues empirically" (Rampton 1995: 290). Code-switching research has distanced itself from research on second language acquisition and focussed on the systematicity and integrity of code switching (Rampton 1998).

Rampton further argues that SLA "is in urgent need for new analytic idioms" (Rampton 1995: 290), and that "some of SLA's most basic premises may have to be rethought (Rampton 1995: 290)." Two of the basic premises that have to be rethought are the assumptions that learner status is fundamentally stigmatised, and that there is always a linguistic target for second language learning. The first assumption, that learner status is stigmatised, arises from the fact that most SLA research is concerned with the learning of dominant languages, especially English (Rampton 1995: 293). In settings where non-Western immigrants with low socioeconomic background learn the dominant language in a rich, Western country, there will usually be some kind of stigma attached to the learner status. The learning of other languages, however, takes place in many different settings, and some of these may not be stigmatised at all. Rampton (1995) argues that the monolingual boys and girls learning Panjabi in the schoolyard are not stigmatised learners.

The second assumption, that there is always a linguistic target for second language learning, is similarly challenged (Rampton 1995: 292). The young learners of Panjabi in the schoolyard are not interested in learning Panjabi properly, for example taking Panjabi courses, but rather they find that language learning is "an entertaining end-in-itself" (Rampton 1995: 292). Rampton (1995) claims that the same holds true for large numbers of people, for example people learning a foreign language in the same evening class every year as preparation for their annual holidays. There is also a link to language play (Crystal 1998) here, as language is learned and used for fun.

Some scholars have moved out of traditional SLA settings such as laboratories and classrooms in order to study second language use and learning in non-institutional settings like the workplace (Firth & Wagner 2007) or the playground (Cromdal 1998; Rampton 1995). In a provocative tone, Rampton (1997: 332) asks the following rhetorical question:

L2 research now often says that it is keen to get away from schools and language classrooms. Why? Is this to go and study the heterogeneity outside? Or with notions like "native speaker," "learner," and "target grammar," is it just to get peace to elaborate key concepts in a national curriculum?

This quote indicates that changing the research setting is not enough to qualify SLA for a late modern, globalised world. Among other things, Rampton (1997) suggests that both sociolinguists and SLA researchers embrace variation and ambiguity and accept that not all variation can be interpreted as orderliness and uniformity. Central assumptions of SLA have to be rethought, for example the stigmatised learner, and the target language, as discussed above.

Basic SLA notions such as language learner and target language have, in fact, been vividly discussed and questioned since the mid-1990s, particularly in two issues of *The Modern Language Journal* (1997 vol. 81 no. 3; 2007 vol. 91 focus issue) where Firth & Wagner's seminal paper (2007 [1997]) elicited a number of responses from prominent SLA researchers (e.g. Long 1997; Poulisse 1997; Rampton 1997; Larsen-Freeman 2007; Tarone 2007; Block 2007; Canagarajah 2007; see also Firth & Wagner 1998). Firth & Wagner (2007 [1997]) critically examine the concepts of non-native speaker, learner, and interlanguage. The concepts of native-speaker and non-native speaker are described as blanket terms (Firth & Wagner 2007 [1997]: 764). Firth & Wagner (2007 [1997]) state that native speaker competence is viewed as the benchmark for non-native language use, and that concepts such as multilingualism and first language loss are ignored in idealised accounts of native speaker competence in SLA. The paper further argues that a stereotypical learner identity is the only identity that really matters to many SLA researchers, and that other aspects of multiple social identities are misleadingly ignored within mainstream SLA research. The concept of interlanguage is criticised for the misleading underlying assumption that learners' language is necessarily moving towards an end-point, a target language defined as an idealised native language. Firth & Wagner (2007 [1997]: 758) suggest that contextual and interactional dimensions of language use need to be included in SLA research, that an increased participant-relevant sensitivity towards fundamental concepts in needed, and that the traditional SLA database needs to be broadened.

The suggestions by Firth & Wagner (2007 [1997]) concerning the methods and theoretical scope of SLA are discussed by other scholars as well (Block 1996; Cromdal 2013; Ellis 2001). In a paper preceding the seminal paper by Firth & Wagner (2007 [1997]: 758), Block (1996: 63) responds to and criticises four "claims made by several prominent applied linguists," that is, cognitively oriented linguists. Block (1996) criticises the following claims:

1. that the existence of multiple theories in SLA is problematic
2. that the alternative to concerted effort is a relativistic stance where anything goes
3. that there is an ample body of accepted findings which a good theory will have to account for, and
4. that researchers need to put these findings to the test in attempting to falsify them

Without going into the details of the discussion here, it suffices to note that Block (1996) argues for an SLA field that includes research methods and theories sensitive to social contexts. Block (1996: 77-78) concludes that "the diversity of approaches to theory construction and the variety of theories to be found in SLA" indicate that "the workings of the human mind are far too complex to be dealt with in one theory." In later work, Block (2003, 2007) continues to argue for the need for socially informed SLA approaches that focus on identity and interaction.

In a review paper, Tarone (2007) discusses SLA research with a sociolinguistic orientation. According to Tarone (2007), sociolinguistic approaches to SLA are variationist approaches to SLA that focus on how learners' interlanguage vary according to social factors, for example interlocutor and setting. In Tarone's (2007) paper, the term interlanguage is used with reference to the classic paper by Selinker (1972), claiming that interlanguage is not necessarily a continuum between L1 and L2, and that the goal of development is not necessarily L2 as produced by native speakers (Tarone 2007, footnote 2). Tarone (2007) argues for a need for longitudinal sociolinguistic studies of the development of specific L2 forms. This is, then, an approach that draws on both variationist sociolinguistics and cognitive SLA.

To sum up, some of the basic SLA premises have been discussed during the last couple of decades, in particular the terms learner, native speaker/non-native speaker, and interlanguage, along with the assumptions that there is an endpoint to learning, and that cognitive theories can sufficiently account for second language learning. The discussions in this section illustrate how the integration of sociolinguistic theory into SLA has broadened the scope of SLA and the explanatory power of

SLA. Variationist sociolinguistic studies in SLA (Tarone 2007) have demonstrated that linguistic variability in second languages is directly influenced by social and contextual factors. SLA studies with an identity approach have demonstrated that the way learners interact with people shape the way they conceive of their own and others' identities (Norton & McKinney 2011). In conclusion, second language use is influenced by and influences the social contexts in which language learners and users live and interact.

The late modern sociolinguistics outlined at the beginning of the chapter with its notions of linguistic repertoires (Blommaert & Backus 2011), languaging (Jørgensen 2010), and polylanguaging (Møller 2009) have potential for further sociolinguistic contributions to SLA. These postmodern sociolinguistic notions depart from the idea of separate languages, which is still central to SLA research, including sociolinguistic or socially informed SLA. The understanding of language as features (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller 2011) or as bits and chunks (Blommaert 2009), and of language learning as learning such bits and chunks, carry potential for substantial future discussions within the SLA field.

2.9 Summary of theoretical framework

This chapter started out with an outline of the language view held by late modern sociolinguistics, which is also the view adopted in this dissertation. Languages are not separate, discrete, nature-given entities in the world, but rather ideologically constructed objects. One consequence of this is that people do not learn languages, they learn linguistic features (Jørgensen 2010) or bits and chunks (Blommaert 2009) that are ascribed to ideologically constructed languages. This does not mean that languages are not real. Languages are constructed objects, but to language learners and users, the languages are real.

Language use and learning is closely related to norms and ideologies that prescribe what bits of language should be used together, how, and by whom. Within institutionalised second language learning and teaching, norms and ideologies for language use are particularly salient. The language courses offered in institutions like universities are clearly thought of as representing only one language, for instance Danish, and emphasis it placed on the discreteness of Danish and separation from other languages such as Norwegian and Swedish. At the same time, there are ideologies assuming different kinds of Danish, for example 'learner Danish' and 'authentic Danish,' the latter being associated with language produced by or intended for native speakers of Danish.

With this view of languages as ideologically constructed and language learning as the learning of linguistic features, the chronological order of language learning widely used in SLA is problematised. Within the field of SLA, terms such as first language, second language, and so on, refer to a chronological order of learning, where the first language is learned before the second language, the second before the third, and so on. One of the problems with this system is that language learning never stops, not even the learning of a first language. This means that languages are not learned in a consecutive order, but rather more or less simultaneously. Another problem is that we do not only learn linguistic features associated with languages that we know well and are able to use in specific contexts; we also learn linguistic features ascribed to languages that we do not know. Although a person does not claim to 'know' Russian, for example, he or she might know a couple of words that are associated with Russian, for example 'Спасибо' (spasibo, *thanks*), and might be able to recognise and reproduce certain phonetic features associated with Russian, and thus be able to play with stereotypes about Russian. This knowledge of linguistic features associated with stereotypes about Russian would not qualify as an L2 in mainstream SLA, although it is actually part of that person's (socio-)linguistic repertoire (Blommaert 2009). The chronological view of language learning is not able to cope with such cases, which must be extremely common among language users. The term other languages, as suggested by Rampton (1997), is more comprehensive and includes cases such as the Russian example.

Within the field of SLA, a number of factors are used to explain the learning of other languages. Some of these explanations view linguistic systems as primary factors, whereas others view language learners as primary factors. Studies of the order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes, or of transfer or cross-linguistic influence take linguistic systems as the most important factor in language learning. The morpheme studies rely on the internal structure of a language to explain language learning, and studies of cross-linguistic influence strive to explain language learning by comparing linguistic systems of different languages. Research on individual learner differences strive to explain learning outcomes and progression by comparing learners in terms of age, personality, learning styles, and so forth. One branch within this approach to SLA is research on second language learning strategies. Starting out with analyses of the good language learner as a role model for less successful language learners, research on second language learning strategies has evolved into a comprehensive field of study. Although there is still a focus on finding and describing efficient learning strategies, there is a growing tendency to view strategy use as a more complex phenomenon, where the degree of strategy use and the combination of strategies reveals more about the learning outcome than the type of strategies used (Gu & Johnson 1996; Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown 1999). In this chapter, the section on strategies has centred on vocabulary learning strategies, but the tendency to investigate the amount of and combination of strategies is discussed in other areas as well (Dörnyei 2005).

In addition to linguistic structure and individual learner differences, social and identity aspects of SLA are increasingly gaining ground. Four more or less socially informed and context-sensitive approaches to SLA have been presented in this chapter: Chaos/complexity theory, the ecology approach, sociocultural theory, and the identity approach. The outline of these four approaches illustrate how the field of SLA has broadened and now include studies on social and contextual aspects of language learning as well as identity work in relation to language learning.

Links between second language learning, identity work, positioning theory, language ideologies and language learner beliefs have been discussed in this chapter. The theoretical links between these phenomena are mentioned by several researchers (Barcelos & Kalaja 2011; De Costa 2011; Kalaja, Alanen & Dufva 2011), and empirical examples of such links will be illustrated in the analysis chapter of this dissertation.

Some of the late modern sociolinguistic issues addressed at the outset of this chapter are treated again, but from another angle, at the end of the chapter. The calls for discussions of the analytic idioms and underlying assumptions of SLA (Firth & Wagner 2007 [1997]; Rampton 1995, 1997) have been taken seriously by socially informed SLA researchers, and have also initiated discussions within the wider SLA field. Discussions of the social and sociolinguistic aspects of second language learning are central in my work and are reflected throughout this dissertation.

3 Methods

This methods chapter starts out with a discussion of the quasi-experimental, SLA-focussed methodological approach of this project in relation to the sociolinguistic theoretical aim of the project. A delineation of the sociolinguistic setting of German-speaking Switzerland and of Danish as a university study object follows so as to close in on the background and situation of the participants. The participants of the study are then introduced in terms of age, gender, as well as first and other languages. The data collection of questionnaires, written learning journals, and individual and group audio recordings is then presented and discussed, as is the method of analysis used for the learning journals.

3.1 Methodological background

This dissertation is rooted in two different fields of research, SLA and sociolinguistics, and the research focus has changed considerably during the course of work. At the outset, the intention was to investigate pronunciation acquisition among two groups of foreign language learners of Danish, but for different reasons discussed in this section, the project was increasingly influenced by socially informed SLA and by late modern sociolinguistics. It is necessary to explain the reasons for and implications of this change before describing the setting, participants, data collection, and method of analysis, because the data collection was carried out before the research focus changed. This section first presents the background for the study design, and then discusses some of the challenges of the chosen method in relation to the new theoretical aim of the dissertation.

The original aim of this dissertation was to investigate the pronunciation acquisition of the participants in relation to the amount of pronunciation teaching and the types of teaching methods used in two language courses, and in relation to language learner beliefs held by the participants. The participants in Basel and Zurich had the same teacher, the same number of weekly lessons, and the same course books, but there were differences regarding the amount of time spent on pronunciation teaching and the types of tasks used for pronunciation teaching. In Zurich, the participants only received the pronunciation teaching envisaged by the course books, whereas the participants in Basel had additional teaching materials and additional time spent on pronunciation tasks. In addition to documenting how this difference in pronunciation teaching would or would not influence the participants' pronunciation acquisition, I expected to find differences in beliefs about foreign language learning between the two groups. In an earlier study (Ritzau 2007), I investigated how two groups of instructed learners of Danish as a second language differed in their beliefs about pronunciation acquisition depending on the type of instruction they received. One group received instruction with a strong focus on pronunciation acquisition, and a large part (73%) of these learners experienced pronunciation acquisition as the most difficult part of learning Danish. Another group had no particular focus on pronunciation, and within this group only a small part (19%) of the learners thought that pronunciation was the most difficult part of learning Danish. With regard to the perceived importance of pronunciation when learning Danish, there were only minimal differences between the groups: 39% of the learners in the pronunciation-focussed class said that pronunciation was the most important part of learning Danish, compared to 33% of the learners in the regular class. I expected to find similar differences between the groups in Zurich and Basel, because of the differences in pronunciation focus in the two classes, and I chose to collect data in the form of learning journals for this purpose.

To sum up, I wanted to be able to compare the participants' pronunciation acquisition with the focus on pronunciation teaching in class, and with the beliefs held by the participants. Thus, I designed a study with three sources of data: Audio recordings to document the expected differences in pronunciation acquisition, learning journals to study expected differences in beliefs about language learning, and questionnaires for background knowledge. This is a classic SLA research design that corresponded to the original aim of the dissertation. The theoretical aim of the dissertation changed during the course of work due to methodological and epistemological considerations.

One of the reasons for the change in research focus during the course of work was that a number of factors related to the two informant groups could not be controlled. For example, the difference between the number of students in each class increased considerably from the first to the second semester. As discussed in subsection 3.3.1 'Number of participants' below, the room assigned to the Zurich class in the first semester was rather unfortunate for a language class, because it was difficult for the students to see each other, and because the students sometimes had to sit in uncomfortable positions in order to be able to work together. This might have been the reason that the number of Zurich students dropped from 16 students in the first semester to only six students in the second semester.

Furthermore, the students in Zurich had the possibility of attending a tutorial class lead by an advanced student during the first two semesters. Although it might have been possible to cancel the tutorial class for the sake of a more rigid research design, I did not find it fair to deprive the students of these additional lessons.

A further reason, and a more important one, for the change in my research focus during the course of work is the thriving field of late modern sociolinguistics from the end of the 2000s onwards. Blommaert & Rampton (2012) describe this as a paradigm shift in the study of language in society, and Eckert (2011) uses the term third wave variation studies for a similar turn within variationist sociolinguistics. Discussions on late modern sociolinguistics have been particularly vibrant at the Department of Scandinavian Studies and Linguistics at the University of Copenhagen, where I was enrolled as a PhD student. Such discussions at the department, including the development of theories of languaging (Jørgensen 2010) and polylanguaging (Møller 2009; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller 2011), have influenced my way of thinking about language and language learning considerably.

As my own theoretical stance steadily moved in the direction of late modern sociolinguistics, a classic SLA study of linguistic progression was no longer level with my theoretical aims and interests. My analyses of the data were increasingly influenced by sociolinguistic theory, and I realised that my analyses could also contribute to discussions of sociolinguistic theory. The combination of SLA and sociolinguistics can be fruitful for both research areas.

The combination of data collected within an SLA research framework and a theoretical development in the direction of sociolinguistics has resulted in interesting empirical insights. In other words, even data collected within an SLA research framework can be used to illustrate some points related to late modern sociolinguistics, for instance that languages are ideological constructs that cannot be completely separated, that language is organised in linguistic repertoires, and that identity work takes place even with beginner learners. Furthermore, the use of the notion of polylanguaging in relation to language learning leads to an important theoretical discussion of the notion, a discussion relevant for sociolinguistics and for SLA. The combination of SLA and sociolinguistics opens up new possibilities for fruitful analyses and discussions, and so I decided to keep working with the collected SLA data while drawing on postmodern sociolinguistic theory for the analyses. From my point of view, SLA and sociolinguistics are related fields within a broader domain.

3.2 The setting

Before moving on to the description of the participants, this section first delineates the larger sociolinguistic setting of Switzerland, and then the local setting of the study programmes and language courses at the University of Zurich and at the University of Basel.

3.2.1 German in Switzerland

There are four official languages in Switzerland, German, French, Italian, and Romansh, and the estimated number of speakers for each language is presented in Table 3.1. Some immigrant languages, namely Serbian, Croatian, Albanian, Portuguese, Spanish, and English, outnumber Romansh in terms of first language speakers (Federal Statistical Office of Switzerland, *Bundesamt für Statistik*, figures from the population census of the year 2000).

Language	Number of speakers
German	4.6 million
French	1.5 million
Italian	470,000
Romansh	35,000
Total	7.3 million

Table 3.1. Number of first language speakers of the four official languages in Switzerland (Federal Statistical Office of Switzerland, *Bundesamt für Statistik*, figures from the year 2000)

In official statistics, there are no separate figures for Swiss German as opposed to High German or other varieties of German, but the use of Swiss German is pervasive and independent of social status in all German-speaking areas of Switzerland (Ammon et al. 2004: XLII). Standard German, or High German (*Hochdeutsch*) and Writing German (*Schriftdeutsch*) as it is more usually labelled, is, in its oral form, restricted to specific formal situations, especially situations where the speaker uses a manuscript, such as political speeches, the radio news, school lessons, and university lectures (Ammon et al. 2004). The official variety of German is Swiss High German (*Schweizerhochdeutsch*), which differs from High German in Germany in some respects, especially regarding vocabulary and pronunciation (Ammon et al. 2004). For example, a *bicycle* is called ‘Velo’ in Swiss High German and ‘Rad, Fahrrad’ in High German (Ammon et al. 2004: 825). The word *office* is written ‘Büro’ in both standards, but in Swiss High German the first syllable is stressed, whereas in High German the stress is on the last syllable (Ammon et al. 2004: 155).

Among speakers of Swiss German, the variety is sometimes regarded as a dialect, and sometimes it is regarded as a separate language, implying that the German-speaking Swiss learn High German as their first foreign language in school (Ammon et al. 2004; Strässler 2001). In one study (Werlen 2010) with more than 1200 Swiss participants, 49% of the German-speaking participants regarded Swiss German as their first language and High German as a second language. The discussion of social, political, and ideological reasons for drawing lines between varieties discussed in section 2.1.1 (Jørgensen 2010) is also relevant for Swiss German.

Before the spread and mainstreaming of computer-mediated communication, the relation between Swiss German and High German in Switzerland was described in terms of medial diglossia, because dialects were predominantly used for oral communication, whereas High German was used for written communication (Dürscheid & Spitzmüller 2006: 14). This explains why High German is often referred to as ‘Schriftdeutsch’ (*Writing German*), and dialect use as ‘Mundart’ (*vernacular*, literally *mouth manner*). Today, the situation is less clear, as dialects are increasingly used in computer-mediated communication (Gerber 2006). Moreover, a Swiss free commuter newspaper (*Blick am Abend*) recently published an issue written entirely in dialect, each journalist writing in his or her preferred dialect. Another remarkable example of written dialect is an annual report from the Swiss watchmaker Swatch Group (2012), which was written entirely in dialect and given much attention in the media.

Consequentially, the use of dialects and Swiss High German in Switzerland is changing and cannot be captured simply by the concept of medial diglossia. A range of factors such as situation (e.g. lesson vs. break in schools), interlocutor (e.g. Swiss vs. non-Swiss conversational partner), level of formality (e.g. e-mail directed at friend vs. at official institution), as well as the general social environment (Dürscheid & Spitzmüller 2006), the degree of local patriotism (Gerber 2006), and identity work (Braun 2006) must be considered in addition to the type of media in order to account for the use of dialect and standard language among the German-speaking Swiss.

The sociolinguistic situation of German-speaking Switzerland is reflected in the way the participants label their first languages in this study. From a late modern sociolinguistic point of view, the sociolinguistic landscape and the negotiability of the label 'German' in Switzerland can be used to illustrate how languages are ideologically constructed.

3.2.2 Danish and Scandinavian as study programmes

Studying Danish is possible at two Swiss universities, namely at the Department for Nordic Philology at the University of Zurich, and at the Seminar for Nordic Studies at the University of Basel (the Seminar at the University of Basel was called the Department for Nordic Philology at the time of the data collection in 2007 and 2008).

There are several different study programmes within these departments, depending on whether Nordic Studies is a major subject or a minor subject, and whether the studies are at BA or MA level. Dependent on the individual study programme, it is obligatory to attend language courses of at least one of the following languages: Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, or Swedish. The first semester of the language course is intended for students without any previous experience with the language in question. For each language, four semesters are scheduled, of which the three first semesters are primarily focussed on linguistic proficiency, and the fourth semester is thematically structured, usually with a literary or cultural topic in focus. For this study, the data was collected during the three first semesters of the Danish course.

The language courses may be attended by students from other departments and faculties. This opportunity is mainly seized by students who are planning an exchange semester in Scandinavia, but also by students who have Scandinavian family members, or by students who are otherwise interested in Scandinavia.

3.2.3 The Danish language courses and exams

At the University of Basel and at the University of Zurich, I taught both of the beginners' courses that commenced at the end of September 2007. Both courses consisted of one obligatory 90-minute lesson per week during all three 14-week semesters. In addition, the students in Zurich had the possibility of attending a weekly lesson tutored by an advanced student, but only during the first two semesters. The typical procedure for a regular lesson is that the class first discusses homework from the preceding week, then works through the course book's lesson of the week, moves on to additional tasks such as group work, discussions, or exercises, and finishes with an introduction to the homework for the upcoming week. This section describes the two language courses as regards teaching materials (see Table 3.2) and content, and especially centres on differences between the two courses.

The course books and grammar exercise books are used in both courses. These course books can be considered representative for teaching materials for adult learners of Danish at language schools in Denmark and at universities outside of Denmark at the time of the data collection in 2007 and 2008. The second edition of the course book *Etteren* (Køneke & Nielsen 2004) has been published in 11 printings, which corresponds to somewhere between 22,000 and 33,000 copies (Søren W. Bertelsen, Nyt Teknisk Publishing House, personal communication). The book *Sider af dansk kultur* (Nicolaisen, Lind & Andersen 1998) has sold close to 10,000 copies (Lars Møller, Gyldendal Publishing House, personal communication).

At the yearly meeting for Danish lecturers at universities outside of Denmark in 2007, I asked the lecturers to fill out a questionnaire about their use of teaching materials. A total of 38 Danish teachers filled out the questionnaire. Ten teachers indicated that they used the book *Mellem Linjerne* (*Between the lines,* Jeppesen & Maribo 1999), and only two other materials were more or equally popular as that book (Lise Bostrup: *Aktivt Dansk (Active Danish)* and Michael Øckenholt: *Dansk er lidt svært (Danish is a little difficult)*). The grammar teaching material *Parat Start* (*Ready, steady, go,* Kledal & Fischer-Hansen 1999a, 1999b), consisting of three exercise books and an answer booklet, was mentioned by seven persons. Four teachers used *Etteren* (*The first,* Køneke & Nielsen 2004), and two teachers used *Under Overfladen* (*Beneath the surface,* Jeppesen & Maribo 2003). No respondents mentioned the book *Sider af dansk kultur* (*Pages of Danish culture,* Nicolaisen, Lind & Andersen 1998).

The course books *Etteren* (Køneke & Nielsen 2004) and *Under Overfladen* (Jeppesen & Maribo 2003) take a communicative approach towards language learning. This is also, to some degree, true of the course book *Mellem Linjerne* (Jeppesen & Maribo 1999), and to a lesser extent of *Sider af dansk kultur* (Nicolaisen, Lind & Andersen 1998).

In the courses, the books mentioned here were supplememted with further teaching books, easy readers, and so-called authentic materials such as supermarket leaflets, newspaper articles, and pop songs (Kilickaya 2004).

Class	Teaching material
1st semester, Zurich	**Etteren** (*The first,* course book, Køneke & Nielsen 2004) **Parat Start** (*Ready, steady, go,* grammar, Kledal & Fischer-Hansen 1999a) **Hosekræmmeren** (*The Hosier's Daughter,* easy reader, Blicher 2003) **Supermarket leaflets** Multimediedansk (*Multimedia Danish,* texts, Jeppesen & Maribo 1996)
1st semester, Basel	**Etteren** (*The first,* course book, Køneke & Nielsen 2004) **Parat Start** (*Ready, steady, go,* grammar, Kledal & Fischer-Hansen 1999a) **Hosekræmmeren** (*The Hosier's Daughter,* easy reader, Blicher 2003) **Supermarket leaflets** Dansk udtale for begyndere (*Danish pronunciation for beginners*, Thorborg 2003b) Dansk udtale i 49 tekster (*Danish pronunciation in 49 texts*, Thorborg 2006)
2nd semester, Zurich	**Mellem Linjerne** (*Between the lines,* course book, Jeppesen & Maribo 1999) **Sider af dansk kultur** (*Pages of Danish culture,* course book, Nicolaisen, Lind & Andersen 1998) **Parat Start** (*Ready, steady, go,* grammar, Kledal & Fischer-Hansen 1999a) **Thors Brudefærd** (*Thor's wedding,* comic, Madsen 1980) Music, fairy tales, a short story, easy reader novels
2nd semester, Basel	**Mellem Linjerne** (*Between the lines,* course book, Jeppesen & Maribo 1999) **Sider af dansk kultur** (*Pages of Danish culture,* course book, Nicolaisen, Lind & Andersen 1998) **Parat Start** (*Ready, steady, go,* grammar, Kledal & Fischer-Hansen 1999a) **Thors Brudefærd** (*Thor's wedding,* comic, Madsen 1980) Pelle Erobreren (easy reader, Nexø 2002) Dansk udtale for begyndere (pronunciation, Thorborg 2003b) Newspaper article, music
3rd semester, Zurich	**Under Overfladen** (*Beneath the surface,* course book, Jeppesen & Maribo 2003) Fra del til helhed (*From parts to a whole,* writing exercises, Afzelius 1997) Newspaper articles Homepages of Danish political parties
3rd semester, Basel	**Under Overfladen** (*Beneath the surface,* course book, Jeppesen & Maribo 2003) Parat Start (*Ready, steady, go,* grammar, Kledal & Fischer-Hansen 1999a) Dansk udtale for begyndere (*Danish pronunciation for beginners*, Thorborg 2003b) Dansk udtale i 49 tekster (*Danish pronunciation in 49 texts*, Thorborg 2006) Dansk udtale i praksis (*Danish pronunciationin practice*, Thorborg 2001) Dansk udtale øvebog (*Danish pronunciation exercise book*, Thorborg 2003a) Bavian (*Baboon,* short stories, Aidt 2006)

Table 3.2. Main teaching materials used in the Danish courses. Materials used in both classes are written in bold types. My translations into English.

As evident from Table 3.2, there are some differences between the courses in Zurich and Basel. The most notable difference is the more extensive use of pronunciation exercises and materials in Basel. The reason for a stronger focus on pronunciation in Basel is that I originally planned to investigate differences in the pronunciation acquisition in relation to the degree of focus on pronunciation in class, and in relation to the beliefs expressed by the participants.

A further difference between the two groups is that the students in Zurich had the possibility of attending a tutorial class. The tutorial class is not obligatory for the students, and they do not obtain any ECTS points. For that reason, and because the students have many other compulsory lessons per week, only few students attended the tutorial class. The activities in the tutorial class were planned by the tutor and the Danish language students, and communication between the tutor and the teacher ensured that the activities in the tutorial and in the regular class complemented each other. Typical activities in the tutorial class were help with homework exercises and reading as well as discussing various Danish texts.

In the second semester in Basel, one 90-minute lesson was replaced with two guest lectures on Danish teaching materials (in English) and Danish pronunciation acquisition (in Danish) as part of a symposium at the University of Basel.

At both universities, the students were tested in written exams at the end of each semester. The exams were designed, carried out, and assessed by the teacher, without external examiners. The medium of the exam (written), and the duration of the exam (90 minutes) were defined by study guidelines at the two institutes, but the teacher was responsible for form and content of the exams.

The three exams (semesters 1, 2, and 3) were fairly similar with regard to form and content. All three exams consisted of two parts, one to be answered without a dictionary and one to be answered with the help of a dictionary. The first part consisted of: A dictation of a text from a course book read aloud by the teacher; a listening task with study questions, either a dialogue or a monologue played from a CD; grammar questions (morphology, syntax) including ‘fill out the gap’ sentences, conjugation of isolated words, and rule formulation; and in the first semester also the ‘translation’ of numbers, dates, and times from numerals to orthography. The second part of the exam consisted of: Writing sentences about the weather (only first semester), writing a summary of a short text (only first and third semester), as well as an essay writing exercise, either based on a chosen topic or a given topic. In the first semester, the topics to choose from were ‘my free time, my family, a book I have read, a film I have seen’, in the second semester they were ‘sports, films, my studies’, and in the third semester, the task was to write a letter to the editor about poverty in Denmark, as a reaction to a short newspaper article. The written essays were on topics that had been treated in class. In the two first semesters, the topics were selected so as to be personally relevant to the students, and in the third semester, the students had experience with writing letters to the editor.

The exams were designed to comprise a number of skills, both listening, reading, and writing, as well as different aspects of linguistic knowledge, for example knowledge about orthography, grammar, and text coherence. The exams included topics and grammatical structures that had been dealt with in the courses previous to the exams. All in all, the exams were designed to test both receptive and productive knowledge in tasks concerning grammatical structure and text structure. Within the frames of the study guidelines, it was not possible to include oral tasks in the exams.

Having described the language courses and exams, we can now move on to the description of the participants of the study.

3.3 Participants

The participants in this dissertation are university students studying Danish as a foreign language as part of their curriculum at the University of Zurich or at the University of Basel. In the following, the participants are described as regards age, gender, and first and other languages. A detailed overview of all the participants can be found in Appendix 1.

3.3.1 Number of participants

A total of 49 participants take part in the data collection, comprising the entire cohort of Danish language students enrolled in the two Danish classes at the University of Basel and at the University of Zurich from September 2007 until December 2008. Not all students were present during all three semesters, as some left the course after one or two semesters, and others joined the course after the first semester (see Table 3.2).

	Basel	Zurich
1st semester	23	16
2nd semester	21	6
3rd semester	13	9

Table 3.3. Number of students in each semester in Basel and Zurich.

Approximately half of the class study Scandinavian Languages and Literature and have chosen Danish as (one of) their Scandinavian language(s). Other students are enrolled in other study programmes, e.g. engineering or political science, and attend the Danish class because they are planning an exchange semester in Denmark, and they usually leave the course after one or two semesters. A small number of students do not join the Danish course until the second or third semester, because they already have some knowledge of the language, for example from exchange visits in Denmark. Other explanations account for some of the changes in the number of students as well, for example students that have, for some reason or other, taken a break between the semesters, or students who drop out of the class for reasons of time constraints due to other obligations.

Thus, the decrease in the number of students from the first to the second and third semesters in Basel (see Table 3.3) is not unusual for these kinds of courses. However, the more dramatic decrease in the number of students in Zurich (see Table 3.3) is surprising. One possible explanation could be that the room allocated for the course during the first semester was rather unfortunate for a communicative language class. Because of a shortage of rooms at the University of Zurich, the language course took place in a lecture hall with ascending rows of seats and desks bolted to the floor, which meant that the students were partly unable to see each other's faces, and that spontaneous contact between students was scarce. The room would be better suited for one-way communication. This might have led to a less attractive atmosphere, which again might be part of the reason for the decrease in the number of students. A couple of the students mentioned this problem in their learning journals.

3.3.2 Age and gender

Most of the participants are in their early twenties, with the average age being 23 in Zurich and 27 in Basel (see Table 3.4). At the beginning of the first semester, the youngest student in Zurich is 18 years old, and the oldest student is 27 years old. In Basel, the youngest student is 19 years old, and the oldest student is 33 years old. In addition, there are three students in Basel who are not officially enrolled (so-called *Hörer/Hörerin*), and they are 36, 54, and 66 years old. The non-official students have been included in the analysis on the same terms as all the other students, and they must also carry the same workload and pass the same tests as the regular students in order to attend the class.

	Zurich	Basel
1st semester	23 years	26 years (22)
2nd semester	22 years	27 years (23)
3rd semester	24 years	29 years (24)
Average	23 years	27 years (23)

Table 3.4. Average age of the participants according to university and semester. The figures in brackets designate the average age excluding the students that are not officially enrolled.

In Basel, 19 female and seven male students participate, and in Zurich, 18 female and five male students participate. This reflects the usual gender pattern in Scandinavian language courses at the two universities.

3.3.3 First languages

Most of the students speak Swiss German as their first language, and they phrase this in a number of different ways. The examples in Table 3.5 are all from the first questionnaire of the first semester.

First language labels
Schweizerdeutsch/Deutsch *Swiss German/German*
Deutsch (CH) *German (CH)*
Deutsch (Schweizerdeutsch) *German (Swiss German)*
Deutsch *German*
(Schweizer)deutsch *(Swiss) German*
Schweizerdeutsch *Swiss German*

Table 3.5. Some examples from the first questionnaire of the first semester of how the

participants label their first language. English translations are in italics.

Apparently, the participants do not fully agree whether Swiss German should be considered an independent language or a variety of German, and they use several different labels for their first language. This indicates that the ideological construction of Swiss German is more readily observable than constructions of other languages, among other things because Swiss German is not orthographically codified. The labelling of language in Switzerland is still open for discussion, even in relatively formal contexts such as a questionnaire in a university class, contrary to the situation in Denmark, where both linguistic norms and labels are less negotiable (e.g. Kristiansen & Jørgensen 2003).

The eight participants who do not speak Swiss German or who do not exclusively speak Swiss German as their first language are listed in Table 3.6 (in descending order of the participant numbers). Only one participant, B027, does not speak any form of German as a first language. The rest of the participants listed in the Table speak (Swiss) German in combination with one or two other first languages.

Informant number	**First languages**
B001	High German and Greek
B014	Swiss German and Finnish
B015	Swiss German and Hungarian
B027	Croatian
Z002	Swiss German, Arabic, and English
Z006	Swiss German and Hebrew
Z008	Swiss German, Italian, and Spanish
Z019	Swiss German and English

Table **3.6**. Students with more than one first language or with another first language than Swiss German.

3.3.4 Other languages

As is the case with the question about the participants' first languages, I left it to the participants to label their other languages. On average, the participants know 3,4 other languages each, according to their own estimates. For the calculation of the average number of L2s, I have added up the number of languages first mentioned by each participant and divided the result by the number of participants who have answered the question. However, the fact that the participants do not always mention exactly the same L2s in their questionnaires is a source of error. For example, participant Z012 mentions English, French, Spanish, and Scottish Gaelic (four L2s) in the first semester, English and French (two L2s) in the second semester, and English, French, Icelandic (three L2s) in the third semester. Such incongruent answers are exceptions but nevertheless occur in the data.

Incongruent answers to the question of how many and which other languages the participants speak probably reflect the way the participants view their own competence in these languages at different points in time. In the first semester, participant Z012 states that he has poor beginner's knowledge of Spanish (*Schwache Anfängerkenntnisse*) and very poor beginner's knowledge of Scottish Gaelic (*Sehr schwache Anfängerkenntnisse*). Since he does not mention these languages later on in the study, I assume that he is not using or learning the languages then. In the second semester, he states that he knows English and French, which are the languages relevant to him at that point in time. In the third semester, participant Z012 mentions Icelandic in the following way: *I have also started learning Icelandic, but that doesn't count, because I only know how to say "My name is...*" ("Også har jeg begynt at lære Islandsk, men det gælder ikke, fordi jeg kun ved, hvordan man siger "Jeg hedder…""). To conclude, some students describe their knowledge of other languages as changing during the three semesters, which reflects the way they perceive their own competence in and use of these languages. The case of participant Z012 here illustrates how linguistic repertoires are not merely cumulative (Blommaert & Backus 2011), but rather may show changes in different directions, including second language attrition. However, the lion's share of the participants mention the same languages during all three semesters.

Most of the participants mention typical school languages such as English, French, Italian, and Spanish (cf. Werlen 2010). Latin is mentioned in only few cases (once followed by a smiley), although it is very likely that a large part of the participants have attended a Latin course in order to be enrolled at the university, as Latin is obligatory for some study programmes such as *German Linguistics and Literature* ('Germanistik') at the University of Zurich and at the University of Basel. A plausible explanation for the students' omission of Latin is that they have studied Latin only for the sake of grammar and for reading. It is not very likely that the students are able to or have tried to communicate in Latin, neither in oral nor in written form.

Furthermore, many of the participants know either Norwegian or Swedish, or both. At the beginning of the first semester, this is the case for eight out of the 20 questionnaire respondents in Basel, and for six out of the 15 questionnaire respondents in Zurich, which in both cases corresponds to 40% of the questionnaire respondents. The reason for this high share of participants with knowledge of Scandinavian languages is that many of the students show a general interest in Scandinavian language and culture, and that it might be obligatory for them to attend more than one course in Scandinavian languages depending on their individual study programmes.

Apart from the classic school languages and Norwegian and Swedish, the following foreign languages are mentioned by the participants (in alphabetical order): Arabic, Dutch, Finnish, German, Icelandic, Japanese, Luxembourgish, Macedonian, Persian, Russian, Scottish Gaelic, Serbian, and Swiss German.

In only one case (participant Z017), a person with Swiss German as her first language mentions German as a second language, which she speaks *very well* ('sehr gut'). In the following questionnaire, though, she reports speaking *German* ('Deutsch') as her first language and does not mention any difference between Swiss German and German. No other first language speakers of Swiss German explicitly list High German as a second language. Although there is only one such case, it suggests once more that the naming of German varieties in Switzerland is still, to some degree, open for negotiation.

3.4 Data collection

Three kinds of data were collected for the dissertation during three semesters from September 2007 until December 2008: Questionnaires regarding background information and self-assessment, written learning journals about individual students' experiences with the foreign language learning process, and audio recordings of individuals and groups. In the following subsections, each of these types of data is presented and discussed. An overview of the data is presented in Table 3.7.

	Questionnaire background	Questionnaire self-assessment	Learning journal	Individual recordings	Group recordings
1st semester	x	x	x	x	
				x	
			x	x	
2nd semester	x	x	x	x	
				x	x
		x	x	x	x
3rd semester	x	x	x	x	
				x	x
		x	x	x	x

Table 3.7. Overview of the data collection during the three semesters. An x indicates that data has been collected.

The informants are numbered and marked with B for Basel and Z for Zurich, e.g. B020. The two digits following the informant number designate semester and recording, or, alternatively, semester and learning journal, e.g. 3.1 for third semester, first recording or for third semester, first learning journal. Data excerpts from recordings, questionnaires, and learning journals are kept in their original form and have been translated into English by the author.

3.4.1 Questionnaires

As illustrated in Table 3.7, two different kinds of questionnaires were distributed. One concerned background information about the students (Appendix 2), and the other concerned self-assessment (Appendix 3). Both were written and filled out in German during the first semester, and in Danish during the subsequent semesters. The first round of questionnaires was distributed only a few weeks into the course, so it would presumably be too difficult for many of the students to fill out a questionnaire in Danish at this stage. The later questionnaires were filled out in Danish in order for the participants to practise reading and writing Danish. There are no apparent differences in content or length of the students' comments between the German and the Danish questionnaires.

The background information questionnaire concerns traditional sociolinguistic variables such as age, gender, first language, other languages, motivation (*Why do you study Danish?*), possible relations to Danes and Denmark, past visits to Denmark, and planned visits to Denmark. With regard to the questions about first and other languages, open categories were used, meaning that the participants used their own language labels. The participants were also asked to describe their level of proficiency in other languages in their own words.

The first question of the self-assessment questionnaire concerns the participants' estimation of their own level of Danish with regard to reading, writing, speaking, pronunciation, listening, and grammar. The second question, which was only to be answered in the second and third semesters, is, *In what areas has your Danish improved within the last six months?,* and the third and fourth questions concern what level the participants regard as obtainable within the following six months and beyond. The self-assessment questions let the participants reflect on their own progress, and their answers most likely reflect the progress that is most important to the participants, and most recognisable to them. Questions five and six ask what areas the participants regard as particularly important and particularly difficult. The last question concerns how the participants regard their own efforts or achievements related to the language acquisition process.

3.4.2 Learning journals

Twice per semester during all three semesters, the participants were asked to hand in written learning journals about their personal experiences with learning Danish as a foreign language, and these learning journals were marked and assessed as course activities. This also meant that the learning journals were obligatory for all students, and an obvious advantage of this was that a large number of learning journals could be collected.

This subsection first describes the reasons for collecting written learning journals, then discusses the choice of language used in the learning journals, and presents the instructions and suggestions that the participants received before writing the journals. Table 3.8 gives an overview of the 142 of collected learning journals.

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (Basel)	Number of learning journals (Zurich)
1.1	22	12
1.2	16	9
2.1	17	5
2.2	17	5
3.1	13	8
3.2	12	6
Total	**97**	**45**

Table 3.8. Number of learning journals collected in Basel and Zurich.

The primary aim of collecting written learning journals is to study how the participants experience the language acquisition process and the language course, and to investigate their beliefs about second language acquisition in general. Letting the participants write about their own language acquisition process within a relatively free framework renders it more likely that the participants write about topics that they find relevant and important (cf. Kalaja 2003).

In a similar way to the collection of questionnaires, the first round of learning journals was written in German, and the following five rounds were written in Danish. The participants were explicitly invited to write their first learning journal in German, and the instructions were also given in German. For the next five learning journals, the participants received instructions in Danish and were explicitly asked to write in Danish. The learning journals written in German were generally longer (approximately one A4 page) than the learning journals in Danish (approximately one half A4 page). This is most likely explained by the fact that it was less challenging for the participants to write in German compared to Danish.

Another factor that could have influence on the length of the learning journals is that the participants may have lost interest in writing learning journals with time. Some participants write that they do not know what to write about in subsequent learning journals, that they feel they repeat themselves in the learning journals, or that they do not see any personal advantages in writing learning journals. Only few participants write such comments, but it cannot be ruled out that more participants share these feelings about the learning journals, although they do not address the topic directly. Examples of such utterances are presented in the following excerpts. In the excerpts, the participants refer to portfolios instead of learning journals, because this was the term that I used while collecting the data. In a teaching context, it makes sense to think of the learning journals as part of a learning portfolio that the students carry with them during the three semesters, but since a portfolio is usually a collection of documents, I decided to use the term learning journal for the single documents in the context of the study.

> Excerpt 3.1
> Jeg kan ikke sige meget anders i begyndelse af de anden semester, som i slutningen af den første.

I can't say much else in the beginning of the second semester as compared to the end of the first semester.
(B026, 2.1)

Excerpt 3.2
Det er nu min fjerde portefølje på dansk og det er svært at finde temaer, hvorom jeg kan skrive, fordi jeg vil ikke skrive samme ting som ind sidste tre porteføljerne.
It's now my fourth portfolio in Danish, and it's difficult to find topics that I can write about, because I don't want to write the same things as in the last three portfolios.
(B012, 2.2)

Excerpt 3.3
Først må jeg siger at det er ikke især spændende at reflektere flere gange i år over (på samme måde) hvordan mit dansk forandre sig. Jag vet at det er viktigt før dig og dit "doktorarbejde" men det motiverer mig mer at læse noget som "Thors brudefærd" og skrive min mening om det en at skrive om den ens portføljens emnen.
First I have to say that it isn't very interesting to reflect several times a year (in the same way) on how my Danish changes. I know that it's important for you and your doctoral dissertation, but it motivates me more to read something like "Thor's wedding" and write my opinion about that than to write about the same portfolio topics.
(B001, 2.2)

A small number of students stated that they did not find self-reflection in the form of learning journals meaningful. This may be understood as an indication that some participants felt more like study objects than like students, and that this did not match their expectations for a foreign language course. Some participants criticised the repeated writing of learning journals, some did not hand in the journals, but no participants explicitly refused writing the journals.

It is possible that the few students who reacted negatively to the learning journal writing would have reacted in a more positive way if the writing task had been presented in a different way. Placing more emphasis on the self-reflection and self-assessment aspects of the writing task as developmental tools for language learning, might lead the students to be more positive about writing the learning journals. Although the participants were relatively free to write about different aspects of their language learning process, a more participant-centred introduction to the task would have been preferable.

Consequentially, the fact that the first learning journals in German are generally longer than the following five learning journals in Danish can be explained by the choice of language or by a decrease in interest after writing the first learning journal. Some students complain about having to write about the same topic several times, but no students write that they would have liked to write the five last learning journals in German. Whatever the explanation is, it is a general tendency that the first learning journal in German is longer than the following five in Danish.

The choice of language for the learning journals was motivated by conflicting interests from the teacher and researcher. From the point of view of the teacher, learning journals in Danish would be preferable, because they could easily be integrated into the course as a course activity, i.e. as a written assignment to be discussed and assessed with a view to the development of the students' writing skills in Danish. From the point of view of the researcher, however, the idea was that the learning journals should be collected in German, because it was thought that the participants would be better able to express themselves in German, and that the data would thus more precisely reflect the thoughts and considerations of the participants. This conflict of interest was long perceived as a problem not only by the researcher, but also by colleagues.

It is likely, then, that the participants would have written more elaborately about their experiences with learning Danish, if they had written all learning journals in German. It also cannot be ruled out that they would have been able to express more detailed and nuanced views on their language learning process if they had written the learning journals in German. This means that the written data might not be as comprehensive and rich as it could have been if the learning journals had all been in German.

Interestingly, though, learning journals written in a language that the students did not yet feel secure about turned out to be a most intriguing part of the data collection. The Danish learning journals revealed opportunities for comparing students' experiences with and beliefs about language learning with their actual language use. An analysis of the beginner learners' positioning through their new foreign language is possible exactly because the learning journals were written in Danish, as is the direct comparison between the participants' ideas about language and their actual language use based on the same sentences. I will return to this in the analysis chapter.

The teacher's instructions on how to write learning journals were given collectively to the students in oral and written form. For the first learning journal in German, it was suggested that the students include the following topics in their learning journals: a) *what have you learned so far,* b) *what would you like to learn,* c) *what stimulates or hinders your language acquisition process,* d) *what are your thoughts about your own achievements,* e) *motivation,* f) *the course in general,* and g) *suggestions for changes*. The participants received a list (Appendix 4) containing these suggested topics as well as the deadline for handing in the learning journals. In addition to this, the teacher informed the students orally that they were free to write about other related topics as well, and that they could either follow the suggestions given in written form, or write according to their own preferences. The framework for the learning journals was kept relatively open in order to allow students to organise their learning journals however they preferred, and in this way to pay regard to different learning styles (e.g. Dörnyei 2005).

The instructions regarding the Danish learning journals were similarly given collectively in oral and written form, and the participants were again told that they could either use the suggested topics, and this time also suggested words and phrases, or alternatively follow their own preferences when writing. In the first two semesters, a written list (Appendix 5) of relevant words and phrases such as *I prefer…, I find it easy/difficult to…, it would be interesting to…, it helps/doesn't help me when…* and *I (don't) feel motivated by…* were distributed to the participants. Some participants followed the suggested topics quite closely and used many of the suggested phrases, whereas other students wrote more freely. Similarly, in the third semester, a further written list (Appendix 6) with suggested topics, words, and phrases was distributed. Some students used the list as a guide, other students chose to write about other related topics. Some examples of the suggested topics given in the third semester are: a) *where and how do you prefer practising Danish,* b) *do you feel more or less motivated compared to the last two semesters,* c) *are you still motivated for the same reasons,* and d) *are there any parts of language learning that you find particularly exciting, fun, boring, difficult, easy, trivial?* The written instructions given in the third semester had not been planned from the outset but were distributed because some students asked for new input regarding the learning journals.

3.4.3 Audio recordings

The third type of data collected consists of audio recordings carried out in two different settings, in class and outside of class, with participants engaging in three kinds of activities: Reading aloud, a short interview, and group work.

This section first describes the procedure of the recordings in relation to the two settings, individual recordings outside of class and group recordings in class, and the three kinds of activities carried out during the recordings. A discussion of the different levels of formality related to the settings and tasks is presented and followed by an overview of the number of recordings collected.

All individual recordings consist of two activities, namely reading aloud and a short interview. The individual recordings were conducted at the university in a room where only the participant and the researcher were present, before or after the lesson, usually on the same day as the lesson. The group recordings were carried out during the lessons. All recordings were conducted with clip-on microphones, and for the group recordings each participant carries a clip-on microphone. I have carried out all the recordings personally. The recordings are transcribed according to broad IPA conventions (transcription key in Appendix 7). All data excerpts are marked with semester and recording, for example 2.1 for second semester, first recording.

3.4.3.1 Individual recordings: Readings and interviews

Before the interview, each participant was asked to read aloud a text, and told that the interviewer would ask a couple of questions afterwards. The instructions were given in Danish, and the reading and interview were also carried out in Danish. In cases where the participants were unsure about a word or a phrase, German was used as well. For each semester, a new text was chosen for the reading task. In the first semester, the text was selected from a pronunciation teaching book (*Det er en kold og kedelig søndag i november, It's a cold and dull Sunday in November* in Thorborg 2006). The two texts used in the second and third semesters were produced by the researcher (Appendix 8).

Having read the text, the participants are again informed that a couple of questions will be asked. In the recordings during the first semester, the participants are asked questions related to topics that had been dealt with in class, for example what languages they speak, what they do in their free time, and how the weather is. The idea behind these questions about topics that the participants know from class is to create a situation where the participants are relatively comfortable and feel that they master the situation to such a degree that they will take part in the conversation. During the second semester, the participants are asked questions about the text, for example what the text is about, and what the main character of the text does at different times of the day. Such summary tasks are also practiced in class during the second semester. In the interviews during the third semester, the participants are asked to give a summary of the text, and after that they are asked how much of the text they have understood. In recording 3.3, they are further asked whether they understand Danish texts better when reading aloud or when reading silently, and what they find most difficult about reading aloud. These questions cast light on the participants' focus on form versus content while reading.

3.4.3.2 Group recordings: Information exchange tasks

The group recordings were carried out during the lessons with three or four persons in each group, and on single occasions with only two persons in a group (only in Zurich). Because only four microphones were available, only one group could be recorded at a time. The students that were not being recorded engaged in other class activities with the teacher. The teacher helped the students turn on the microphones and get started with the task. She then left the group to themselves and returned only when time was up in order to prepare the next group for the recording. The average length of the group recordings is 14 minutes.

The group recordings were carried out as two-way tasks (Nunan 1991). A two-way task is a task where all participants have unique information, and which can only be solved if they all participate in the task. The participants must ask each other for information in order to fill out their own information gaps in the task. I have chosen two-way tasks in order to ensure that all the participants take part in the group conversations.

For the two group recordings in the second semester (2.1 and 2.2), a Magic Sticker Set (Uniset) was handed out to each participant. The sticker set consisted of a picture of a zoo and a collection of animal figure stickers. The participants had a small number of stickers already placed in the picture, and additional stickers on the side, arranged in a way so that each participant had a unique combination of stickers placed in the zoo picture. The participants were not allowed to see each other's pictures. The aim of the task was for all students to end up with identical pictures, and this could be achieved through information exchange, i.e. explaining where the different animal stickers were placed. The participants were given lists of relevant words for animals, in Danish orthography and in a phonetic transcription that was familiar to them, and they had worked with prepositions at the beginning of the second semester.

The task in the first group recording of the third semester (3.1) was a crossword puzzle, where two students could see all the vertical words, and the other two students could see all the horizontal words. The students were supposed to explain and guess the missing words as in a game of *Taboo.* For the last group recording in the third semester (3.2), the participants each had a detailed picture of a living room with furniture, and the aim of the task was to find out which two of the four pictures were identical. Again, this was done through information exchange; the participants had a short list of relevant words for furniture, and they were not allowed to look at each other's pictures.

3.4.3.3 Levels of formality

The settings and tasks of the recordings can be viewed as three different levels of formality (see Table 3.9), which can be categorised as reading style speech, careful speech, and casual speech (Labov 1964). These levels of formality are relevant because it has been shown that second language speakers may employ style shifting (see Ellis 1989 for a short overview). Recordings with different levels of formality permit a comparison of potential context-dependent differences of pronunciation or other aspects of speech.

Setting	Type	Task	Level of formality	Expected focus
University, outside of class	Individual	Reading aloud with interviewer	Formal, reading style	Focus on form
		Conversation with interviewer	Semi-formal, careful speech	Focus on form and content
University, in class	Group	Two-way task with peers	Informal, casual speech	Focus on content

Table 3.9. Types of audio recordings and levels of formality.

Obviously, these three situations do not nearly cover the full spectrum of formality, but they can be said to form their own little continuum of formality. The division between focus on form and focus on content is similarly simplified and should be understood as a continuum with more or less focus on form or content (van Lier 1996). The individual recording of the reading task is close to a class or test situation, because the interviewee is alone with the interviewer, who is also the teacher of the language class. Some students showed nervousness in the form of nervous body language, clearing of their throats, or by directly saying that they were nervous, as is the case in excerpt 3.4.

Excerpt 3.4 (B020, 3.3)

Int:	hvad synes du der er det sværeste når du læser en tekst højt
	what do you think is most difficult about reading aloud
B020:	øh # nogle gange er jeg meget nervøs det er # svært at koncentrere mig
	uh # sometimes I'm very nervous it is # hard to concentrate

In the lines preceding the conversation in excerpt 3.5, participant Z012 says that he is not able to look ahead in the text, and this stresses him:

Excerpt 3.5 (Z012, 3.3)

Z012:	o:g # når jeg ved det # ved jeg ikke hvad kommer #
	a:nd # when I know it # I don't know what comes #
Int:	mm # så ved du ikke hvad der kommer i sætningen
	mm # then you don't know what comes in the sentence
Z012:	ja #
	yes #
Int:	ja #
	yes #
Z012:	(sådan) får jeg s- stress
	(so) I get s- stress

Excerpts 3.4 and 3.5 represent participants who are nervous about the task and they confirm that the participants experience the situation as formal. The formal situation foregrounds the language ideologies of the institution, meaning that the participants only rarely use linguistic features not associated with Danish, and when they do, they use features associated with German or other languages for information requests, meta-comments, or word search. The use of features associated

with other languages than Danish are heavily flagged. Examples of this are given in excerpts 3.6 and 3.7.

Excerpt 3.6 (B018, 3.2)

B018:	han går rundt og han # finder finder tingene på vejen og tager dem med hjem *he walks around and # finds finds the things on the road and take them home*
Int.:	ja # *yes #*
B018:	og pos- øh xxx ja xxx ha # °ja p- posen i weis nid° i: # i vinduet ha *and put- uh xxx yes xxx ha #* °yes p- put I don't know° i:n # in the window ha

In excerpt 3.6**,** participant B018 is looking for a word equivalent to 'at sætte' (*to put, to place*) that has been used in the reading text to describe how the main character puts sea shells on the windowsill. She produces the word 'posen' which might be the French verb 'poser' (*to place*) with the German infinitive suffix '-en' pronounced in Danish. The word is pronounced in low volume and immediately followed by the Swiss German phrase 'i weiss nid' (*I don't know*), also in low volume. The flagging and the meta-comment indicate that the participant is unsure abut the word.

In excerpt 3.7, participant B012 requests information about a word by saying the word in English and in German 'faster schneller' (*faster faster*) in low volume. Provided with the Danish equivalent in the uninflected form, participant B012 uses the Danish word in a periphrastic comparative form in his next turn.

Excerpt 3.7 (B012, 3.2)

B012:	det sværeste er at øh # når j- jeg læser en tekst øh og jeg er # °f- faster schneller° *the most difficult is when uh # when I- I read a text uh and I am #* *°f- faster faster°*
Int.:	# øh hurtig

 # uh fast

B012: hu- øh mere hurtig

fa- uh more fast

It is also clear that some students are so focussed on reading and pronouncing that they do not notice the content of the text they read. The cognitive load is too heavy for these students, because they are not yet sufficiently familiar with reading Danish and thus need to devote their attention to the form side of reading and pronunciation, so that cognitive resources cannot be freed for interpreting meaning (cf. Sweller 1994). Two example of this are illustrated in excerpts 3.8 and 3.9.

Excerpt 3.8 (B005, 3.1)

Int.: hvor meget forstår du af teksten når du læser den højt

how much of the text do you understand when you read it aloud

B005: øh jeg forstår ikke så meget hvis jeg læser den højt fordi jeg koncentrerer mig på øh # på at læse og ikke på at forstå

uh I don't understand so much if I read it aloud because I concentrate on uh # reading and not on understanding

Excerpt 3.9 (Z025, 3.1)

Int.: hvor meget forstår du af teksten når du læser højt #

how much of the text do you understand when reading aloud #

Z025: øh jeg tror at jeg f- # øh fokuserer mig mere på # udtalen <end> #

uh I think that I f- # uh focus more on # the pronunciation <than> #

Int.: <mm >

<mm>

Z025: på indholdet #

on the content #

Int.: okay #

okay #

Z025: men øh når jeg læser det en gang til så kan jeg bedre forstå

but uh when I read it again then I understand better

The individual interviews take place directly after the reading task, and they are also rather formal. Two important differences are that the conversations are more focussed on meaning, i.e. participants will only be able to answer questions if they understand what the interviewer asks, and that participants are, to a somewhat greater extent, able to choose words and phrases. For example, they can more easily employ communication strategies such as avoidance behaviour during the conversation (Færch & Kasper 1984).

The group recordings are more informal, even though they also take place at the university and are part of the course activities. Indications that the students experience the group recordings as more casual are that the students laugh during the recordings (cf. Labov 1964), that they joke about the task, and that they sometimes insist on carrying on with the task after the teacher tells them that the time is up. Two examples of joking and laughing are documented in excerpts 3.10 and 3.11, and many more are available in the data (see chapter 8).

In the example in excerpt 3.10, participant B005 is trying to explain to participant B012 where a monkey is placed in her Magic Sticker zoo picture. As participant B012 does not immediately understand the word for monkey, student B005 imitates the call of a monkey. Student B012 subsequently understands the word and the students laugh about the episode.

Excerpt 3.10 (2.1)

B005:	der er # en abe
	there is # a monkey
B012:	en abe
	a monkey
B005:	en abe # (der) u u u ha
	a monkey # (there) oo oo oo ha
	imitates the sound of a monkey
B012:	<ah en abe ha>
	ah a monkey ha
B013:	<ha>

Excerpt 3.11 follows a statement accepted in the group, namely that they have solved the task and can now turn off the microphones. Student B004 jokingly suggests that they press ‘erase’ instead of ‘stop’, which makes B009 laugh.

Excerpt 3.11 (2.2)

B004:	ja stop tænker jeg # erase <nej ha>
	yes stop I think # erase <no ha>
B009:	<ha>

On the basis of these excerpts and further examples not quoted here, it is fair to assume that the students experience the three different types of recordings as corresponding to different levels of formality.

3.4.3.4 Number of recordings collected

In an ideal world, from the point of view of the researcher that is, all students would participate in all recordings. However, in a situation where the same person is teacher and researcher, and where the students have other priorities than being recorded for a study, choices must be made to accomplish both data collection and teaching. In order to obtain as many recordings as possible, recordings in class would be preferable. However, carrying out individual and group recordings of 20 or more students during class would pose a substantial interruption that would conflict with the teacher’s aim of carrying out meaningful teaching.

Accordingly, a pragmatic solution was found for this study. All individual recordings take place before or after class, usually on the same day, with volunteering students. All group recordings take place in class as part of curricular activities, which means that all students present in class can take part in the interviews if time permits. As evident from Table 3.10 and 3.11, there is a small difference between the numbers of participants in individual recordings outside of class and group recordings in class.

	1st semester			2nd semester			3rd semester		
Recording	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third
Participants in individual recordings	14	14	11	10	12	6	7	8	9
Participants in group recordings				15	15		9	7	

Table 3.10. Number of participants in individual and group recordings at the University of Basel during three semesters. Grey shaded areas designate that no group recordings were conducted.

	1st semester			2nd semester			3rd semester		
Recording	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third
Participants in individual recordings	11	5	5	4	3	3	9	6	8
Participants in group recordings				5	4		7	6	

Table 3.11. Number of participants in individual and group recordings at the University of Zurich during three semesters. Grey shaded areas designate that no group recordings were conducted.

Taking a closer look at the second semester in Table 3.10, it is clear that more students participated in group recordings than in individual recordings. This corresponds to expectations. With regard to the group recordings in the third semester, however, the picture is less clear. Only two more students participate in the group recordings compared to the individual recordings on the first event, and on the second, there is one more student present at the individual recording compared to the group recording. In total, nine more students take part in the group recordings compared to the first two individual recordings in the second and third semesters in Basel.

The proportions between individual and group recordings in Zurich (table 3.11) are quite unsystematic. In the second semester, one more student takes part in each of the group recordings compared to the individual recordings. In the third semester, though, there are two participants more who take part in the first individual recordings, and on the second event, there is no difference in number between the individual and the group recordings. This means that there is no difference in the total number of Zurich students taking part in the individual compared to the group recordings.

It should be kept in mind here that the total number of students in Zurich is fairly low during these two semesters, i.e. six students in the second semester and nine students in the third semester.

There are different possible explanations for the fact that the differences in number of participants are smaller than expected. For reasons of time constraints, it was not always possible to record all students present in class. For example, at the second recording in the second semester in Basel, 18 students were present. They were divided into five groups of 3 or 4 students, but only four of the groups, a total of 15 people, took part in the recordings. Furthermore, it cannot be ruled out that some students might have stayed away from class on the days of the recordings, although they had explicitly been informed that they could opt out if they did not want to participate in the recordings. Not a single student asked to be excused from the recordings.

All recordings were transcribed with the free programme *Transcriber.* A screenshot of a transcription is available in figure 3.1.

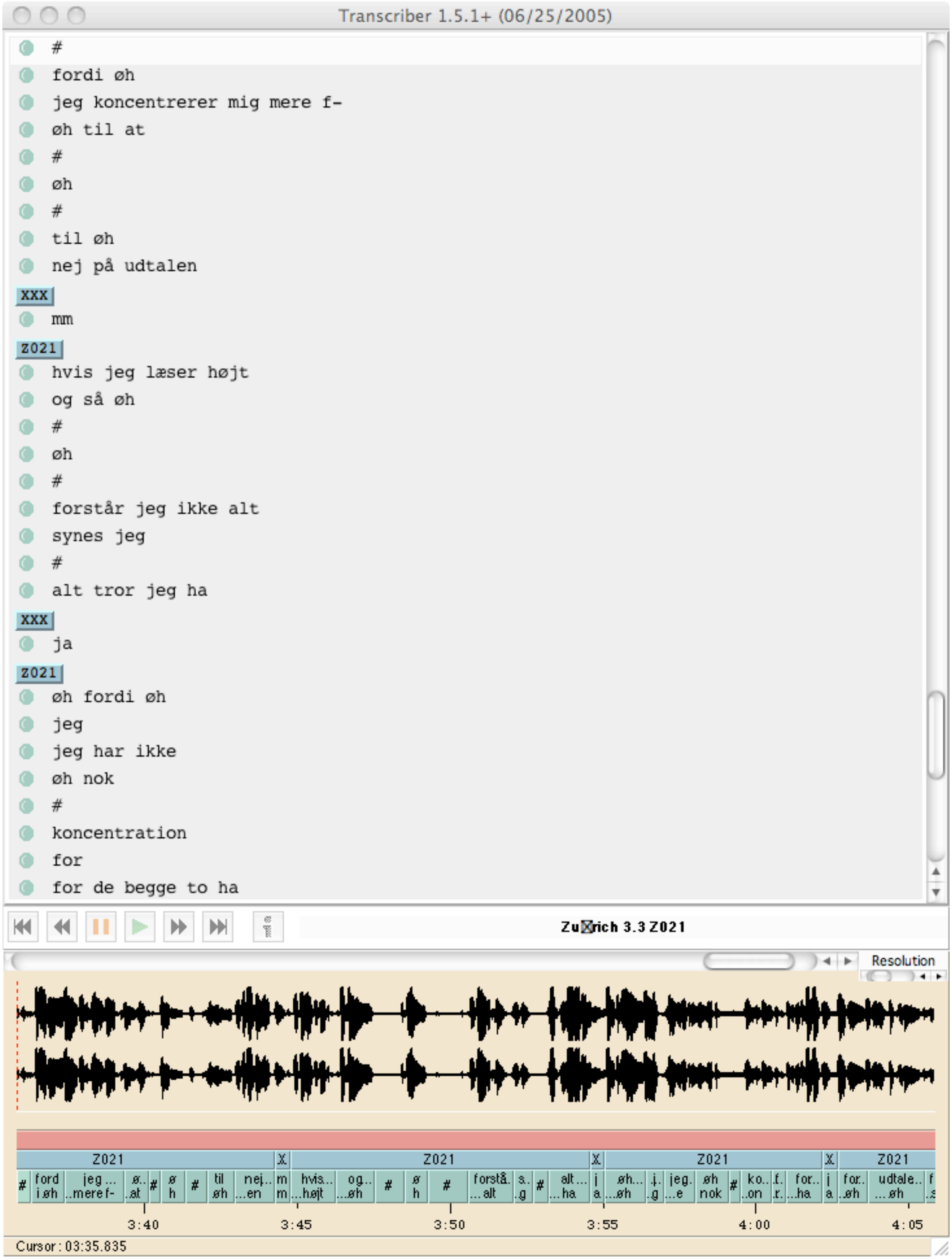

Figure 3.1. Screenshot of the transcription of the individual recording 3.3 of participant Z021 with the programme *Transcriber*.

3.5 Method of analysis

The qualitative method of analysis used for the written learning journals is presented in this section. In order to be able to analyse the learning journals written in the participants' own words, a method with open categories is preferable. If the researcher uses codes and categories for the analysis defined in advance, there is a substantial risk that he or she will overlook important aspects and useful categories. If qualitative researchers knew all variables and their relevance to different correlations beforehand, there would be no need for doing qualitative research (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 57).

Qualitative analyses are usually explorative and directed towards the development of new theories, concepts or understandings (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 57; Silverman 2005: 6). This explorative approach is facilitated through an unbiased interaction with the data, and through constant interaction with data, initial codes, focussed codes, and categories, the researcher develops more abstract and general concepts and theories.

A discussion of whether categories, concepts, and theories emerge from data, or whether they are dependent on the researcher's previous knowledge and theoretical stance, appears now and then both in descriptions (e.g. Böhm 2007) and discussions of Grounded Theory (e.g. Kelle 2005). Kelle (2005) argues that researchers cannot approach reality in a completely unbiased way, because researchers carry conceptual networks in their professional backpack. However, this obvious fact is, as also pointed out by Kelle (2005), already mentioned by Glaser & Strauss (2008 [1967]), and it is also discussed by Charmaz (2006: 15). It is obvious that the research carried out is intimately related to the researcher's professional background, training, and experience. What the researcher brings into the field of study also determines what the researcher is able to see (Charmaz 2006: 15). Thus, an analysis always reflects the researcher's academic background, theoretical stance, and thematic interest. Researchers should not neglect these perspectives, since they are dependent on them to be able to do research at all (Kelle 2005; Charmaz 2006). It is of major importance, however, that researchers are aware of their approach and that they describe their method or methods thoroughly.

The methodological discussions above originate in literature about Grounded Theory (Corbin & Strauss 2008; Charmaz 2006; Glaser & Strauss 2008 [1967]), but they are equally relevant to related qualitative methods. A significant difference between Grounded Theory (Corbin & Strauss 2008; Charmaz 2006; Glaser & Strauss 2008 [1967]) and the method used in this thesis is that the analyses have not been carried out simultaneously with the data collection. This primarily has to do with time constraints, as I taught several other courses during the whole data collection period. Nevertheless, with a total of 49 informants, 142 written learning journals, and 214 recorded audio files, the data collected for this study is comprehensive.

In this study, no analytic categories are developed prior to the analysis. The learning journals are first read through in order to create an overview and a first impression, they are then taken through an initial line-by-line coding, and subsequently a focussed coding (Charmaz 2006: 46). A continuous circular movement between the original data, the specific codes, and the more general categories ensures that the analyses are constantly and firmly grounded in the data. Working through the data in a detailed manner is time-consuming but ensures that the analysis will be firmly grounded in the data and not biased by preconceived categories (Corbin & Strauss 2008). After coding the data, the researcher can start developing categories based on the codes. Codes and categories vary in their level of abstraction, and the lower-level concepts „point to, relate to, and provide the details for the higher-level concepts" (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 52).

The first step of this study was to read through all the learning journals without taking notes so as to get a first impression. On the second reading, all learning journals were coded line-by-line, i.e. I noted down my own codes for every line or sentence. The codes are necessarily more generally stated than the original statements written by the participants. On the third reading, I first concentrated on my own line- by-line codings and specify them. Then I double-checked that my codings match the wordings of the participants. To keep both the original data and the codings on the same piece of paper, the photocopies of the learning journals were downsized and contained the second reading codes in the margin of each piece of paper and third reading codes underneath the downsized learning journal. This helps comparing data and codes continuously. On the fourth reading of the learning journals, I created categories based on the codings. The most frequent and most salient codes were noted on pieces of paper and grouped according to their content. At the same time, I reread the learning journals to control for agreement between the categories and the original data.

After developing relevant categories based on the data, I read the learning journals for the fifth time to double-check for quotes that I might have overlooked, but which match the categories. For every participant and every learning journal I record relevant quotes for each category, and these are the quotes I use to illustrate my analyses. Table 3.12 shows how the development from data to code to category works.

Reading	Coding	Example A	Example B
1st	-	„Ich will damit sagen, dass ich zwar passiv viel weiss, aber (unter anderem aus Angst es falsch auszusprecehn) aktiv dieses Wissen (noch) nicht anwenden kann.“ (B016, 1.1.)	“Jeg tror at læser dansk tekster er meget godt før min læringsproces og min ordforråd.” (B006, 2.1)
2nd	1st	Difficult to use language for fear of wrong pronunciation. Great passive knowledge. Limited practical use.	Reading enhances vocabulary learning.
3rd	2nd	Great passive knowledge, difficult to use actively for fear of wrong pronunciation.	Reading enhances vocabulary learning.
4th	3rd	Category: Reception precedes production.	Category: Vocabulary learning.
5th and following	Double check for relevant quotes	-	-

Table 3.12. Examples of codings. First column shows readings, second column codings; third and fourth columns show examples of codings developed out of the participants' statements.

The two examples illustrated in Table 3.12 are quite different. Example A is more complex and thus coded in more steps, whereas example B is simpler and needs fewer coding steps. The categories are necessarily more general than and do not include all aspects of the original wordings.

The categories facilitate an overview and internal comparison of the data. As categories are kept short and general, it is necessary to keep alternating between categories and original quotes when analysing the data. For example, the category “Reception precedes production” places example A with other relevant quotes in this category, but it does not say why reception precedes production. To find the students' reason for this statement, namely that she is afraid of pronouncing something incorrectly, it is necessary to go back to the codes or the original quote.

Developing codes and categories for each sentence in each learning journal permits an overview and a detailed analysis of each single learning journal. On the one hand, all learning journals written by one single student can be compared over time to investigate temporal changes. On the other hand, the learning journals can be analysed cross-sectionally to compare a range of students at one point in time.

The coding steps used in the analysis of the written learning journals in this study carry similarities with coding steps used in Grounded Theory. However, it is important to specify that the data collection procedure used here is not similar to the data collection procedures advocated by Grounded Theory.

3.6 Summary of methods chapter

This chapter has described the setting and background variables of the participants of the study. The participants are Swiss university students in their twenties learning Danish as a foreign language as part of their study programme. Most of the participants indicate that they speak Swiss German as their first language, although they seem to be open for discussions about how to label the variety. The linguistic background of the participants is relatively homogeneous in the way that all participants (except one) speak a variety of German (sometimes in combination with other languages) as their first language, all speak English, and the general level of knowledge of other languages is high, with more than three other languages indicated per participant on average.

The data collected consist of three types, namely questionnaires, individual and group audio recordings, as well as learning journals. For the study of the learning journals, a qualitative method of analysis involving several stages of codings was employed.

Although the quasi-experimental method of data collection of this study agrees with more traditional SLA studies, it will be evident from the following chapters that the data is also very useful for a socially informed SLA study that draws heavily on late modern sociolinguistics.

4 Participants' beliefs about language learning

This chapter on the participants' beliefs about foreign language learning illustrates the most frequently mentioned beliefs with data excerpts and discusses why such beliefs are expressed by the participants. The most frequently mentioned topics in the learning journals are pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary learning, especially at the beginning of the course, and a communicative approach to learning, especially at the end of the course. The participants generally change their beliefs about language learning from structure-focussed to more communicatively oriented beliefs. There could be different reasons for this change of beliefs, but one plausible reason is that the participants need a structured approach to learning at the beginning of the process in order to obtain a feeling of control and overview in the sometimes overwhelming phase of beginning to learn a new foreign language, and as they improve their linguistic and communicative skills, they increasingly value communicative aspects of language learning. The advantages and disadvantages of knowing Norwegian and Swedish are also frequently mentioned. It is interesting that comments on the drawbacks of knowing Scandinavian languages outnumber the comments on the advantages. The participants are interested in differences between Danish on the one hand and Norwegian and Swedish on the other hand, and they struggle to keep the languages apart.

The sections on the participants' beliefs about pronunciation learning, grammar learning, and vocabulary learning are presented in turn according to the increasing frequency of the three topics in the learning journals (see Table 4.0.).

	Number of comments	Number of learning journals with comments	Percentage of learning journals with comments
Vocabulary learning	75	61	43%
Grammar learning	56	44	*31%
Pronunciation learning	51	41	29%

Table 4.0. Number of comments and number of learning journals containing comments on vocabulary learning, grammar learning, and pronunciation learning. The percentage of journals containing vocabulary learning is significantly higher than the percentage of grammar learning (p = 0.04 at 95% confidence interval, 2-tailed), and significantly higher than the percentage of pronunciation learning (p = 0.01 at 95% confidence interval, 2-tailed).

Beliefs about advantages and disadvantages of knowing Norwegian or Swedish when learning Danish are presented before a summary and discussion of why the participants hold these beliefs.

Each of the sections on beliefs first reports the number of comments about each topic in the learning journals, and then illustrates the quantitative analyses with data excerpts and discussions.

4.1 Beliefs about pronunciation learning

One aspect of foreign language learning which is frequently mentioned in the learning journals is pronunciation acquisition (52 comments in 41 journals). The strong focus on pronunciation learning is not surprising, as Danish pronunciation is often considered particularly difficult to learn, by learners (Ritzau 2007) and by some researchers (e.g. Grønnum 2003). The low transparency between Danish orthography and pronunciation plays an important role here (Davidsen-Nielsen 2003; Landerl, Wimmer & Frith 1997). As opposed to Danish, German has a phonologically transparent writing system (Cook, 2005; Landerl, Wimmer & Frith 1997), and hence the participants of this study may believe that they can rely on orthography when learning Danish pronunciation. The complex relations between sounds and orthographic symbols in Danish may lead the participants to believe that the pronunciation of Danish is particularly difficult. However, it must also be kept in mind that all the participants know English, which has a phonologically opaque writing system like Danish (Landerl, Wimmer & Frith 1997), and that the participants know further languages and writing systems as well.

4.1.1 Number of comments about pronunciation learning

In Table 4.1, it can be seen that the number of learning journals containing beliefs about pronunciation acquisition is much higher at the beginning of the first semester, when more than half of the students write about the topic, and that it decreases, although not with strict linearity, until the end of the third semester. There are at least four possible reasons for the decrease of comments during the three semesters. First, the course book and the teacher might have an influence on the students' preoccupation with pronunciation acquisition at the beginning of the course (cf. Navarro & Thornton 2011). The students are socialised into the norms of the educational institution. Second, it is also possible that the participants feel that their first encounter with Danish pronunciation at the beginning of the course is so different from what they had expected or experienced until then, that they feel a need to discuss the subject. Third, the participants may be concerned with the low transparency between pronunciation and orthography in Danish (Davidsen-Nielsen 2003). And fourth, the participants write their first learning journal in German, which facilitates their writing and thus may trigger longer and more detailed learning journals.

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (total)	Total nr. of learning journals with comment	Total % of learning journals with comment
1.1	34	19	56%
1.2	25	7	28%
2.1	22	4	18%
2.2	22	7	32%
3.1	21	3	14%
3.2	18	1	6%
Total	**142**	**41**	**29%**

Table 4.1. Numbers and percentages of learning journals containing comments on pronunciation acquisition.

The most widely held belief about pronunciation acquisition among the participants is by far that pronunciation is best learned through repetition or practice, a belief expressed in 27 out of 142 learning journals (Table 4.2). No other pronunciation learning strategies are nearly as frequently mentioned with the participants. Listening exercises and receiving corrective, oral feedback from the teacher are mentioned five times each and included in the category of 'other comments'. In addition to these strategies, the label 'other comments' in the rightmost column in Table 4.2 also covers activities such as listening to music, reading aloud, and memorising rules, and the belief that Danish pronunciation should be learned in Denmark, that is a belief in the advantages of a study abroad context. Different pronunciation learning strategies may be mentioned within one learning journal, which means that the 27 repetition strategies and the 24 other strategies mentioned here occur in a total of 41 learning journals (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2).

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (total)	Repetition	Other comments
1.1	34	16	9
1.2	25	2	8
2.1	22	2	2
2.2	22	4	3
3.1	21	2	1
3.2	18	1	1
Total	**142**	**27**	**24**

Table 4.2. Numbers of learning journals containing comments about repetition and other comments about pronunciation acquisition.

The clear focus on repetition in the learning journals is in accordance with the theoretical insight that pronunciation acquisition is not only a cognitive undertaking, but also a physiological process (Jørgensen 1999). Furthermore, the course book (Køneke & Nielsen 2004) used during the first semester emphasises pronunciation acquisition, and it strives to do this, among other things, through repetition. Some of the pronunciation exercises in the course book consist of a number of words from the relevant lesson containing a specific sound that is to be practiced, for example the [ø] in *købe* (buy), *sødmælk* (whole milk), *stykke* (piece) (Køneke & Nielsen 2004: 145). The students have thus been introduced to repetitive pronunciation exercises before they write their first learning journal, and this might influence their beliefs.

4.1.2 Data excerpts about pronunciation learning

The large proportion of comments on repetition as a strategy for pronunciation acquisition are illustrated with the following three excerpts.

Excerpt 4.1

Durch die kontinuierlichen Repetitionen in den Lektionen zur besseren Aussprache, indem wir im Klassenverband schwierige oder typische Aussprachewörter wiederholt haben, konnte ich in diesem Punkt gewisse Fortschritte erlangen.

By means of continuous repetitions aiming at better pronunciation during the lessons, where we repeat difficult or typical pronunciation words in class, I was able to achieve certain improvements within this area.

(B010, 1.1)

Excerpt 4.2

Ich habe auch viel zur Aussprache gelernt, was viel Übung verlangt, da manche Laute schwierig auszusprechen sind.

I have also learned a lot about pronunciation, which requires a lot of practice, because some words are difficult to pronounce.

(Z014, 1.1)

Excerpt 4.3

Vænsklihederne af de danske udtale er så store, at det er nødvendigt at tit øve både at tale og at lyse og forstå.

The difficulties of Danish pronunciation are so severe that it is necessary to practice both speaking and listening and understanding.

(B026, 3.1)

In excerpt 4.1, participant B010 describes how his progress in Danish pronunciation can be explained by the continuous repetition exercises carried out in class. The two other excerpts, 4.2 and 4.3, describe the relevant activities as practice, which also holds an aspect of repetition. All three excerpts refer to Danish pronunciation in general as difficult or to specific Danish words or sounds as difficult. The cognitive learning strategies (O'Malley & Chamot 1990; Oxford & Nyikos 1989) of repetition and practice are dominant in the data. The participants write about learning strategies that connect new information to previous knowledge, for example repeating the pronunciation of a word that a learner already knows in its written form.

Other strategies for or beliefs about pronunciation acquisition are mentioned in 20 learning journals. The category of other comments about pronunciation learning consists of several different strategies and comments, none of which are mentioned more than five times. These strategies are collected under one header.

Teacher correction as a learning strategy is mentioned five times and is represented here by excerpt 4.4. This learning strategy could be labelled as social, because the learner seeks out another person for help, or as a cognitive strategy, because the focus is still on incorporating new material into already known material (O'Malley & Chamot 1990; Oxford & Nyikos 1989).

Excerpt 4.4

Dies würde aber voraussetzen, dass Sie hin und wieder in die verschiedene Gruppen herein hören und allfällige Fehler korrigieren. Ich neige dazu, ein Wort, von dem ich glaube, dass ich es kenne, irgendwie zu sagen und gerade bei Gruppenarbeiten, mich zu wenig auf richtige Aussprache zu achten.

However, this would require that you listen to the different groups every now and then and correct any mistakes. I tend to say a word that I think I know in some way or other, and especially during group work I do not pay enough attention to the right pronunciation.

(B016, 1.1)

Regarding corrective feedback from the teacher as a learning strategy requires that the student considers how to use this feedback. The participants who prefer teacher corrections do not explicitly state how they use the corrections, and we cannot be sure in what ways they benefit from the corrections. In excerpt 4.4, student B016 specifies a need for teacher corrections and does not value the possibility of corrections or other types of feedback on pronunciation from the peers during group work sessions. This might be due to the fact that the learning journal is from the beginning of the language course, and that the students are not yet able to correct each other's pronunciation. Student B016 wants to pay more attention to pronunciation, to focus more on form, and she needs the teacher to help her do this. Group work is probably most often chosen by teachers in order to strengthen communicative skills, but excerpt 4.4 illustrates a call for a more teacher-centred focus on form in group activities.

Listening exercises as cognitive pronunciation learning strategies are also mentioned five times and illustrated by excerpt 4.5.

Excerpt 4.5

Det hjælper mig at høre tekster på CD. Jeg lærer mest når jeg kan læse en tekst og høre den også. Det er viktig at høre dansk sprog siden den dansk uttal er meget svart.

It helps me to listen to texts on CD. I learn most when I can read a text and hear it too. It's important to listen to Danish language because Danish pronunciation is very difficult.

(Z013, 2.1)

In this excerpt, participant Z013 emphasises that she benefits from listening to a text while reading the text. Simultaneous reading and listening can help the language learner to combine sounds with symbols or clusters of symbols. By teaching students about the rules and patterns between orthography and pronunciation, however complex they may be, teachers can help raising students' awareness of these and support them in applying such rules (Kelly 2000: 123). This kind of activity might be especially helpful when learning Danish, because of the high discrepancy between pronunciation and orthography (Davidsen-Nielsen 2003).

The following quote, excerpt 4.6, also describes listening as a strategy for pronunciation acquisition, although this excerpt specifically refers to listening to music.

> Excerpt 4.6
> Det ville være en god ide, at afspille danske viser. Det ville hjælper mig, at lære den danske sprogmelodi, tryket og udtalen.
> *It would be a good idea to play Danish songs. That would help me to learn the Danish speech melody, stress, and pronunciation.*
> (B022, 1.2)

Although the intonation may be affected by the melody of the song, listening to music carries some of the same advantages as listening to spoken language. In addition, listening and singing along with the tune might be experienced as more enjoyable and less inhibiting than repeating isolated words or phrases in spoken form. Milton (2008) discusses vocabulary learning, but his observations that songs are used for language learning by successful learners, that many people like singing along to the same song repeatedly, and that repetition is built into songs in the form of choruses are also relevant for pronunciation learning. Participant B022 does not explicitly mention singing along in excerpt 4.6, but when focussing on pronunciation acquisition, the activity of singing along should at least be considered a possibility next to listening to songs.

The simultaneous activities of reading and listening are mentioned in excerpt 4.6 as a way to learn sound-symbol combinations, and a related activity is reading aloud as mentioned in excerpt 4.7.

When reading aloud, the learners will at the same time focus on sound-symbol correspondences and practice the physiological aspect of pronunciation learning.

> Excerpt 4.7
> Vi kunne også træne vors udtale med læser op i lille afsniten.
> *We could also practice our pronunciation by reading short passages aloud.*
> (Z017, 2.2)

A further way to focus on sound-symbol correspondences is to learn and employ pronunciation rules as described in excerpt 4.8.

> Excerpt 4.8
> Ich hoffe, dass ich die Regeln der Aussprache in Zukunft immer besser anwenden kann.
> *I hope that I will be better able to apply the pronunciation rules in the future.*
> (B005, 1.1)

In summary, the participants most frequently mention repetition and practice as a strategy for pronunciation learning (27 comments on repetition and practice out of 142 learning journals), but a wide range of other strategies is mentioned as well (24 'other comments' out of 142 learning journals). The category of 'other comments' includes strategies that centre on the relations between orthography and pronunciation. The focus on repetition is linked to a behaviourist view of learning, which is relevant because pronunciation and the acquisition of pronunciation are also physiological activities (Jørgensen 1999). The focus on strategies that link orthography with pronunciation might be ascribed to the participants' awareness of the complex relation between these phenomena in Danish (Davidsen-Nielsen 2003). The learning strategies that the participants mention in connection with pronunciation learning are predominantly cognitive (O'Malley & Chamot 1990; Oxford & Nyikos 1989).

4.2 Beliefs about grammar learning

Grammar learning is also a frequently mentioned topic in the learning journals (56 comments in 44 journals). Swan (2002) points out that learners and teachers alike generally focus much (or sometimes too much) on grammar, because grammar is tidy, teastable, and may give the learner a feeling of overview and security. Grammar is relatively easy to systematise and quantify, and it is an aspect of language learning that the participants must have encountered in previous language classes in school and at university.

4.2.1 Number of comments about grammar learning

Table 4.3 presents the actual numbers and percentages of learning journals containing comments on grammar in each of the six learning journal collections. In the first round of learning journals, almost half (47%) of the learning journals contain comments on grammar, whereas in the next five learning journals, the number is relatively stable between 23% and 29%. The strong focus on grammar at the beginning of the first semester might be a reaction to the course book, which promotes a communicative approach, although grammar teaching materials are also used from the outset of the course. It might also be a reflection of the participants' experience with previous foreign language courses. The fact that the first learning journal is in German might also be part of the explanation of the difference between this learning journal and the following five that are written in Danish. Furthermore, the participants might feel a need for a structured overview of what they are learning and have learned at the beginning of the course.

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (total)	Total nr. of learning journals with comment	Total % of learning journals with comment
1.1	34	16	47%
1.2	25	6	24%
2.1	22	5	23%
2.2	22	6	27%
3.1	21	6	29%
3.2	18	5	28%
Total	**142**	**44**	**31%**

Table 4.3. Numbers and percentages of learning journals containing comments on grammar learning.

Table 4.4 presents three categories of grammar comments that I have labelled as 'rules and structure', 'more grammar wanted,' and 'other comments.' The first category contains statements that grammar rules should be learned first and then applied in producing or comprehending language, requests for more structured grammar teaching materials, and comments that argue for the necessity of systematic, deductive grammar learning. The second category contains requests for more grammar-related activities in the course, and the last category is a pooling of other comments on grammar learning, for example that grammar can be learned through writing exercises, or that grammar is not particularly important for second language learning. It is evident from Table 4.4 that many participants prefer rule-oriented approaches to grammar learning, and that they would prefer a stronger and more systematic focus on grammar learning in the course.

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (total)	Rules and structure	More grammar wanted	Other comments
1.1	34	8	9	4
1.2	25	2	2	3
2.1	22	3	1	1
2.2	22	3	2	1
3.1	21	2	0	5
3.2	18	3	0	3
Total	**142**	**21**	**14**	**17**

Table 4.4. Numbers of learning journals containing comments on grammar learning.

4.2.2 Data excerpts about grammar learning

The rules and structure-category includes all learning journal comments that in some way or other argue for rule-based, systematic, or structure-focussed grammar learning approaches. These comments generally articulate a view of grammar as a system that can and should be learned isolated from communication, and preferably learned before communication is carried out. This view on grammar is inconsistent with the comprehensible output hypothesis (Swain 1985, 1995). Swain (1985: 252) suggests that learner output is needed for the learner to “test out hypotheses about the target language, and to move the learner from a purely semantic analysis of the language to a syntactic analysis of it.” Examples of the category ‘rules and structure’ are given in excerpts 4.9, 4.10, and 4.11.

Excerpt 4.9

Einen grossen Wert lege ich ebenfalls auf die Grammatik bzw. an die genauen Regeln, die ich beherrschen möchte.

I also attach great value to grammar, and to the specific rules that I would like to command.

(B027, 1.1)

Excerpt 4.10

Jeg vil også gerne skrive mer flydende. Jeg tor at det bliver enklere, når jeg ved flere ord, og når jeg kjender flere grammatiske regler.

I'd also like to write more fluently. I think it will become easier when I know more words, and when I know more grammatical rules.

(B005, 2.1)

Excerpt 4.11

Ausserdem möchte ich mein grammatikalisches Wissen vertiefen und erweitern, um vielleicht irgendeinmal imstande zu sein, Bücher auf dänisch zu lesen.

In addition, I would like to deepen and expand my grammatical knowledge so as to maybe someday be able to read books in Danish.

(B002, 1.1)

The first two excerpts, 4.9 and 4.10, focus on the command of grammatical rules and on applying these rules in order to produce language, here in the form of writing. This procedure of first learning and then applying rules is common in language course books and thus not surprising in the learning journals. For example, the grammar exercise books *Parat Start* (*Ready, steady, go,* Kledal & Fischer-Hansen 1999a) are based on rules explained in the grammar book *Basis-Grammatikken* (*The basic grammar,* Kledal & Fischer-Hansen 1999b). The procedure of learning grammatical rules and then applying them in order to be able to read texts, as described in excerpt 4.11, is more interesting. Reading may be used in language teaching as an inductive way of learning grammar (Krashen 2009 [1982]), but learning grammar rules to enable reading is probably less typical.

Some of the participants (14 learning journals) would like more grammar integrated in the course, for example in the shape of another, more grammar-focussed book, or more teacher explanations.

Although 14 out of 142 learning journals (10%) may not seem overwhelming, it is interesting that similar requests for more pronunciation activities, vocabulary activities, communicative activities or other learning activities are not articulated to the same degree in the learning journals. In addition, it is remarkable that two thirds of the requests for more grammar-related activities occur in the first round of learning journals, while no requests occur in the last two learning journals during the third semester. Excerpts 4.12 and 4.13 illustrate the requests for more grammar-related activities.

Excerpt 4.12
Ich hätte lieber ein Buch, in dem auch Grammatik drin wäre und ich dann dazu Übungen machen könnte.
I'd rather have a book that also contained grammar, which I could use for exercises.
(B003, 1.1)

Excerpt 4.13
Jeg vil gerne lave mere på grammatik.
I'd like to do more grammar.
(B016, 2.2)

When explaining the reasons for requests for more grammar in the first learning journals (1.1), different factors must be considered. First, the requests for more grammar may be a reaction to the communicatively oriented book used in the course (Køneke & Nielsen 2004); second, the learners may be more preoccupied with grammar at the beginning of the course because they do not yet feel able to communicate in Danish and are thus not focussed on communication; third, they may write more about grammar, because they generally write more in learning journal 1.1, because this first learning journal is in German. The latter, language related argument does not explain, however, why some requests for more grammar are expressed in the learning journals 1.2, 2.1, and 2.2, but not in the last two learning journals, 3.1 and 3.2. Thus, the explanations that the learners focus more on grammar at the beginning of the course in order to get a feeling of an overview of the language (Swan 2002), and because they are not yet ready to focus on communication, carry more weight. A further explanation might be that the participants are used to learning foreign languages this way, i.e. initially learning the structure of the language, and saving communication aspects until later stages.

The category of other comments on grammar learning consist of comments that are difficult to categorise because they are not very specific, or because they do not fit with comments written by other participants, for example the comment in excerpt 4.14.

> Excerpt 4.14
> Reglerne af dansk grammatiken er temmelig nem, men jeg synes, at øvelserne i Parat Start er meget nødvendigte.
> *The rules of Danish grammar are quite easy, but I think that the exercises in Parat Start are very necessary.*
> (B026, 1.2)

Participant B026 does not ask for more grammar, but rather states that the grammar exercises that are already part of the course curriculum are necessary.

To sum up, there is a general tendency among the participants to prefer systematic grammar teaching with a strong focus on rules and structure (21 learning journals), and a number of participants express requests for more grammar teaching (14 learning journals). There are, however, also a number of participants who address the topic of grammar learning in ways that are difficult to categorise (17 learning journals).

When addressing this topic, the participants generally focus less on specific strategies for learning grammar, and more on the amount of grammar exercises and the degree of focus on rules and structure. One possible explanation for the participants' requests for more grammar might be what Swan (2002: 150) refers to as "grammar as a security blanket," meaning that working with grammar can be reassuring and give the learners a feeling of control. A similar explanation is given in Peng (2011), where a college student of English as a foreign language feels more confident about what he is learning in teacher-fronted teaching with little interaction as opposed to communicative classes, where he is unsure about what he is learning. The strong focus on grammar at the beginning of the course may be the participants' way of creating a concrete task from the outset, so as to obtain a feeling of direction and progression within a relatively short time.

4.3 Beliefs about vocabulary learning

The issue of vocabulary learning is more frequently addressed in the learning journals compared to pronunciation and grammar (75 comments in 61 journals). The strong focus on vocabulary learning may be explained by factors similar to those mentoned in section 4.2 on grammar learning. Vocabulary is, like grammar, easy to quantify, easy to test, and may give the learner a sense of overview and security, if vocabulary is treated as a domain separate from language use and from other aspects of language learning. The quantification of words for vocabulary learning, for example in the form of vocabulary flash cards, is widespread among learners (Barcroft 2009), probably due to the factors of quantification, testability, and the learners' need for a feeling of overview.

4.3.1 Number of comments about vocabulary learning

In Table 4.5, the total numbers and percentages of learning journals containing comments on vocabulary learning are listed for each semester.

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (total)	Total nr. of learning journals with comment	Total % of learning journals with comment
1.1	34	19	56%
1.2	25	15	60%
2.1	22	10	45%
2.2	22	5	23%
3.1	21	9	43%
3.2	18	3	17%
Total	**142**	**61**	**43%**

Table 4.5. Numbers and percentages of learning journals containing comments on vocabulary learning.

The percentages of learning journals containing comments on vocabulary learning are higher in the first two learning journals (56% and 60%) compared to later semesters. The generally high proportion of comments on vocabulary learning, and the particularly high proportions in the first two learning journals, suggest that the language of the learning journal is not decisive for the choice of vocabulary as a learning journal topic. The participants do not write more about vocabulary learning in the first learning journal in German (learning journal 1.1) as compared to the second learning journal in Danish (1.2). Furthermore, it is interesting that the numbers of comments are higher in the learning journals written at the beginning of the second (2.1) and third (3.1) semester compared to the learning journals written at the end of those semesters (2.2 and 3.2). A possible explanation for this could be that the students forget part of their Danish vocabulary during the semester breaks and thus feel a more profound need for vocabulary learning at the beginning of a semester.

Table 4.6 presents learning journal comments about vocabulary learning, divided into three categories: Memorisation and the use of word lists as strategies for vocabulary learning; reading as a strategy for vocabulary learning; and other strategies or comments. Out of the 142 learning journals, 29 learning journals (20%) contain comments about learning from vocabulary lists or learning by rote memorisation. Learning vocabulary by memorisation is thus the most frequently mentioned strategy among the participants. The second-most popular strategy for vocabulary learning is reading, which is mentioned in 15 learning journals. The rightmost column in Table 4.6 comprises other strategies as well as other comments about vocabulary learning. The category of other comments include writing for vocabulary learning, associating pictures with words, using dictionaries, as well as less specific meta-cognitive strategies such as spending more time on vocabulary learning.

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (total)	Lists / memorisation as a strategy	Reading as a strategy	Other comments
1.1	34	11	1	12
1.2	25	6	5	6
2.1	22	4	3	4
2.2	22	3	2	4
3.1	21	5	3	2
3.2	18	0	1	3
Total	**142**	**29**	**15**	**31**

Table 4.6. Numbers of learning journals containing comments on vocabulary learning.

4.3.2 Data excerpts about vocabulary learning

The 29 learning journals containing comments about vocabulary learning from lists, flash cards, and by memorisation are represented by the excerpts 4.15, 4.16, and 4.17.

> Excerpt 4.15
>
> Med en ordliste som det findes i mest andere språgbøgerne tenker jeg at også den skriftlige del ville være bedre. [...] Jeg tenker at jeg er vænnt til lære ord fra leksjon til leksjon... Det er ikke så enkelt at lære ord self bare fra øvelsen.
>
> *With a word list, as can be found in most other language books, I think that also the written part would also be better. [...] I think that I'm used to learning words from lesson to lesson... It isn't so easy to learn words by myself only from exercises.*
>
> (B003, 1.2)

> Excerpt 4.16
>
> Mir fehlt eine Vokabularliste zum lernen [...] Denn ich kann nur nachhaltig lernen, wenn ich eine Wörterliste habe, welche ich aktiv lernen kann. [...] Die Vokabularliste mache ich mir nun selbst.
>
> *I miss having a vocabulary list to learn [...] Because I can only study effectively if I have a vocabulary list to actively learn from. […] Now I make my own vocabulary list.*
>
> (Z009, 1.1)

> Excerpt 4.17
>
> [...] jeg lærer dansk med den lille billeter om hvilke jeg kann skrive den danske
> ord på den ene side og den tyske ord på den anden side.
>
> *[...] I learn Danish with the little cards where I write the Danish word on the one side and the German word on the other.*
>
> (B018, 3.1)

Out of the 29 comments on vocabulary memorisation, 11 comments are requests for vocabulary lists distributed by the teacher or integrated in the course book (as in excerpts 4.15 and 4.16), five comments describe how the students produce their own lists (as in excerpt 4.16), and four comments describe how the students use flash cards (as in excerpt 4.17). The use of vocabulary flash cards is mentioned once in the first, once in the second, and twice in the third semester (by four different people). This is not in agreement with Nation & Waring's (1997) suggestion that flash cards are most helpful in early stages of second language learning. The strategies of producing or learning from lists and flash cards are of the cognitive type. The remaining comments of this category are less specific comments focussed on repetition and memorisation.

The second-most frequently mentioned vocabulary learning strategy among the participants is the cognitive strategy of reading, illustrated here with excerpts 4.18 and 4.19.

> Excerpt 4.18
> Det hjælper mig når jeg læser bøger før lære mere ord.
> *It helps me to read books to learn more words.*
> (Z013, 1.2)

> Excerpt 4.19
> Når jeg læser stadigvæk danske bøger og artikler, møder jeg igen og igen på de samme ord, så kan jeg godt huske disse ord.
> *When I keep reading Danish books and articles, I encounter the same words again and again, so I can remember these words.*
> (B022, 3.1)

The comments on reading for vocabulary learning are generally not very detailed, and only few of them refer to specific aspects of reading such as the frequency of words in a text (as in excerpt 4.19), the type of texts such as "authentic" texts (only one comment), or learning styles, such as being a visual learner (only one comment). Thus, the majority of the comments on reading are general statements, as in excerpt 4.18.

The category of 'other comments' includes rather diverse comments on vocabulary learning and on strategies for vocabulary learning. The description of word-picture associations in excerpt 4.20 is only present in this one comment.

Excerpt 4.20

Die Bildsprache in den dänischen Lehrbüchern macht es mir leicht, Assoziationen zwischen Wort – Bedeutung – Bild herzustellen.

The picture language in the Danish course books makes it easy for me to create associations between word – meaning – picture.

(B019, 1.1)

The preference for learning words as semantic fields (see excerpt 4.21) is mentioned only by participant Z018, who addresses the issue in two different learning journals (2.2 and 3.1).

Excerpt 4.21

Det er godt at sommetiden i „Mellem Linjerne" vi lærer en gruppe af ord. For eksempel dele af en bil og en cykel og morgenaktiviteter. Det hjælper mig når jeg kann bilder ord grupper.

It's good that we sometimes learn a group of words in "Mellem Linjerne." For example parts of a car and a bike and morning activities. It helps me when I can create word groups.

(Z018, 2.2)

One participant (B022 in excerpt 4.22) counts the words she has learned and states that she has learned 300-350 words in learning journal 1.1 and 400 words in learning journal 1.2. Again, only a single participant writes this type of comment.

Excerpt 4.22

Jeg kender til nu cirka fire hundrede danske ord.

I now know approximately four hundred Danish words.

(B022, 1.2)

Because of the lack of consistency in this miscellaneous category, it is difficult to summarise the content of the category. What can be said, however, is that the issue of vocabulary learning is generally frequent in the learning journals. Next to the popular cognitive strategies strategies of memorisation and reading, a wide range of other comments on vocabulary learning can be found in the learning journals, for example word-picture associations.

The phenomena of ectenic and synoptic learning styles (Ehrman & Leaver 2003) might be of use to explain some of the differences between the preferences expressed by the participants. As laid out in section 2.4 about learning strategies, ectenic learners consciously control their learning process and prefer sequential steps laid out by a teacher or a textbook. Contrary to these learners, synoptic learners prefer learning through preconscious or subconscious processes and may enjoy open-ended activities such as reading or using word-picture associations. The participants who demand vocabulary lists and ask exactly what words they are expected to learn could be said to represent ectenic learners. Of course, learners are not exclusively ectenic or synoptic, but may be inclined to prefer one style to a higher degree than the other. The phenomena of ectasis and synopsis are not necessarily opposites, but rather complementary phenomena on a continuum.

4.4 Beliefs about communicative language learning

In addition to the beliefs that the participants express about learning pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, the issue of communicative approaches to learning is also frequent in the learning journals. The issues of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary learning may be said to form a joint category of structure-focussed learning approaches, which can be contrasted with communicative approaches to language learning. The category of communicative approaches includes comments about social interaction for language learning, as well as comments that represent shorter or longer visits to Denmark as facilitative for learning Danish.

4.4.1 Number of comments about communicative language learning

In this section, the numbers of learning journals containing beliefs are presented. Table 4.7 shows that 46% of all learning journals express the belief that communicative approaches to learning are beneficial. This belief is expressed in all three semesters, but it is most frequent during the third semester, where as many as 64% and 78% of the participants address the topic. It is worth noting that the increased focus on communicative approaches to learning in the third semester is, although not strictly linear, inversely proportional with the issues of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary learning, which are more frequently mentioned during the first two semesters and especially in the first learning journal.

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (total)	Total nr. of learning journals with comment	Total % of learning journals with comment
1.1	34	8	24%
1.2	25	12	48%
2.1	22	11	50%
2.2	22	7	32%
3.1	21	14	64%
3.2	18	14	78%
Total	**142**	**66**	**46%**

Table 4.7. Numbers and percentages of learning journals containing comments on communicative approaches to learning.

In Table 4.8, the comments on learning through communication are divided into two categories: Learning through communication and learning Danish in Denmark. Some learning journals contain comments about both issues, which means that the simple adding up of the numbers of comments of the two categories does not correspond to the total number of learning journals in Table 4.7.

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (total)	Learning through communication	Learning Danish in Denmark
1.1	34	7	2
1.2	25	10	3
2.1	22	8	5
2.2	22	7	2
3.1	21	8	9
3.2	18	10	9
Total	**142**	**52**	**29**

Table 4.8. Numbers of learning journals containing comments on learning through communication.

It must be specified here that the comments of the category of learning through communication include all comments arguing that language is learned through communication, but not comments from participants who want to learn Danish so as to be able to communicate. The category thus contains comments on communication as a means for learning or as part of learning, but not comments on communication as a goal for learning. To make an aside, it should further be noted that there are no comments that directly argue against learning through communication. Learning through communication is frequently mentioned during all three semesters, but the topic is particularly frequently mentioned in learning journal 3.2, where more than half of the participants address the topic.

The second category, learning Danish in Denmark, include remarks that describe study abroad contexts as a means for learning, but not comments that regard exchange visits in Denmark as a goal or a motivational factor for learning. The concept of study abroad is understood in broad terms here, as shorter visits to Denmark, for instance participation in a two week language course or a four day conference, are also included, if they are described as helpful for learning Danish. The point here is not the duration of visits to Denmark, but rather the belief that being in Denmark is facilitative for learning Danish. Comments on learning Danish in Denmark are particularly frequent in learning journals 3.1 and 3.2, where approximately half of the learning journals contain comments on the advantages of learning Danish in Denmark. There are no comments that directly argue against learning Danish in Denmark.

4.4.1 Data excerpts about communicative language learning

The category of learning through communication is represented here by excerpts 4.23, 4.24, and 4.25.

> Excerpt 4.23
> Die grösste Schwierigkeit ist für mich, dass ich keine Gelegenheit habe, Dänisch zu sprechen oder auch nur zu hören.
> *The biggest difficulty for me is that I have no opportunity to speak Danish or just to hear it.*
> (1.1, B026)

In excerpt 4.23, participant B026 is complaining that learning Danish is difficult because he has no opportunity to communicate in Danish outside of the classroom. This participant actually regularly visits his daughter, granddaughter and son-in-law in Denmark, and in learning journal 2.1 he writes that he learns Danish through talking to his daughter’s in-laws. The fact that participant B026 complains about not having opportunities to practise Danish in Basel indicates that his occasional, short stays in Copenhagen do not provide him with sufficient opportunities for communication.

There are further learning journal comments from other participants who address the issue of learning through communication from a negative point of view, meaning that they feel a lack of opportunity for using Danish.

Excerpt 4.24 illustrates the belief that social interaction with other people is an efficient way of learning. Moreover, the excerpt displays an interesting comparison of communication for foreign language learning with doing sports for health.

> Excerpt 4.24
> Jeg synes at det er sjovere at lære sproget samtidig med at have det godt med nogen mennesker. Det er lige som at laver sport uden at huske, at man gøre det kun for sundtheden. [...] Fornøjelsen skal komme først, man skal kun koncentrere på momenten, og så kommer virkningen sener.
> *I think it's more fun to learn the language while simultaneously having a good time with other people. It's like doing sports without thinking that you're only doing it for health. [...] Pleasure should come first, you should only concentrate on the moment, and then the effect will come later.*
> (3.2, B007)

Participant B007 claims that learning can be fun, and that the language learner might not notice that he or she is learning if the learner is in a state of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1997) while communicating with speakers of the language in question. Flow theory suggests that the feeling of an optimal experience occurs when a person's skills match the task in question, when the goals of the task are clear, and when immediate feedback is available. Furthermore, the sense of time is distorted and perceived as passing faster than usual. This description fits the experience described by participant B007: The goal of the task is clear, namely interacting with friends; immediate feedback is available in the form of mutual comprehension or non-comprehension; and the sense of time is distorted when the participant "only concentrate[s] on the moment".

Although the learner is not aware of learning in such a situation, learning does take place, according to participant B007. It is worth noting that participant B007 learned Danish through communication during a study abroad stay in Denmark and enrolled in the second semester of the Danish class after her return to Switzerland. The description of learning in excerpt 4.24 thus matches her own experiences with learning Danish with the use of social learning strategies (Oxford & Nyikos 1989).

Excerpt 4.25 equates learning through communication with learning from vocabulary memorisation and grammar exercises.

> Excerpt 4.25
> Jeg vil gerne lære at snakke dansk flydende med personer fra Danmark og jeg vil gerne lære at forstå alt. Jeg tror, at jeg måtte laver mere. F.eks. snakke med min mor eller min morfar, eller repeter ord og grammatik.
> *I'd like to learn to speak Danish fluently with people from Denmark and I'd like to learn to understand everything. I think I'd have to do more. For example speak to my mother or my grandfather or repeat words and grammar.*
> (2.2, B021)

In excerpt 4.25, communication is both a goal and a means for learning. Participant B021 wants to be able to communicate with Danes, and one way to achieve this goal is to communicate with speakers of Danish, for instance her mother and grandfather. Apparently, speaking to close family members is less face-threatening than speaking to strangers, and thus participant B021 can learn Danish while communicating with Danish speakers in a non-threatening atmosphere. Her goal is, then, to be able to transfer her communicative skills to less secure contexts, such as speaking to Danes that she does not know. It might also be, of course, that family members are simply more accessible for communication than other first language speakers of Danish. In addition, it is clear from excerpt 4.25 that participant B021 regards communication as only one aspect of learning, as she also mentions vocabulary memorisation and grammar as activities she has to carry out in order to learn Danish. This participant mentions both cognitive learning strategies, namely repeating vocabulary and grammar, and social learning strategies, namely speaking Danish with close family members. The excerpt is also included in the analysis categories of grammar and vocabulary learning, as it contains comments about these issues.

To sum up, the belief that language is (also) learned through communication is widespread among the participants, as 52 comments on the topic is found in the 142 learning journals (table 4.8). The participants mainly refer to social learning strategies when discussing the topic, which is expectable as interaction is a social activity.

The following three quotes, 4.26, 4.27, and 4.28, represent the category of learning Danish in Denmark.

> Excerpt 4.26
> Men efter jeg har hørt, at nogle elever i Dansk III har været i Danmark for et halvt eller et år, jeg er lidt bange. Jeg synes at de taler Dansk meget godt, meget bedre end mig, og at kurset er noget for vanskeligt fordi jeg har lært Dansk bare i et år i Schweiz.
> *But after I've heard that some students in Danish III have been to Denmark for half a year or a year, I'm a little scared. I think that they speak Danish very well, much better than me, and that the course is a bit too difficult because I've only learned Danish for one year in Switzerland.*
> (3.1, Z012)

In excerpt 4.26, participant Z012 claims that some of the other students in the course speak better Danish than he does, because they have spent time in Denmark. Participant Z012 has only spent four days in Denmark and thus cannot base his belief that Danish is better learned in a study abroad context on personal experience, but he is convinced that the students who have done exchange visits to Denmark speak the language better than he does. This participant also writes that he plans attending a language course in Denmark. The belief that Danish is best learned in Denmark is supported, at least concerning pronunciation learning, by the findings in Arnfast & Jørgensen (2003b: 83). Arnfast & Jørgensen (2003b) compared the acquisition of L2 Danish rounded front-vowels across three groups of learners and found that the learning environment, in Denmark vs. outside of Denmark, influence the acquisition of such vowels. The issue of study abroad for language learning is further discussed below.

In the next excerpt, participant Z021 refers to her own personal experience with learning foreign languages in the relevant countries. It is a common assumption among second language learners and teachers that a second language is best learned in a country where the language is widely spoken (Tanaka & Ellis 2003).

Excerpt 4.27

Jeg tror, jeg har sagt det mange gange før, men min erfaringen med at lære sprog er, at det kun går hurtigt og er meget næmere, som man er i landet.

I think I've said it many times before, but my experience with learning languages is that it only goes fast and is much easier if you're in the country.

(3.2, Z021)

In excerpt 4.28, participant Z025 states that she learned Danish in Denmark, but she also writes that she was not able to maintain the language after she moved away from Denmark.

Excerpt 4.28

Da jeg var i DK, blev jeg vandt til at tale dansk mere flyvende, men desværre glemte jeg det lidt, siden jeg kom hjem igen.

When I was in DK, I got used to speaking Danish more fluenty, but unfortunately I've forgotten a bit of it since I came back home.

(3.2, Z025)

Participant Z025 is not the only student of the study who argues that a foreign language should be maintained, and thus that the process of language learning does not necessarily follow a linear development, but may include second language attrition. In a state of the art paper, De Bot & Weltens (1995: 157) conclude that second language attrition is not as common as "generally believed," but that second language users believe that they have forgotten more of the second language than actual test results show. In other words, language learners believe that they forget their second language(s), if they do not use the languages regularly. This might also be the case for participant Z025.

To conclude this section, a large part of the learning journals (46%) contain comments about learning with a communicative approach, especially at the end of the course. The belief that language is learned through communication is frequent in all learning journals, but particularly frequent in the last learning journal, and the belief that Danish is best learned in Denmark is particularly frequent in the last two learning journals. One reason for the increased focus on communication in the last semester could be that the participants focus more on communication concurrently with their increased communicative skills. As they experience that they are able to communicate in Danish, they also value communication more than at the beginning of the course. Another reason for the increased focus on communication is that the participants gradually find themselves in situations where communication with speakers of Danish is possible. In the third semester, there are several students who have spent longer periods of time in Denmark, and they base their preferences for a communicative approach on their own learning experiences from Denmark. Other students are planning study abroad stays after the third semester. It should also be noted here that the longer German learning journals (1.1) do not necessarily lead to more comments about communicative language learning.

When addressing communicative language learning, the participants mention both cognitive and social learning strategies (O'Malley & Chamot 1990; Oxford & Nyikos 1989). This departs from the way they treat the learning of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, where cognitive strategies are almost exclusively mentioned. Communication is social, of course, and social learning strategies thus fit the communicative approach.

The general change in the participants' beliefs from a structure-focussed approach to second language learning at the beginning of the course to an approach that emphasises communication and culture at the end of the course shares some similarities with observations made by Magnan (1998). Magnan (1998) suggests that second language learners in traditional classrooms, and especially at the beginning of their learning experience, will learn linguistic tools such as vocabulary, grammar, and pragmatics, but that they will not learn intercultural competence within these frames. However, if language students are provided with the necessary resources and encouraged to use these, for example internet communication with first language speakers, study abroad contexts, and interdisciplinary courses in language and culture, they will be able to develop communicative competence and intercultural competence at later stages. The participants in my study first concentrate on the linguistic tools, while later on in the process they focus on communication and culture, both in the classroom and in other contexts such as study abroad. This finding is consistent with the observations made by Magnan (1998).

The belief that Danish is best learned in Denmark is particularly frequent in the last two rounds of learning journals, and it is a widely held belief among language learners and teachers (Tanaka &

Ellis 2003). A study abroad scenario may facilitate language learning, but it depends on how exactly the study abroad stay is organised and experienced. The amount of time spent in a country does not necessarily correspond to the amount of or quality of interactions with first language speakers. Among other things, the first language speakers may avoid communication with second language speakers (Norton 2000), they may prefer communicating in a lingua franca, usually English (Ritzau 2007), or the second language speakers may not actively search for opportunities for interaction with first language speakers (Yang & Kim 2011).

Tanaka & Ellis (2003) investigate the language learner beliefs and linguistic proficiency of 166 Japanese university students of English before and after a study-abroad stay. The participants generally felt more confident about learning and using English after the stay in the United States. This corresponds well with excerpt 4.26 above, where participant Z012 feels a lack of self-confidence because he did not study Danish in Denmark.

In Tanaka & Ellis (2003), the participants' level of linguistic proficiency increased during the stay, particularly grammatical proficiency. The fact that the Japanese participants of the study were taught in homogeneous classes and lived together in dormitories may explain why only the grammatical proficiency increased, and not proficiency in fluency or other communicative skills. Tanaka & Ellis (2003) argue that the nature of a study-abroad stay, for example whether the learners live in dormitories among themselves or in private homes with first language speakers, may influence what and how much is learned. Yang & Kim (2011) likewise show that the type and amount of communication with first language speakers is more important than the length of the study-abroad stay.

In summary, the participants are much more preoccupied with study abroad context in the last semesters, and this holds for both participants who have learned Danish in Denmark, and for those who have not. The participants believe that spending time in Denmark and communicating with Danes facilitate the learning of Danish.

4.5 Beliefs about Swedish and Norwegian as an advantage or a drawback

A further frequently mentioned topic in the learning journals is the previous knowledge of Norwegian or Swedish as an advantage or a drawback for learning Danish. This topic is found in 49 comments in 37 journals. The participants of this study know more than three foreign languages on average, and at the beginning of the first semester, 40% of the participants know Norwegian or Swedish (see section 3.3.4.). This situation is extremely interesting, as the participants are able to draw on comprehensive experience with foreign language learning, and because their linguistic repertoires contain features usually ascribed to languages that can be regarded as closely related to Danish. The participants are indeed aware that some linguistic features are ascribed both to Danish and to other languages, and that some features usually ascribed to Danish are quite similar to features ascribed to Norwegian or Swedish. Examples of this are given in the following.

4.5.1 Number of comments about Swedish and Norwegian

The total number of learning journals containing comments about Norwegian and Swedish are shown in Table 4.9, as are the percentages of learning journals containing such comments.

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (total)	Total nr. of learning journals with comment	Total % of learning journals with comment
1.1	34	14	41%
1.2	25	9	36%
2.1	22	5	23%
2.2	22	4	18%
3.1	21	3	14%
3.2	18	2	11%
Total	**142**	**37**	**26%**

Table 4.9. Numbers and percentages of learning journals containing comments about Swedish and Norwegian as an advantage or disadvantage for learning Danish.

The linear decrease of comments on previous knowledge of Scandinavian languages is remarkable, both in actual numbers and in percentages. The participants are more focussed on Swedish and Norwegian at the beginning of the course compared to later semesters, and this applies to students who know Scandinavian languages as well as those who do not. A liable explanation for this is that the students are similarly more dependent on and more influenced by related other languages at the beginning of the language learning process. This explanation is supported by the findings in Hammarberg (1998). The L2 Swedish spoken by the L1 English participant of Hammarberg's (1998) study is much more influenced by her L2 German in earlier phases compared to later phases of her acquisition of Swedish.

Out of the 142 learning journals collected, 37 learning journals contain a total of 49 comments on the knowledge of Norwegian or Swedish as an advantage or a disadvantage in relation to learning Danish. In 18 cases, participants describe the knowledge of Norwegian or Swedish as an advantage for learning Danish, in 25 cases they describe it as a disadvantage, and in six cases participants who do not themselves speak Norwegian or Swedish also comment on the issue (see Table 4.10).

Semester and learning journal number	Number of learning journals (total)	Swedish / Norwegian is an advantage	Swedish / Norwegian is a disadvantage	Comments from students who do not speak S/N
1.1	34	10	8	3
1.2	25	3	5	2
2.1	22	2	3	1
2.2	22	1	4	0
3.1	21	1	3	0
3.2	18	1	2	0
Total	**142**	**18**	**25**	**6**

Table 4.10. The number of learning journal comments on Norwegian and Swedish as an advantage or a disadvantage for learning Danish.

One learning journal may contain both a positive and a negative comment about Norwegian and Swedish in relation to learning Danish, and such overlaps are common in the data. For example, in the first round of learning journals (1.1, see Table 4.10), there is an overlap between the ten comments about Norwegian and Swedish as an advantage and the eight comments about Norwegian and Swedish as a disadvantage, meaning that these 18 comments do not represent 18 learning journals, but only 11. When adding the three learning journals from students who do not speak other Scandinavian languages, there are 14 comments in the first round of learning journals (1.1, Table 4.9).

4.5.2 Data excerpts about Swedish and Norwegian

The participants who comment on this issue although they do not themselves know Norwegian or Swedish all regard knowledge of these languages as an asset, and most of them feel that it is a drawback not to know another Scandinavian language. The six comments from participants who do not know Norwegian or Swedish are represented by excerpts 4.29 and 4.30.

Excerpt 4.29
Zu Beginn kam ich mir sehr verloren vor im Dänischunterricht; denn ich hatte absolut keine Vorahnung und musste schnell merken, dass die anderen meist einen Vorteil hatten, weil sie schon eine andere nordische Sprache gelernt hatten.
At the beginning I felt quite lost in the Danish course; because I didn't have any previous knowledge and quickly realised that the others had an advantage, because they had already learned another Nordic language.
(Z009, 1.1)

Excerpt 4.30
Det virker ikke så motiverende, at mange kan allerede særlig godt dansk, fordi den kan allerede en andre nordisk sprog, men det er i orden.
It isn't very motivating that many already know Danish well, because they know another Nordic language, but that's okay.
(B016, 2.1)

These two excerpts show that, seen from the outside, previous knowledge of Scandinavian languages is an advantage. The participants who have no knowledge of Norwegian or Swedish do not notice that knowledge of these languages may result in what some students experience as negative transfer. The participants who do know Norwegian and Swedish discuss both drawbacks and advantages related to their knowledge.

Out of the 142 learning journals, there are 18 learning journals containing comments about Norwegian or Swedish as an advantage for learning Danish, written by participants who do speak at least one of these languages. These comments mostly concern vocabulary learning (10 comments) and grammar (7 comments), the comprehension of Danish (5 comments), as well as less specific statements about Norwegian or Swedish.

Excerpts 4.31 and 4.32 concern the knowledge of Norwegian and Swedish in relation to vocabulary learning. The two excerpts are representative of the ten comments concerning vocabulary learning in the way that they emphasise similarities between Danish and Norwegian or Swedish.

Excerpt 4.31
Da Dänisch und Norwegisch von der geschriebenen Sprache her sehr ähnlich sind, hatte ich mit dem Wortschatz wenig Mühe.
As Danish and Norwegian are very similar in their written forms, I had little trouble with the vocabulary.
(B003, 1.1)

Excerpt 4.32
Zu Beginn wurde mein Lernprozess extrem durch das Schwedische gefördert, da mir fast alle Wörter schon bekannt waren.
At the beginning my learning process was extremely facilitated through Swedish, because I already knew almost all the words.
(Z008, 1.1)

The next two excerpts represent the seven comments about the advantages of knowing Norwegian or Swedish when learning Danish grammar.

Excerpt 4.33
Bei der Grammatik zeigten sich bei den bisher behandelten Themen, also den ersten Verb- und Substantivformen sowie den Adjektiven, keine grossen Abweichungen [vom Schwedischen].
Regarding grammar, the topics treated so far, that is the first verb and noun forms and the adjectives, did not reveal any major deviations [from Swedish].
(B004, 1.1)

Excerpt 4.34
Det er nemt, at lære grammatiken og sætningsbygning fordi jeg det kender allerede fra tyske og svenska. (håber jeg!)

It’s easy to learn grammar and syntax because I know it already from German and Swedish. (I hope!)
(B010, 1.2)

The fact that participant B010 mentions not only Swedish but also German as an advantage for learning Danish grammar is not unusual. Several participants regard Norwegian, Swedish, German, and English as sources of knowledge relevant for the acquisition of Danish. This is further discussed in chapter 7 on positioning below.

The five comments about the advantage of knowing Swedish or Norwegian when learning to comprehend Danish are illustrated by the following two excerpts.

Excerpt 4.35
Da ich bereits Schwedisch spreche ist es mir relativ leicht gefallen das Dänische lesend und auch hörend zu verstehen.
As I already speak Swedish, it is relatively easy for me to understand Danish when reading and listening.
(B009, 1.1)

Excerpt 4.36
Det hjælper mig at jeg allerede kann svensk, fordi jeg forstår meget når jeg læser dansk.
It helps me that I already know Swedish, because I understand a lot when I read Danish.
(Z006, 1.2)

Although Danish orthography is closer than Danish pronunciation to Swedish and especially to Norwegian, the comprehension of both written and spoken Danish is considered more easily accessible through Norwegian and Swedish, at least by some participants.

A number of participants give less specific statements about the advantages of knowing a Scandinavian language before learning Danish, as for instance excerpts 4.37 and 4.38.

Excerpt 4.37

Da es aber weitaus mehr motivierende Punkte gibt und mir das Schwedisch natürlich ungemein behilflich ist, glaube ich fest daran, dass da noch was draus werden kann ;o)

But because there are many more motivating factors, and because Swedish is of course tremendously helpful, I firmly believe that it will work out eventually ;o)

(B006, 1.1)

Excerpt 4.38

Men at jeg studerer nordiske sprog er gavnlig, fordi jeg synes, at de som studerer det er sikrere, fordi de kender denne sprog.

But the fact that I study Nordic languages is advantageous, because I believe that those who study them are more secure, because they know these languages.

(Z006, 2.2)

The fact that the participants mainly see advantages concerning the acquisition of vocabulary and grammar is expectable, because the Scandinavian languages are very similar in these respects. Some participants also state that previous knowledge of Scandinavian languages is helpful for the comprehension of Danish, especially reading, but not for the production of Danish. Again, this has to do with the well-known similarities in vocabulary, grammar, and orthography concerning Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. In addition, it is generally accepted that language learners are able to comprehend more than they can produce (Melka 1997).

The 18 comments about the knowledge of Norwegian and Swedish as an advantage for learning Danish are, however, outnumbered by the 25 comments about the same knowledge as a disadvantage. The comments about Norwegian and Swedish as a disadvantage for learning Danish are primarily (20 out of 25 comments) concerned with keeping the languages apart. With such comments, the students address concerns about mixing languages and they concentrate on learning differences between the languages. Three examples of this are given in excerpts 4.39, 4.40, and 4.41.

Excerpt 4.39

Zudem ist es mir sehr wichtig, den aktiven Wortschatz zu erweitern und mir allfällige „Schwedismen“ abzugewöhnen.

Furthermore, it's important to me to expand my active vocabulary and to give up "Swedishisms."
(B004, 1.1)

Excerpt 4.40
Mit største problem er, at (også nu!) løse mig fra norsk, som jeg har lært som første skandinaviske sprog.
My biggest problem is (even now!) to liberate myself from Norwegian, which I learned as my first Scandinavian language.
(B008, 1.2)

Excerpt 4.41
Det hindrer mig, at jeg kann svensk, fordi jeg forveksler ord og grammatiske ting.
It's a drawback that I know Swedish, because I mix up words and grammatical things.
(Z006, 2.2)

The few comments about the disadvantage of knowing Norwegian or Swedish that do not address the issue of keeping languages apart either describe the perceived disadvantage in less specific terms, as in excerpt 4.42, or they describe a false sense of security, as in excerpt 4.43.

Excerpt 4.42
At kunne snakke meget godt svenske sprog hindrer mig at laere dansk så rigtigt godt.
Being able to speak Swedish quite well prevents me from learning Danish really well.
(B014, 2.1)

Excerpt 4.42 probably also relates to keeping languages apart, but because the issue is not directly addressed in the excerpt, it has not been counted as an example of the keep languages apart-category.

Excerpt 4.43
Was meinen eigenen Lernprozess angeht, muss ich aufpassen, dass ich mich nicht blenden lasse von der nahen Verwandtschaft des Dänischen zum Schwedischen und die Grammatik

und die Vokabeln auch dann genau lerne, wenn ich das Gefühl habe, ich könne dies alles schon.
Regarding my own learning process, I have to be careful that I'm not blinded by the close kinship between Danish and Swedish, and that I also study the grammar and the vocabulary properly, even if I have the feeling that I already know it all.
(B004, 1.1)

The false sense of security mentioned in excerpt 4.43 is interesting, although it is only mentioned in four learning journals, and only by three participants. Participant B008 (learning journal 1.1) describes the feeling as a *treacherous security* ("trügerische Sicherheit"), and participant Z006 uses the more widely known concept of false friends, also known as false cognates (Groenke 1998). This expression refers to words that are similar in form but not in meaning, for instance the adjective *rar*, which means 'nice' in Danish, but 'strange' in Norwegian. The security sought by the learners has already been addressed (section 4.2 on grammar learning beliefs; Swan 2002). If knowledge of a grammatical system is experienced as a sense of security by some second language learners, it must feel like a paradox when this grammatical knowledge can no longer function as a "security blanket" (Swan 2002: 150), because a similar, but not identical, grammatical system is relevant for another second language. This leads the participants to think of their knowledge of other Scandinavian languages as both an advantage and a disadvantage.

To sum up, the knowledge of Norwegian and Swedish is experienced by some participants as facilitative when learning Danish vocabulary and grammar, and it is interesting that these aspects of learning Danish are also described as disadvantages by a number of students. More than half of the comments (13 out of 25) about the disadvantages of knowing Norwegian or Swedish when learning Danish mention problems due to differences in vocabulary and grammar between the three languages. The participants are generally concerned about separating Danish from Norwegian and Swedish in their learning process. This also applies to pronunciation, which is mentioned in six comments. It is surprising that only six learning journals mention pronunciation as an important difference between Danish on the one hand and Norwegian and Swedish on the other hand, because differences in pronunciation are substantial (Gregersen 2003), and because Danish pronunciation is often considered especially difficult to learn (Grønnum 2003). This could be due to a higher level of awareness about grammar and vocabulary among the participants compared to a lower level of awareness about pronunciation.

4.6 Summary of the participants' beliefs about foreign language learning

The participants generally write more about the learning of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary at the beginning of the course, and they also centre on previous knowledge of Norwegian and Swedish in the first semester. At the end of the language course, in the third semester, the participants write less about linguistic structures and more about communicative approaches to foreign language learning. This change from a structure-focussed approach to a communicative view might be explained by the different needs and challenges experienced by beginner learners as opposed to more advanced learners. Beginner learners are more likely to concentrate on linguistic structures and items in order to gain a feeling of control of what they are learning. Linguistic structures and items are easily quantifiable and can be ticked off a list, whereas cultural or communicative aspects of language learning are more difficult to quantify and control. This is consistent with the finding in Peng (2011), where the participant has a feeling of linguistic progression in form-focussed language classes, but not in communicative classes. The level of meta-language might also play a role here. It is possible that most participants have the adequate meta-language to discuss linguistic structure, but that only few participants have the meta-language to discuss communication for language learning.

The learning strategies mentioned by the participants vary according to the skills they discuss. When addressing the acquisition of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, the participants mention cognitive learning strategies, especially repetition. There are some exceptions to this, however, for example the social and cognitive strategy of teacher feedback during group work (excerpt 4.4). The request for more teacher-centred and form-focussed group activities is interesting, as teachers probably mostly initiate group work for communicative purposes. When the participants write about communicative language learning, they mention both cognitive and social learning strategies. Communication is inherently social, of course, which makes the use of social learning strategies relevant. Cognitive strategies are combined with social strategies when discussing communicative approaches to learning, indicating that the participants focus on both the structural and the social aspects of communication.

The participants do not concentrate on communication before they feel ready to communicate in Danish. They prefer to start out with form and slowly work their way towards communication. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the participants are actually able to communicate in Danish, at least within the frames of the course and the data collection tasks.

4.7 Why do the participants hold these beliefs?

Specific language learner beliefs emerge in contexts where they are meaningful for the learners in relation to experience, surroundings, expectations, and other factors. The language learner beliefs expressed by the participants in this study have probably been influenced by their extensive experiences with second language learning. Although there are individual differences between the participants, the general pattern is that the participants prefer form-focussed approaches to language learning, especially at the beginning of the language course. When I give talks about the study at conferences or meetings, it is interesting to discuss the results with linguists, language teachers, and language students in Germany and in German-speaking Switzerland. German and Swiss German language professionals usually recognise the pattern of learner beliefs from my study and explain the beliefs with the following four statements:

1) This is how we usually do it in Switzerland (or Germany)
2) It usually works
3) Teachers and learners are not familiar with other approaches
4) Academics think in terms of systems and structures, also when learning languages

The first explanation, *This is how we usually do it in Switzerland (or Germany)*, points to differences in educational practices in different countries. One might say that a tradition is used as an argument for itself here. The people who use this explanation usually refer to weekly vocabulary tests that are used in the Swiss educational system from the early years of school and throughout university studies.

When Freudenstein (1995) suggests to German teachers that vocabulary is taught in a more playful and individual way than what is done in many teaching materials, he receives the following answer:

> Die Antwort „Das geht nicht“ habe ich bisher immer nur von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern gehört, die an Regelschulen arbeiten. Die Antwort „Das ist doch nichts Neues“ erfährt man

(überraschenderweise?) wenn man beispielsweise mit Lehrenden internationaler Schulen oder Sprachschulen im Ausland spricht (Freudenstein 1995: 70).

The answer "It won't work" have I until now only heard from teachers who work in standard schools. The answer "That's nothing new" is (surprisingly?) encountered when speaking to teachers at international schools or language schools abroad.

(My translation)

Although this quote is nearly 20 years old, it may still be relevant, as teaching practices only change slowly.

From language practitioners that know both the German or Swiss German context and the Danish context, for example teachers of Danish in Germany and Switzerland, the differences between (Swiss) German and Danish teaching practices are usually emphasised. This points to a cultural difference in foreign language teaching between Germany and German-speaking Switzerland on the one hand and Denmark on the other hand. Obviously, discussions at conferences are not representative and do not constitute adequate data. But such discussions may be part of more general tendencies within foreign language teaching in different countries, and studies in this area might prove to be useful for the planning of teaching materials or curricula for the teaching of Danish outside of Denmark.

The second explanation, *It usually works,* is mostly used by language students. This explanation is based partly on tradition and partly on personal experience. When language students (or language teachers) experience that a teaching method or learning strategy is useful, they will probably want to repeat the method or strategy and apply it to further aspects of language learning. This is a small scale best practice procedure. More often than not, such best practice solutions will not be theoretically or empirically informed, but if they are experienced as efficient, this is secondary to the learners. Obviously, a weak point in such an argument is that the preferred teaching method might not have been compared to any other teaching methods. Independently of the teaching method used by the teacher, language students will almost always learn something, meaning that the method in question might be perceived as efficient. So, the students might not have learned language because of a certain method, but maybe in spite of a certain method (cf. Long & Robinson 1998). This is related to the third explanation, *Teachers and learners are not familiar with other* *approaches*, which has also been put forward in conference discussions. A lack of experience with alternative teaching methods and learning strategies is underlined with this statement.

The fourth and last explanation in the list, *Academics think in terms of systems and structures, also when learning languages*, is likewise mostly put forward by language students. This explanation argues that university students are particularly systematic and structured when learning foreign languages, because they are used to working with and thinking in terms of abstract systems and structures. This is very likely, but it does not change the fact that language is more than linguistic structure. Although language students may have special interests in, for instance, grammar or phonetics, they usually also want and need to learn how to communicate.

It is worth noting that the feedback that I have received from linguists and language teachers when giving similar talks in Denmark has been quite different from the four points listed above. This might have to do with the strong focus on communicative language teaching in language schools and at universities in Denmark. Teachers of Danish as a second language for adults are educated at Danish universities, where communicative language teaching usually has a strong influence. At one of these institutions, the Centre for Danish as a second or foreign language at the University of Copenhagen, late modern sociolinguistics has been particularly influential on discussions about second language learning and use. The notion of languaging pervades much of the research and teaching at the institution, resulting in what some colleagues have called the New Copenhagen School of Sociolinguistics. The trickle-down effect from research to teaching leads to a socially and sociolinguistically informed approach to studies in Danish as a second or foreign language among teachers and students of the institution. The language teachers educated at the Centre for Danish as a second or foreign language will encounter this approach in lectures and readings, and they will most likely be influenced by the approach with regard to their views on language and language learning, and with regard to teaching methods.

Kirk & Jørgensen (2006) confirm that communicative teaching methods are widespread in schools teaching Danish as a second language to adults in Denmark. Kirk & Jørgensen (2006) underline that the norm at language schools in Denmark is not an extreme version of communicative language teaching, but rather a communicative approach that includes focus on form.

As already mentioned, my recollection of conference discussions does not constitute adequate data, but the issue is intriguing and further studies, for example interviews with language teachers in Switzerland and Denmark, are needed to cast light on related questions.

In addition to the four explanations listed above, a number of other points may in part account for the beliefs expressed by the participants. The participants may be influenced by their teacher, peers, parents and other acquaintances (Navarro & Thornton 2011). In relation to the changing of the beliefs over time, the teacher, teaching materials, and teaching methods may be particularly relevant. This issue is further pursued in chapter 5.

The beliefs expressed by the participants are most likely also influenced by the context of the language course and the data collection. The learning journals are written as part of the course curriculum, and the participants have been informed that the learning journals will also be analysed as part of a research project. In this setting, where the teacher and the researcher is the same person, the participants may choose to present themselves as goal-directed, successful students, and they may choose to do this by writing about concrete, quantifiable topics such as vocabulary learning and grammar rules.

5 Changing beliefs in three case studies

The change of beliefs over time, which is illustrated with the participants' focus on linguistic structures at the beginning of the language course and their increased focus on communication at the end of the language course, is further evidenced in this chapter with case studies of three individual participants. The three participants from Basel (B009, B013, B020) were selected for case studies due to their representativeness for the group, as they all changed their beliefs from structure-focussed to communication-focussed. A similar direction of change of beliefs can be noted with these participants, but their individual changes do not follow the same path and pace, which makes a comparison all the more interesting. Furthermore, the three participants have written at least five learning journals, so that it is possible to track their development over time.

The three case studies are presented consecutively below, each described chronologically from the first learning journal (1.1) to the last learning journal (3.2).

5.1 Changes of beliefs with participant B009

Student B009 is a 23 year-old woman who indicates that she speaks German as her first language and the foreign languages Swedish, English, French and Italian. Her statements clearly develop during the three semesters. In the two learning journals from the first semester, she is concerned with academic structure, systems, and orderliness, and her main focus is grammar. Excerpts 5.1 and 5.2 are from learning journal 1.1.

> Excerpt 5.1
> Ich finde es schade, dass wir erst so wenig Grammatik gelernt haben. Ich würde mir wünschen, diese bewusster und zügiger zu erlernen. Wie die Grammatik erklärt wird finde ich hingegen sehr gut.
> *I think it's a shame that we've only learned so little grammar. I'd like to learn it in a more deliberate and efficient way. However, I find the way that the grammar is explained very good.*
> (1.1, B009)

> Excerpt 5.2
> Ich denke dass man auf universitärem Niveau ein strukturierteres und anspruchsvolleres Lernmittel verwenden könnte (z.B. Langenscheits).

I think that at university level one could use more structured and demanding teaching materials (e.g. Langenscheidt).
(B009, 1.1)

The teaching book series that participant B009 refers to here, *Langenscheidt*, is a widely used book series for self-study and for language courses, and the books' lessons consist of texts, dialogues, vocabulary, grammar, and exercises like many other language course books. The *Langenscheidt* foreign language learning books include more explanatory texts, especially regarding grammar, as compared to the course book *Etteren* (*The First,* Køneke & Nielsen 2004) that is more communicatively oriented. This also has to do with the fact that *Etteren* is intended exclusively for language courses, whereas *Langenscheidt Dänisch mit System* (*Danish with system,* Hastenplug 2011) is intended for both courses and self-study. In a self-study context, more explanations are required in the book, because the learners will usually need to rely solely on the book. In a classroom context, the teacher is available for explanations, and the teacher might have access to a teachers' guide included in the book set.

In learning journal 1.1, the participant further mentions that comprehending oral and written Danish is relatively easy, because she already knows Swedish, and she briefly mentions writing and reading as areas that she would like to spend more time and effort on. Participant B009 does write one sentence about a planned language course in Copenhagen, but she does not refer to communication or culture in learning journal 1.1, as opposed to some of the later journals.

The next excerpt (5.3) from learning journal 1.2 similarly addresses grammar and systematicity.

Excerpt 5.3
Jeg tror at det er synd at vi har kun lært so lidt grammatik. Jeg tror at det er lettere om man lærer den meget systematisk for at man få en ordning i hoved.
I think it's a shame that we've only learned so little grammar. I think it is easier to learn it very systematically to get orderliness in your head.
(B009, 1.2)

The first part of excerpt 5.3 is a translation of the same utterance from journal 1.1, excerpt 5.1. In learning journal 1.2 (excerpt 5.4), the participant again argues that the book *Etteren* contains too little grammar.

Excerpt 5.4
Det er også grunden hvorfor jeg kan ikke saerlig godt lide vores lærebog Etteren. Der finns næsten ikke grmmatikken i bogen og det finns meget spørgsmåler som bliver oppen.
That's also the reason why I don't really like our course book Etteren. There's almost no grammar in the book and there are a lot of questions that remain open.
(1.2, B009)

During the first semester, participant B009 prefers learning Danish in a structured and systematic way, and the aspect of language that she is most focussed on learning, grammar, is suited for structured and systematic materials.

During the second semester, B009 expresses herself in a more comprehensive way by not picking out one single aspect of her own language learning but rather including all aspects as important.

Excerpt 5.5
Jeg vil gerne lære mig mer om vokabler. Jeg vil også gerne lære mig mer om grammatik og udtale og om danmark self. Det er vigtigt og nødvendigt at lære sig meget om alle områder av språket fordi det hør alle sammen. (B009, 2.1)
I'd like to learn more about vocabulary. I'd also like to learn more about grammar and pronunciation and about Denmark itself. It is important and necessary to learn a lot about all aspects of the language because they all belong together.

This belief that all aspects of a language are interrelated differs from excerpts 5.3 and 5.4, which were centred on grammar. Whereas excerpts 5.3 and 5.4 described how language should be learned, i.e. in a structured and systematic manner, excerpt 5.5 describes what should be learned, i.e. all aspects of the language in question. The aspects that are mentioned in excerpt 5.5 are vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, and learning about Denmark. Still, three out of four of the mentioned aspects are linguistic structures.

At the end of the second semester, in learning journal 2.2, participant B009 describes how she listens to Danish radio podcasts (excerpt 5.6), and how she is pleased that she can read and understand a Danish short story (excerpt 5.7).

Excerpt 5.6
Jeg lysnade på nogle potcaster av danmarks radio och jeg kunde forstå dem i det store og hele.
I listened to some podcasts from Radio Denmark, and I could understand them by and large.
(2.2, B009)

Excerpt 5.7
Det er spennende og det er roligt når man ser at man allerede forstår tekster som Hans Christian Andersens "Skyggen".
It's exciting and it's fun when you see that you already understand texts such as Hans Christian Andersen's "The Shadow".

In learning journal 2.2, the participant does not mention grammar or vocabulary. Rather, she writes that she would like to learn more about Danish in general.

Excerpt 5.8
Jeg vil gerne lære mer om det dankske sprog i almindelighed.
I'd like to learn more about the Danish language in general.
(2.2, B009)

The focus on listening to the radio and reading texts not produced for language learners, and the participants' wish to learn more about Danish in general indicate that a change is taking place. Participant B009 is less occupied with linguistic structures and more with comprehension, content, and culture.

At the beginning of the third semester, participant B009 writes about differences between Danish and Swedish, although she does not specify whether she refers to grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, or something else.

Excerpt 5.9

Men jeg vet at det er også farligt fordi der finds mange små sager som man ska passe på mellan dansk og svensk.

But I know that it's also dangerous, because there are many little things that you should watch out for between Danish and Swedish.

(3.1, B009)

B009 also mentions a book that she has read, and that she has learned vocabulary from reading the book.

Excerpt 5.10

Bogen hette Den amerikanske sømend og var skriven af Hans Lund. Det var kun skönlitteratur men det var meget got før at lære sig ord och vane sig til dansk.

The book was called The American Sailor and was written by Hans Lund. It was only fiction, but it was very good for learning words and for getting used to Danish.

(3.1, B009)

Grammar is not explicitly mentioned in learning journal 3.1. The focus in learning journal 3.1 is on the relation between Danish and Swedish, and on the book that the participant has read (which must, by the way, be the novel by Karsten Lund).

In her last learning journal at the end of the third semester, the student is less focused on learning specific aspects of language and more interested in 'being around' the language. Excerpt 5.11 describes how a study abroad context would facilitate learning Danish.

Excerpt 5.11

Det vill være bedst om jeg går til Danmark. Det er altid meget godt når man har sproget og også lifstilen omkring sig.

It would be the best thing to go to Denmark. It is always very good when you have the language and the lifestyle around you.
(B009, 3.2)

In learning journal 3.2, participant B009 also writes about listening to Danish in the street, on the radio, and in audio books. This indicates that she is still interested in Danish literature, culture, and in understanding authentic Danish, that is Danish that has not been produced for language learners but for speakers of Danish.

Excerpt 5.12
I den her tredje semester har jeg framfø alt lært at lysne på dansk i vanlige situationen "på gade". I begyndelse var det meget svært at forstå normalt dansk men nu går det meget bedre. Jeg har lyttet på lyttebøger og på dansk radio.
In this third semester, I have primarily learned to listen to Danish in ordinary situations "in the street". At the beginning, it was very difficult to understand ordinary Danish, but now it's much better. I've listened to audio books and to Danish radio.
(3.2, B009)

However, grammar and vocabulary learning are also briefly mentioned in learning journal 3.2, both in relation to Swedish.

Excerpt 5.13
Det som hjælper mig meget er når vi laver grammatikken. Det er meget vigtigt for mig at se forskel mellem dansk og svensk. Vokabler er også vigtigt men de lærer man (jeg som kan svensk) meget let.
What helps me a lot is when we do grammar. It's very important for me to see differences between Danish and Swedish. Vocabulary is important as well, but you learn it (I, who know Swedish) very easily.
(3.2, B009)

To conclude, student B009 moves from a belief that language, especially grammar, should be learned in a systematic and structured way, to a more comprehensive language view saying that all aspects of a language are interrelated and should be learned. She is increasingly interested in literature and culture, and during the third semester, she expresses a view that unites language and lifestyle, although grammar and vocabulary learning still play a role in her last learning journal.

5.2 Changes of beliefs with participant B013

The second acse study student, B013, is a 22 year-old man. He indicates German as his first language, and he also speaks French, English, and Italian. He writes extensively about learner beliefs, mostly from a structure-focussed perspective. In the first learning journal, some of his statements are formulated succinctly, as can be seen in the following two excerpts.

> Excerpt 5.14
> Die korrekte Aussprache braucht die Übung im Kurs.
> *Correct pronunciation requires practice in class*.
> (B013, 1.1)

> Excerpt 5.15
> Das Erlernen der Vokabeln ist nur die Frage der Disziplin, wobei ich mich diesbezüglich als mittelmässig einschätze.
> *Learning vocabulary is only a question of discipline*, *and I regard myself as mediocre in this regard.*
> (B013, 1.1)

These two excerpts deliver short and concise directions as to how pronunciation and vocabulary should be learned according to participant B013. With these statements, participant B013 indicates that there are simple and efficient strategies for the tasks of learning foreign language pronunciation and vocabulary, and that he is aware of these strategies. The style used in excerpts 5.14 and 5.15 is direct, with no hedges or mitigations, and the adverb 'nur' (*only*) in excerpt 5.15 further emphasises that participant B013 considers these beliefs self-evident.

It is interesting that participant B013 does not suggest that any other aspects of language learning than pronunciation needs practice in class. This might be due to the fact that pronunciation exercises are difficult to self-assess, which underlines the need for a teacher in a classroom context. Similarly, discipline is only mentioned in relation to vocabulary learning and not with any other aspects of language learning. The reason for this is most probably that vocabulary learning can easily be quantified through the counting and listing of words, and that participant B013 prefers learning words by memorisation. If the students' goal is to memorise a number of words from a list, discipline might indeed be an important characteristic for the language learner. The preference for vocabulary lists is further emphasised in excerpt 5.16.

> Excerpt 5.16
> Ich versuche mit dem Übertragen von Wörter und nützlichen Sätzen in ein Vokabularheft meinen Lernprozess zusätzlich zum Unterricht, zu den Hausaufgaben zu fördern.
> *I try to boost my learning process in addition to class and homework by writing words and useful sentences in a vocabulary notebook.*
> (B013, 1.1)

Participant B013 positions himself as an ambitious student who knows exactly what it takes to learn a language in a university course, although he does not find his level of self-discipline adequate. The self-positioning as language experts is found with several of the students, probably partly due to the fact that they have much experience with learning foreign languages (see chapter 7, section 7.2).

During the second semester, participant B013 writes much about what he has learned so far, especially grammatical items (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs). He is planning to do additional work and take on responsibility for his own vocabulary acquisition, as illustrated in excerpts 5.17 and 5.18.

> Excerpt 5.17
> Jeg har også købt et bog med ordene ind (den er kun ordene vi bruger på rejsene. Det hedder „Reisewörterbuch“).
> *I have also bought a book with words in it (they are only words used for travelling. It is called "Reisewörterbuch").*
> (B013, 2.1)

Excerpt 5.18

Det er svært at lære ordet konsekvent, fordi man skal lære dem flere gange om uge og det bruger selvdisciplin (jeg finder sjældent tid i løbet af semester). Derfor har jeg til hensigt at gør et intensiv-programm for at lære ordet i den uge af Zwischensemester, hvor jeg arbejder for universitetet.

It is difficult to study words consequently, because you need to study them several times a week and that requires self-discipline (I rarely have the time during the semester). Thus I plan to do an intensive programme to study words in the one week between the semesters when I work at the university.

(B013, 2.2)

Excerpts 5.17 and 5.18 further underline a focus on memorisation and lists in relation to vocabulary learning. Participant B013 believes that it is necessary to learn vocabulary from a predefined list or book, and as we have already seen, he thinks that discipline is a necessary requirement. This student estimates that he will be able to learn the vocabulary of the semester within one week, as long as he works intensively with the task (excerpt 5.18). He mentions discipline and time as two factors that enable vocabulary learning, and as he is short on time during the semester, he must rely on his self-discipline to memorise the relevant vocabulary within only one week.

In the same learning journal, though, he states that reading can also be a source of new vocabulary.

Excerpt 5.19

Lekture er spannendere end grammatik og hves man læser meget, hjælper det at lære ordet.

Reading is more exciting than grammar, and if you read a lot, it helps to expand your vocabulary.

(B013, 2.2)

The participant describes reading as exciting, and he does not relate reading for vocabulary learning with discipline, as he did with memorisation as a strategy for vocabulary learning. The participant regards reading as an exciting but not very efficient strategy, and memorisation from lists as a demanding but efficient strategy for vocabulary learning.

In the last learning journal from the second semester, B013 mentions communication as an important part of language learning (excerpt 5.20). However, he finds that he should concentrate more on vocabulary and grammar before focussing on communication.

Excerpt 5.20
Kommunikation er meget viktig, tro jeg og maske skal vi gøre mere for det i kurset. Men jeg ser også jeg skal at første fokussere på ordforratning og grammatik.
Communication is very important, I think, and maybe we should work more on that in class. But I also realize that I have to focus on vocabulary and grammar first.
(B013, 2.2)

Excerpt 5.20 indicates that the participant believes that he must learn linguistic structures, presumably by way of memorisation, before he will be able to communicate. He thus separates language learning and the learning of linguistic structures from language use and communication.

So far, we can conclude that participant B013 believes that foreign language vocabulary learning requires discipline, and that the most efficient way of learning words is memorisation from vocabulary lists. If a learner does large amounts of reading, this might, according to participant B013, also expand his vocabulary.

Some of the beliefs that participant B013 expresses during the third semester are much like the ones already cited, for instance excerpts 5.21 and 5.22.

Excerpt 5.21
Jeg sygnes det vigtigste for mig nu er at forstørre aktiv ordforrådet. Heldigvis det gør delvis sammen med at læse romaner men jeg ved at man skal også lære ord derfor.
I think the most important thing for me now is to expand my active vocabulary. Fortunately, this can be done by reading novels, but I know that I also have to study words.
(B013, 3.1)

Excerpt 5.22

Jeg synes at al beskæftigelse med dansk fremmer lærningsporcessen men hvad mig angår er det vigtig at lære ord og udtrykke.

I think that all engagement with Danish enhances the learning process, but for my part it is important to learn words and expressions.

(B013, 3.1)

He is still very concerned with learning vocabulary, and he still refers to reading as an exciting activity ('heldigvis' *fortunately* in excerpt 5.21) and memorisation as a tedious but necessary activity ('skal' *have to*; 'vigtigt' *important* in excerpt 5.22). It is also interesting, in excerpt 5.22, that the student states more general beliefs about language learning next to beliefs about what he, as an individual learner, needs.

In learning journal 3.1, however, the participant also refers to a book he has read and thus shows an interest in literature. As discussed in section 2.4 on learning strategies, many learners and practitioners believe that reading is an efficient way of learning languages. The genre of fiction is usually considered 'authentic' in terms of teaching material (Kilickaya 2004), but the book mentioned in excerpt 5.23 is an easy reader of a Danish novel, which might lead the learner to think of it as 'inauthentic' (see section 6.3 on authentic target language). Participant B013 does not discuss authenticity, but he does mention that the book is an adapted version of a novel.

Excerpt 5.23

Om summerferien har jeg læst kriminalromanen (d.v.s en bearbejdet version af romanen) "Mord i Mørket" og det var ikke nogle større problemer at forstå.

During the summer holidays, I've read the crime novel (i.e. an adapted version of the novel) "Murder in the Dark" and it wasn't very difficult to understand it.

(3.1, B013)

Excerpt 5.24 from his last learning journal shows that he differentiates between reception and production:

Excerpt 5.24

Det synes mig at det er ikke så svart at forstå tekster på dansk hvis man taler tysk fordi mange ting ligner hinanden. [...] Så synes det mig at dansk er en sprog som man på overfladen hurtigt forstår hvis engang man har tilgangen. Men en passiv måde af forståelse hjælper selvfølgelig ikke at undgå ortografiske eller syntaktiske fejler.

It seems to me that it is not so difficult to understand Danish texts if you speak German, because many things are alike. [...] So it seems to me that Danish is a language that you can learn to understand superficially quite fast once you have access. But of course, a passive way of understanding will not help you avoid orthographic or syntactic errors.

(B013, 3.2)

The content of excerpt 5.24 may also be related to Swain's (1985) hypothesis of pushed output. According to participant B013, Danish is relatively easy to understand for German speakers, but in order to learn Danish syntax, previous knowledge of German is not enough. This is compatible with Swain's (1985: 252) hypothesis that grammar is learned through learner output in conversational exchanges in which meaning is negotiated.

But then, in the same learning journal from the end of the third semester, student B013 writes a very different statement that more or less contradicts what he has written about language learning until then.

Excerpt 5.25

Men det synes mig at et sprog først er noget mundligt. Så det vigtigste er at lærer at kommunicere.

But it seems to me that language is first of all something oral. So the most important thing is to learn how to communicate.

(B013, 3.2)

In excerpt 5.25, participant B013 argues that oral communication is the most important aspect of foreign language learning. In learning journal 3.2, he does not mention discipline or memorisation, and he does not refer to communication as something that follows learning, but rather as something that is part of the learning process.

To sum up, this case study clearly demonstrates a change during the three semesters, from a structure-focussed to a more communicative approach to language learning. It is worth noting that the change does not take place until the end of the third semester. It is also intriguing that he is concerned with errors in the last learning journal, even though he also states that communication is of primary importance. Thus, this participant focusses on linguistic form during all three semesters, and additionally on communication at the end of the third semester.

5.3 Changes of beliefs with participant B020

The third and last case study student is B020, who is 23 years old. In the first semester, he indicates that he speaks Swiss German ('Deustch (Schweizerdeutsch)') as his first language, and in the following two semesters he gives German ('Tysk') as his first language. He further knows English and French. He is concerned with vocabulary learning and pronunciation from the start (excerpt 5.26), and he asks for word lists in learning journal 1.2, as illustrated in excerpt 5.27.

> Excerpt 5.26
> Mein Ziel in Bezug auf das Dänischlernen besteht darin, in einem Jahr Dänsich soweit zu beherrschen, dass ich mich einigermassen sicher ausdrücken kann – vor allem auch was die Aussprache betrifft – wozu auch ein relativ grosser Wortschatz nötig ist.
> *My goal within the next year of learning Danish is to be able to master Danish to a degree where I can express myself in a relatively confident way – especially also pertaining to pronunciation – which means that a relatively large vocabulary is also necessary.*
> (1.1, B020)

> Excerpt 5.27
> Måske det er mulig at du give os ordlistene. Så vi vider hvilken ord vi skal läre.
> *Maybe you could give us some vocabulary lists. So we know what words to learn.*
> (B020, 1.2)

This is a frequent request from a number of students, especially when the exam approaches at the end of each semester. The focus on the number of words to be learned for an exam is most probably related to the participants' previous experience with language course assessments, as the written assessments used in the Danish classes do not test vocabulary in isolation, and do not test translations of single words or paragraphs. In the productive parts of the test, the participants have the possibility of choosing what words to use, and to avoid words they do not wish to use, and they have access to dictionaries (see section 3.2.3 imagined imagined The Danish language courses and exams). The focus on vocabulary learning and pronunciation is continued in learning journal 1.2 (excerpt 5.28).

Excerpt 5.28
Jeg vil også gerne kende flere ord og at vide hvilken er det rigtigt udsprog af dem.
I'd also like to know more words and know the correct pronunciation of them.
(1.2, B020)

During the second semester, participant B020 writes about learning vocabulary by memorisation, and he believes that this memorisation will facilitate oral production.

Excerpt 5.29
Det er også nødvendigt at lære mange ord udenad, så når man kan bedre sige hvad man tænker.
It is also important to learn a lot of words by heart in order to be better able to say what you think.
(B020, 2.1)

Excerpts 5.27, 5.28 and 5.29 indicate that participant B020 believes that vocabulary is best learned by way of memorisation from vocabulary lists, that the teacher should provide the students with relevant lists, and that word memorisation precedes communication. As participant B020 does not receive any vocabulary list from the teacher (except for lists included in the course books, for instance in *Etteren*), he decides to produce his own learning material, that is flash cards with Danish vocabulary items.

Excerpt 5.30
Det hjælper mig også, når jeg skriver ordne på lille kort.
It also helps me when I write down words on small cards.
(B020, 2.1)

Interestingly, for B020 communication does not only follow learning, it is also a way of learning. In excerpts 5.31 and 5.32, memorisation and oral communication go hand in hand, and he seems to be equally concerned with both. He sees vocabulary memorisation as prerequisite for learning to speak, but at the same time he says that you learn to speak through speaking.

Excerpt 5.31

Det er desuden særlig vigtigt at vi lærer taler dansk mundtligt.

Furthermore, it is particularly important that we learn to speak Danish orally.

(B020, 2.1)

Excerpt 5.32

Jeg kan bedst lide, når vi har opgaver i kursen, hvor vi må snakker meget. Det er godt for vi lærer snakker dansk på denne måde.

I prefer class tasks in which we have to talk a lot. That's good, because we learn to speak Danish that way.

(B020, 2.1)

This participant is also focussed on grammar and wants to repeat all the grammar he has learned so far before moving to Copenhagen, as evidenced in excerpt 5.33. He combines learning strategies, which is likely to facilitate his learning (Gu 2003).

Excerpt 5.33

Indtil derpå jeg skal lære mange ord og jeg skal repetere den hel grammatik, som vi har lært.

Until then, I must learn a lot of words and repeat all the grammar that we have learned.

(B020, 2.1)

Presumably, the reference to 'all the grammar that we have learned' should be understood as 'all the grammar we have dealt with in the course'. There is a semantic difference between the German word 'lernen', meaning to study or to work on something (with an imperfective aspect), and the Danish and English words 'at lære', 'to learn' that have a perfective aspect, which means that after learning something, you know something new, or you have acquired a new skill.

Furthermore, the participant mentions culture in learning journal 2.1.

Excerpt 5.34

Jeg kunne også godt tænke mig at det være godt at se mange film på dansk. Og det ville være spændende at lære at kende den dansk kultur og ejendommeligheder.

I can also imagine that it would be good to see many films in Danish. And it would be interesting to get to know Danish culture and peculiarities.

(2.1, B020)

In learning journal 2.2, the participant is still preoccupied with pronunciation (excerpt 5.35), and the rest of his learning journal is centred on what he has learned, and on his planned exchange visit to Copenhagen.

Excerpt 5.35

Hvad jeg gerne vil lære i fremtiden, er at tale bedre og at forstå mere, når nogen taler dansk. Det er meget svært at udtale dansk korrekt og at forstå danskerne, fordi de taler hurtigt og jeg stadigvæk må tænke, når jeg lytte.

What I still want to learn in the future is to speak better and understand more when someone speaks Danish. It's still very difficult to pronounce Danish correctly and to understand the Danes, because they speak fast and I have to think while listening.

(2.2, B020)

In the learning journals 2.1 and 2.2, then, participant B020 writes about various aspects of language learning and various learning strategies. He does not suggest one single strategy as sufficient for learning. Pronunciation and comprehension of spoken Danish are also emphasised in learning journal 3.1 (excerpt 5.36), and participant B020 further writes that he likes reading and learns a lot from writing.

Excerpt 5.36

Jeg vil gerne forbedre min udtale og den lytte-forståelse, fordi det er svært at forstæ eller producere den mundtlige dansk.

I'd like to improve my pronunciation and listening comprehension, because it's difficult to understand or produce oral Danish.
(3.1, B020)

At the end of the third semester, participant B020 expresses beliefs about the importance of oral communication:

Excerpt 5.37
For eksempel er det stadigvæk svært at forstå det talte sprog eller at selv udtale de danske ord. Så skal jeg øve at bedre udtale og forstå, fordi jeg tænker at de mundlige evener er noget af de vigtigste ting, når man vil lære et sprog. Men det er også klart at det er meget svært at lære det, hvis man ikke lever der, hvor sproget er talt.
For example, it's still difficult to understand the spoken language or to pronounce Danish words myself. So I must practice for a better pronunciation and comprehension, because I think that oral skills are some of the most important things when learning a language. But it is also evident that it is very hard to learn it, if you do not live where the language is spoken.
(B020, 3.2)

The first sentence of the excerpt is in line with what the participant has written about the difficulty of Danish pronunciation in the preceding learning journals. The second sentence of the quote, saying that oral skills are important, looks very much like the last quote from student B013. The third part of the quote, stressing the advantages of living among speakers of the language, resembles what student B009 wrote at the end of the third semester about being in the country where the relevant language is spoken, that is a study abroad-context.

During the three semesters, participant B020 gradually changes his statements about foreign language learning from an approach centred on memorisation, through a more communication-centred approach, and finally to a study abroad-focus centred on oral communication.

5.4 Summary of changing beliefs in three case studies

To sum up, all three participants, B009, B013, and B020, express beliefs that change over time. Participant B009 starts out focussing on structure, systems, and orderliness, moves on to a more comprehensive view on language learning and ends up emphasising the connection between language and lifestyle. Her change of focus can be characterised as a change from a structure-focussed perspective to a more culture-focussed perspective. The next student, B013, makes changes in the same direction, even though his statements are more complex. During the first two semesters, he is concerned with vocabulary memorisation and discipline. In learning journals 2.2 and 3.1 it seems as if an internal conflict of interest is going on. B013 finds communication ‘very important’, but he still argues that he should focus more on grammar and vocabulary than on communication. Also, he finds reading for vocabulary learning more exciting than memorisation, but nevertheless he believes memorisation to be indispensable, whereas reading for vocabulary learning is not. In his last learning journal, 3.2, he is simultaneously concerned about producing orthographic and syntactic errors and convinced that language is first of all about oral communication. The last student, B020, also expresses partly contradictory views. He asks for a vocabulary list, states that vocabulary memorisation is necessary, and describes how he uses vocabulary flash cards. Simultaneously, he stresses the importance of oral communication and states that language is learned through using language. This complex view on language learning holds both structure-focussed and communicative perspectives.

5.5 Why do the beliefs change over time?

From my description of the learner beliefs expressed by participants B009, B013, and B020, it is clear that learner beliefs are rather dynamic than static and stable. They change over time, and sometimes they even vary within one and the same written learning journal. It is also clear that the learner beliefs expressed by these students start out as rather structure-focussed and move towards a more communicative language view during the three semesters. I have not observed the reverse tendency with any students in this study. There could be several explanations for this increasing focus on communication, and I suggest the following two as plausible.

One explanation could be that the students adapt to the beliefs of the teacher over time. Navarro & Thornton (2011) maintain that beliefs are appropriated from others, and they underline “the well-established role that both previous experiences and teachers can play in learner belief development” (Navarro & Thornton 2011: 295; see also Tanaka & Ellis 2003). It seems reasonable to claim, then, that the students in my study are at least partly influenced by their teacher’s beliefs.

In a study about second language learners in Copenhagen, Ritzau (2007) shows how the official aims of language schools correlate with and probably influence learners’ beliefs. Two schools are compared, one with a particular focus on pronunciation acquisition and one with no such focus. The students attending classes in the first school find pronunciation acquisition much more difficult (73% of all participants find pronunciation acquisition “most difficult”) than the students from the second school (only 19% find pronunciation acquisition “most difficult”) (Ritzau 2007: 77). This indicates that the school’s approach to language learning influences the students’ beliefs about language learning, and they are socialised into school norms and expectations. This is an important point in relation to the data reported in this dissertation. Factors such as traditions within educational institutions and in teacher training, as well as the design of exams, the types of teaching materials chosen, and so on, may influence the beliefs held by the participants.

Why students adapt to the beliefs of the teacher is another interesting question. It could have to do with power relations in the classroom, where the teacher is authorised and expected to set the agenda. In the case of the Danish courses at the two Swiss universities, the teacher single-handedly plans and carries out teaching, and designs and assesses written exams, as there are neither curricular guidelines for the lessons nor course-external censors for the exams. In such a situation, the students are particularly dependent on the teacher. The students might be motivated to accept the teacher’s methods, materials, and goals, so that they will have better chances of passing the test designed by the teacher.

The adaption to the teacher’s beliefs could also have to do with the students’ increased metalinguistic awareness (van Lier 1996) due to explanations and discussions about pedagogical practices and increased experience with the materials and teaching methods used by the teacher. When the teacher explains why specific exercises or materials are chosen, the students are encouraged to evaluate these in relation to other types of exercises or materials. In addition, when students repeatedly encounter materials or exercises that represent a certain approach, they will become familiar with, and possibly feel comfortable with, that approach.

A second plausible explanation for the students’ increasing focus on communication is that many students feel more comfortable and less anxious about communicating in Danish at the end of the third semester, and this might be the reason why they consider communication to be of greater importance at the end of the course than they did when first setting out to learn Danish. It is not satisfying to feel unable to master an important skill. One way to avoid this is for the participants to deem the skill in question unimportant, in this case to regard oral communication as secondary to grammar and vocabulary learning, until they feel competent when communicating in Danish.

Even though the students' beliefs move in the same direction, they do so with diverging rates. The beliefs that student B009 expresses change neatly with the semesters. The two other students, B013 and B020, show more complex developments. They both express seemingly contradictory beliefs within one and the same learning journal. For example, participant B013 writes that communication is important, and that more time should be devoted to communication in class, but that repetition of vocabulary and grammar are his most pressing tasks. Mercer (2011: 341) also found her informant expressing "seemingly contradictory statements about her Spanish abilities, such as within the same interview" and argues that "it is apparent that simple cause-and-effect models of dynamics cannot possibly capture the complex nature and development of any changes" (Mercer 2011: 343). Tanaka & Ellis (2003) likewise note that learners may hold what seem to be contradictory beliefs.

I have investigated learner beliefs in written learning journals that are part of the course work, and this may of course influence the learners' expressions of beliefs. They know that their teacher will read the learning journals, and this fact might mean that they position themselves as 'good students' who know what it takes to learn a foreign language. This might very well be the case for student B013, who expresses beliefs about discipline and describes how he studies by himself outside of class. Recording students when discussing beliefs in more informal settings would probably reveal other beliefs, since learners would wish to position themselves differently. Thus a combination of different methods and different types of data are essential for improving and refining our understandings of language learner beliefs.

6 Language ideologies and learner beliefs

This chapter relates language learner beliefs to language ideologies (cf. De Costa 2011). The beliefs expressed about foreign language learning in the learning journals are linked to larger-scale language ideologies, for example ideologies prevalent in educational institutions. The ideas about language and language learning expressed by the informants relate to three distinct ideologies that reflect:

a) language as a system
b) languages as separate entities
c) the notion of one authentic target language

These three language ideologies are closely related. The ideology of language as a system takes an abstracted generalisation of language as its object of study, and it ignores language use, meaning, and communication (Thorne & Lantolf 2007). The ideology of separate languages can be understood as an ideology of separate language systems. For each language, a structured, self-contained, linguistic system is presupposed, although the systems of different languages are thought of as related genetically (see section 4.5 on beliefs about Norwegian and Swedish). Within educational institutions, or at least in the institutions of this study, linguistic structures are typically in focus, and the differences between languages underlined. A Danish course, for example, is clearly separated from a course in Norwegian or Swedish. The conception of the language studied and used in a language course is associated with the idea that a language belongs to a specific group of people, native speakers, and language used by native speakers is considered authentic and correct (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller 2011). The data excerpts in the following sections illustrate each of these three ideological stances in turn.

6.1 Participants' ideas of language as a system

As illustrated in chapter 4 on beliefs about the learning of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, the students in this study generally express a structure-focussed view on language, especially concerning grammar and vocabulary, with memorisation constituting an important part of their learning strategies. This especially holds for the beginning of the course, whereas many students gradually express a more communicative view on language and language learning towards the end of the third semester. In addition to the quantitative analyses and the data excerpts above, excerpts 6.1 and 6.2 illustrate ideas of language as a system.

Excerpt 6.1

Men jeg vil gerne lære mere nye ord og vil købe en rejsehandbog så at jeg kan lære mere systemastik.

But I'd like to learn more new words and I want to buy a travel guide so that I can study more systematically.

(B004, 2.1)

Excerpt 6.2

Obwohl das ein Universitätskurs ist, ist es vor allem in der Anfangsphase wichtig, die Sprache Stück für Stück zu erlernen.

Even though it's a university course, it is important, especially at the beginning, to learn the language bit by bit.

(1.1, Z010)

Salient points in these two excerpts are systematic vocabulary learning, and the need to learn separate parts of the language consecutively. The command of grammatical rules has also been shown to play an important role for many participants (as demonstrated in Table 4.4). The students typically think of the learning of grammar rules as a deductive challenge, in which a rule should first be memorised and then applied in the construction of sentences. Excerpt 6.1 is representative of the students' view on vocabulary learning, as they generally prefer learning vocabulary by memorisation from word lists. Excerpt 6.2 illustrates how the student thinks of language as being constituted by discrete entities such as words and grammar rules, which should be learned systematically and separately. This idea of language learning is also illustrated in the quantitative analyses in chapter 4, where the participants' strong focus on pronunciation, grammar, and especially vocabulary is presented.

6.2 Participants' ideas of languages as separate entities

The ideological construct of 'a language' is widespread among the participants. This can be seen from the comments on knowledge of Norwegian and Swedish as a disadvantage for learning Danish. Many participants are concerned with separating languages, as illustrated in excerpts 6.3 and 6.4.

Excerpt 6.3

Ich fürchte mich aber auch etwas davor, dass das Dänische mein im Moment nicht mehr praktisch zur Anwendung kommendes Norwegisch beeinflusst.

Yet I'm also afraid that Danish will have an influence on my Norwegian, which I don't use actively anymore.

(B008, 1.1)

As excerpt 6.3 shows, student B008 does not only adhere to the ideology of separate languages, but she also finds it both important and difficult to keep the languages apart. Many participants are struggling to keep Danish separate from Norwegian and Swedish (cf. section 4.5). Whereas student B008 in excerpt 6.3 feared that her new foreign language, Danish, would interfere with her earlier acquired foreign language, Norwegian, other participants are concerned with the influence that their knowledge of Norwegian and Swedish might have on their learning of Danish.

Student B014 has previously learned Swedish and finds that her Swedish language skills are a hindrance her learning of Danish (excerpt 4.42). She experiences cross-linguistic influence between two languages learned consecutively, and informant B014 adds that:

Excerpt 6.4

Man kan ikke lære to sproge lige godt samtidig.

One can't learn two languages equally well at the same time.

(B014, 3.2)

In the third semester, student B014 is taking classes in Danish and English, and she feels that the similarities between these languages prevents her from keeping them apart, especially in oral production, as she further explains in learning journal 3.2. Although the participants are most often concerned with keeping Scandinavian languages apart, because these are similar in many respects, the learning of non-Scandinavian languages is also sometimes perceived as obstructive for learning Danish.

6.3 Participants' ideas of authentic target language

The ideology of an authentic target language is connected to the ideologies of separate languages and linguistic purism. From the participants' point of view, authentic Danish is Danish free from influence of other languages, and Danish spoken by and intended at Danes (cf. Kilickaya 2004). Both of these conditions are highly ideological. First, the “Reinheitsgebot” (Jørgensen 2010: 141) of purism, that languages must (and can) be kept apart, is an ideological norm for linguistic behaviour. Second, the idea that authentic Danish belongs to an authentic speech community presupposes that there are such entities as speech communities and native speakers (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller 2011). The participants of this study perceive ‘Danish’ as something separate from e.g. ‘Norwegian’, and conceptions of more or less authentic kinds of Danish are illustrated in this section.

> Excerpt 6.5
> Det virker meget motiverende når jeg bemærker at jeg kan forstå “rigtiga” danska grejer.
> *It is very motivating when I notice that I understand “real” Danish things.*
> (Z001, 1.2)

In excerpt 6.5, it is interesting that the part of the phrase that addresses authenticity is, within the ideology of authenticity, the least authentic Danish part. The phrase “”rigtiga” danska grejer” can be associated with Swedish, both morphologically and lexically, while the whole first part of the sentence consist of linguistic features generally thought to belong to Danish. This might point to a perception of authenticity as dependent on the status of producers and audiences of language as native or authentic speakers, and less on the linguistic structure of the language. However, it should also be emphasised that participant Z001 is probably not aware that the words “”rigtiga” danska grejer” are not generally thought to belong to Danish. The inconsistency of the participants’ language beliefs, ideologies, and language use is further discussed in chapter 8.

> Excerpt 6.6
> Men jeg er endnu motiveret at lærer dansk og jeg læser en eller to artikler i en dansk online-avis hver dag. Jeg håber, at jeg kan lærer flere ord hvornår jeg læser en “ægte” dansk tekst.
> *But I’m still motivated to learn Danish and I read one or two articles in a Danish online newspaper every day. I hope that I can learn more words when I read a “genuine” Danish text.*
> (Z012, 2.1)

In excerpts 6.5 and 6.6, the students write about ‘real’ or ‘genuine’ Danish. They both refer to Danish media, more specifically to films and online radio stations (student Z001) and to online newspapers (student Z012). This understanding of ‚real’ target language probably has to do with the target audience of the media. The target audience of radio broadcasts and online newspapers in Danish are most likely people who use Danish as an everyday language, including people living in Denmark. Opposed to this is the target audience of Danish language course books or other material explicitly produced for learners, such as the easy reader novel mentioned in the next excerpt.

> Excerpt 6.7
> Jeg har været overrasket, at jeg kan allrede læse hel bogen, også hivs “Hosekræmmeren” er en bog for begynderer.
> *I was surprised that I can already read a whole book, even though “The Hosier and his Daughter” is a book for beginners.*
> (Z012, 1.2)

Here, informant Z012 does not describe the easy reader novel as authentic in any sense. His feeling of success due to his new ability to read a whole book in Danish seems to be diminished by the fact that he, as a novice learner of Danish as a foreign language, is a prototypical member of the target audience of the book. Interaction with ‘authentic language’ is a way of approximating their own language to the ‘authentic language’, and a way of constructing a more ‘authentic’ L2 self (Dörnyei 2005).

Although student Z012 does not have much opportunity to use Danish outside of class and thus does not communicate much with speakers of ‘authentic Danish’, he makes an effort to join what appears as an imagined community (Anderson 1991; Norton 2001) in a kind of long-distance relationship with ‘authentic Danish’, for example Danish online media. For the participants of this study, the idea of authentic Danish language is relevant as a medium for learning, a goal for learning, and as an assessment parameter.

In the following excerpt, informant Z025 explicitly uses authenticity as an assessment parameter for her own language production.

Excerpt 6.8

Tit laver jeg fejl, fordi jeg proever at oversætte direkte fra tysk til dansk. Så laver jeg fx sætninger, som ikke lyder så autentisk.

I often make errors because I try to translate directly from German into Danish. Then, for instance, I make sentences that don't sound so authentic.

(Z025, 3.2)

Participant Z025 translates from German to Danish and produces sentences that, due to cross-linguistic influence (Kellerman & Sharwood Smith 1986), do not seem authentic to her. The direct translation from German to Danish most probably results in sentences that could be described as consisting of some linguistic features usually ascribed to Danish and some usually ascribed to German. A sentence that does not exclusively contain features usually ascribed to Danish cannot, within the ideology of authentic target language, be considered authentic.

Excerpts 6.5 through 6.8 indicate that authenticity concerns the people using Danish; if Danish language is produced by or meant for Danes, it is authentic. The ideology of the native speaker, and of correctness, is thus connected with the ideology of authentic target language. The students in this study do not use Danish on a regular basis outside of class, and they do not live in Denmark. Generally, they do not feel that Danish is 'their' language, partly because they are not able to produce utterances that consist of features exclusively associated with Danish, and partly because they are not considered 'native speakers' of Danish. Of course, both the idea of owning or having a language, and the idea of being a native speaker are highly ideological and negotiable (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller 2011). In the case of the university students of this study, however, the chances of obtaining the label of 'native speaker' are, during the year and a half of the study, virtually non-existent for almost all of the participants. Important exceptions are the few participants who have Danish parents, but they do not claim that Danish is 'their' language in the data.

6.4 Summary of the participants' ideas of language and language learning

In general, the participants hold ideas of language as a system and language learning as a systematic endeavour, of languages as separate entities that can and should be kept apart, and of the existence of an authentic target language. These ideas about language are expectable with language students at university, and they are closely related to larger-scale language ideologies at educational institutions and in society.

In educational institutions such as universities, language studies are usually focussed on linguistic structures as well as content, typically in the form of literature or cultural studies. However, while a course in literature or culture may cover an area with several countries and languages, for example *Einführung in die skandinavische Literaturwissenchaft* "Introduction to Scandinavian Literature" or *Skandinavische Kulturgeschichte* "Scandinavian Cultural History" (University of Zurich, Autumn 2013), language courses are generally limited to one language, for example Danish or Norwegian, and treated as discrete entities that are to be kept separate. Language courses and teaching materials are usually labelled with only one language, for example Danish. The learners are expected to learn, and the teachers expected to teach and accept only linguistic features that are generally thought to belong to the language in question. There are exceptions to this, for example the *Writing course: Interscandinavian communication* "Schreibkurs: Interskandinavisch kommunizieren" (University of Zurich, Spring 2014), where Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish are used together in a course. This course is directed at students who speak a Scandinavian language and want to acquire passive knowledge of the other Scandinavian languages.

The ideas of language and language learning expressed by the participants of this study generally correspond to the way language and language learning is presented at educational institutions and in teaching materials. The ideology of separate languages is not only predominant in institutions, but in Western societies in general (Makoni 2012).

The participants' idea of an authentic target language is expectable as well, and it corresponds to ideologies of authenticity in teaching materials and in social groups. Some teaching materials, for example *Under Overfladen* (*Beneath the surface,* Jeppesen & Maribo 2003a, 2003b) that is used in the Danish course of this study, advocate the use of and imitate so-called authentic language. Kilickaya (2004: 1) defines authentic teaching materials as "materials which involve language naturally occurring as communication in native-speaker contexts of use," and this corresponds to the participants' ideas about authentic target language. Authenticity, in this connection, is thought of as language produced by and intended for first language speakers.

Overall, then, the participants' ideas about language and language learning fit the institutional frame of the study. It is not surprising that the participants think of language in terms of systems, separate entities, or authenticity. What is interesting, however, is that the participants' ideas of language norms do not match up with their language use. This issue is further pursued in chapter 8. But first, in chapter 7, the participants' self-positioning in the learning journals is described and discussed.

7 Self-positioning among the participants

When analysing the learning journals written by the participants, it is important to keep in mind that the learning journals are written as part of the course curriculum, and that the students write for their teacher. Within this setting, the students position themselves in relation to their fellow students and the teacher.

The students' self-positioning as successful, disciplined academics manifests itself in different ways: Some students position themselves as university students being used to and thus expecting high standards for learning and teaching, some as language experts able to compare and contrast languages, and others as disciplined and hard-working individuals. Some students ascribe themselves to more than one of these categories. The categories are labelled 'high expectancy students', 'language experts', and 'hard-working students', and they are illustrated with data excerpts in the following three sections.

7.1 Self-positioning as high expectancy students

The first category of self-positioning is the group of high expectancy students. These participants underline that a university course should meet the students' demanding expectations, especially with regard to teaching materials. One salient example of this category is presented in excerpt 7.1.

> Excerpt 7.1
> Auch das Buch ist sehr einfach aufgebaut, doch empfinde ich das als fast etwas zu einfach... Ich hätte lieber ein Buch, in dem auch Grammatik drin wäre und ich dann dazu Übungen machen könnte. Das Buch scheint eher für Kinder konzipiert zu sein.
> *The book is also quite simply structured, but I think it's almost too simple... I'd prefer a book containing grammar so that I could do some exercises. The book seems to be designed for children.*
> (B003, 1.1)

In excerpt 7.1, the student finds that the book is too simple for a university course. Participant B003 thinks the book would be more appropriate for children. The book she refers to, *Etteren* (Køneke and Nielsen 2004), is communicatively oriented with implicit grammar exercises, a strong focus on pronunciation, and few explicit explanations. It contains many drawings that take up large parts of the pages compared to text, which may lead B003 to find it childish. It may be that participant B003 feels that the book, and thereby also the teacher, positions her as a child or a childish novice, a position that she resists in excerpt 7.1. The identity ascribed to learners in the book is not consistent with the identity that participant B003 ascribes to herself.

An intriguing question here is whether some learners associate structure-focussed language learning with an adult identity, and communication-focussed language learning with a child identity. Obviously, first language learning and young children's learning of other languages must be communication-focussed, as they are usually not able to read or to think in terms of abstract systems. During the school years, language courses are usually increasingly linked with writing systems and linguistic structure, especially grammar, as part of a socialisation process into adult norms for learning. Participant B003 might feel, in excerpt 7.1, that her age and level of education demand more structured and abstract approaches to language learning than the approach used in the course book.

Grammar plays an important role for the participant in excerpt 7.1, as student B003 explicitly demands more grammar. She thinks that a book including more explicit grammar rules and exercises would be more appropriate for a university course.

In the next excerpt, the course book is criticised once more. Participant B008 points out the problem that she does not need to study or think much because the exercises are often trivial.

> Excerpt 7.2
> Jeg liker ikke så godt bogen „Etteren". Jeg lærer ikke så meget af den fordi øvelsener er ikke så udfordrende og varierte, man må ikke meget studere fordi de funktionerer altid på den samme måde.
> *I don't really like the book "Etteren". I don't learn much from it because the exercises are not very challenging or varied, you don't have to study much because they always function the same way.*
> (B008, 1.2)

This demand for more challenging tasks matches excerpt 7.3 where student Z012 criticises the same course book for having too simple and drill-like exercises.

> Excerpt 7.3
> Om lærnbogerne jeg måtter sige, at opgaver i "Etteren" ofte er lidt to enkelt, fordi den er mere ofte opgavern, at srkiver den selv sætningen fem time.
> *Regarding the course book I must say that the exercises in "Etteren" are often a bit too simple, because it's mostly exercises of writing the same sentence five times.*
> (Z012, 1.2)

The criticisms by the three participants are not completely identical, as for instance one student in excerpt 7.1 demands more grammar exercises, and another student in excerpt 7.3 finds the grammar exercises in the book too trivial. Common to the three excerpts above is that they place emphasis on grammar, and that they demand more, as well as more challenging, grammar exercises.

However, some positive evaluations of the book can be found, although they are not widespread. One example is given in excerpt 7.4.

> Excerpt 7.4
> Die Arbeit mit Etteren gibt einen guten Einstieg in die dänische Alltagssprache. [...] Etteren legt relativ viel Gewicht auf Aussprache und Verständnis; dies schient mir beim Dänischen auch sehr wichtig (und schwierig).
> *The work with Etteren provides a good introduction to Danish everyday language [...] Etteren places emphasis on pronunciation and comprehension; to me, this seems to be very important (and difficult) in the case of Danish.*
> (B026, 1.1)

Interestingly, the positioning as high expectancy students only appear in the first two learning journals, especially the one written in German, and only in relation to the course book *Etteren*. The lack of positioning as high expectancy students in the following learning journals probably has to do with the facts that the students get used to communicatively oriented materials with time, and that this specific book is only used in the first semester. Moreover, expectations are more relevant at the beginning of the course, because the participants will gradually become familiar with the structure of the course and the teacher's preferred methods and materials later on in the course.

7.2 Self-positioning as language experts

The positioning as language experts, however, occurs in all three semesters. This implies that the category of language experts is less dependent on specific course material and teaching methods. On average, the participants know more than three languages each, and this knowledge and their experience with learning languages remain relevant for them throughout the course.

One participant, B022, is particularly interesting, because she positions herself as a language expert in almost all learning journals. Two of her quotes are given in excerpts 7.5 and 7.6.

> Excerpt 7.5
> Vielmehr lerne ich Dänisch, als eine der skandinavischen Sprachen, um es mit anderen (germanischen) <u>Sprachen vergleichen</u> zu können. Durch das Lernen konkreter Sprachen möchte ich eine Idee der Sprache an sich erhalten, d.h. ich möchte durch eigene Erfahrung herausfinden, welche Strukturen eine Sprache notwendigerweise aufweisen muss, um funktionieren zu können.
> *In fact I learn Danish as one of the Scandinavian languages to be able to <u>compare</u> it with other (Germanic) languages. Through the learning of concrete languages I want to obtain an idea of language itself, i.e. I want to find out, by way of my own experience, what structures a language must necessarily have to be able to function.*
> (B022, 1.1, emphasis in original)

The ambitious goal formulated in excerpt 7.5 highlights participant B022's knowledge of other Germanic languages as well as a rather philosophical and typological approach to language learning. She is the only student who declares an interest in typology and contrastive analysis as her primary motivation for learning. Other students want to achieve more communicative competences, for example being able to understand a Danish book, film, or take part in a conversation. As mentioned, participant B022's interest in comparing languages remains salient during the three semesters, and at the end of the third semester, in excerpt 7.6, she describes her language expertise as a practical advantage.

Excerpt 7.6

På grund af det nært slægtskab med det tysk sprog kan jeg lære dansk meget mere legende let og mere intuitiv som andre sprog.

Because of the close kinship with the German language, I learn Danish in a more playful and intuitive way than other languages.

(B022, 3.1)

Other students also position themselves as language experts. Several other students emphasise how knowing both German and other Germanic languages facilitates their learning of Danish, indicating that they are indeed aware of the similarities between Germanic languages. Excerpts 7.7 through 7.10 demonstrate that different students notice and employ similarities between Germanic languages when learning Danish, and they mention not only Norwegian and Swedish, which are very similar to Danish and taught at the university department where they study Danish, but also their first language, German, and the one foreign language that all of the participants have in common, English.

Excerpt 7.7

Fordi det er næsten det samme som på norsk, var det ikke særlig svært at lære det.

Because it's almost the same in Norwegian, it wasn't very hard to learn it.

(B005, 2.1)

Excerpt 7.8

De fleste regler er meget lignende med reglerne af det tyske sprog og fordi ikke særlig svært at lære.

Most rules are very similar to the rules of the German language and hence not very hard to learn.

(B026, 2.1)

Excerpt 7.9

Jeg læser gerne på dansk, fordi det er meget sjov, når man genkender slægtskaben af de danske ord med de tyske eller de engelske ord.

I like reading in Danish because it's really fun when you recognise relationships between Danish words and German or English words.
(B020, 2.2)

Excerpt 7.10
Men jeg tror at jeg kan læse bedre end tale fordi det er mange ord similar på tysk og på engelsk. Generelt jeg interesserer mig til sprog og det er spændende at lære et nordisk sprog.
But I think I can read better than I speak because many words are similar in German and English. Generally I'm interested in languages and it's exciting to learn a Nordic language.
(Z018, 2.2)

Excerpt 7.10 is interesting, because informant Z018 distinguishes between reading and speaking. She writes that the similarities between German, English and Danish are facilitative for reading in Danish, but not for speaking. This can be explained by the fact that Danish orthography to some degree resembles German and English orthography, especially concerning loan words, whereas Danish pronunciation is quite different from English and from German pronunciation. Furthermore, student Z018 highlights her own interest in languages as an advantage. This interest in languages is formulated as facilitative for learning, as is the talent for languages mentioned in excerpt 7.11 below.

Excerpt 7.11
Für mich ist das Dänisch nicht allzu schwierig zu verstehen, denn ich denke ich habe ein gutes Sprachverständnis und die Sprache ist dem Englischen und Deutsche sehr nahe.
For me, Danish is not too difficult to understand, as I think my language comprehension is good, and the language is very close to English and German.
(B021, 1.1)

Excerpt 7.11 stresses the advantage of knowing English and German, in a similar way to a number of the above excerpts, and participant B021 further adds that she has a good comprehension of languages. The language expert in excerpt 7.11 is not only an expert because she knows relevant languages, but also because she believes she has a talent for learning languages.

The next excerpt adds a further aspect to the category of language experts, because student Z022 describes how she functions as a language expert outside of the foreign language class. She is able to use her expertise in Danish to help other people understand a film in Danish. In excerpt 7.12, participant Z022 positions herself as a language expert outside of class, in an everyday situation. Thus, self-positioning as a language expert is not only relevant for learning Danish in the classroom, but also for interaction outside of the classroom.

> Excerpt 7.12
> Fordi der var folk med til at se filmen som ikke forstod dansk skulle jeg oversætte, og med hjælp af underteksterne gik det rimlig godt.
> *Because some of the people watching the film did not understand Danish, I had to translate, and with the aid of the subtitles it went quite well.*
> (Z022, 3.2)

In general, the language experts stress their knowledge of different languages and how this knowledge makes learning both more fun and more efficient. They already know several languages (according to the students' own assessments more than three languages on average), and they know how to make use of these languages when learning Danish. Even from the first semester of a beginners' class, some of the students use the new language, Danish, to position themselves as experts on language comparison and language learning.

There are, however, also some students who write that they lack motivation because they are not able to draw on knowledge of other Scandinavian languages, contrary to the language experts. They position themselves in relation to the other and in their eyes more advantaged students. There are six such comments, one of them documented here.

> Excerpt 7.13
> Det motiverer mig ikke når andre kan allerede tale svensk og vide allered ord.
> *It doesn't motivate me that others already speak Swedish and already know words.*
> (B018, 2.1)

To sum up, the language experts underline that they already know many languages, they know that Danish is a Germanic language as is German, English, and other Scandinavian languages, and they are able to employ this knowledge when learning Danish. A couple of the participants wearily state that some of the other participants are in an advantageous situation, because they know Norwegian or Swedish. Thus, not all participants position themselves as language experts.

7.3 Self-positioning as hard-working students

The third category of self-positioned successful academics consists of hard-working students, and several students position themselves in this way in the learning journals. One example of this can be found in the case study of participants B013 in section 5.2. The hard-working individuals mainly write about additional work they do before or after class, as evidenced in excerpts 7.14 – 7.17.

Excerpt 7.14
Du giver mange hjemarbejder, men den syner jeg god. Vi har ikke meget tid i klassen, derfor vi måtter arbejde mere i egen tiden.
You give us a lot of homework, but I think that's good. We don't have much time in class, so we have to do more during our own time.
(Z012, 1.2)

Excerpt 7.15
Men at lære nye ord og grammatik er selvfølgelig en arbejde jeg gør hjemme.
But of course, learning new words and grammar is a task I carry out at home.
(B004, 2.1)

Excerpt 7.16
Det har motiveret mig, at arbejde hjemme med min ordbog. Så kan jeg slå op ordet jeg ikke forstår og jeg vil lære det.
It has motivated me to work at home with my dictionary. Then I can look up the word I don't understand and I'll learn it.
(B021, 2.1)

Excerpt 7.17
Det hjaelper mig, nar jeg skriver det vigtigte ting pa en papir efter hver dansklektion.

It helps me when I write down the important things on a piece of paper after every Danish lesson.
(B017, 2.2)

Usually, the participants consider vocabulary learning and grammar exercises as appropriate tasks for solitary work at home. The fact that the learning of vocabulary and grammar is frequently mentioned in the learning journals strongly indicates that these parts of learning Danish are important to the students.

One participant describes how he started learning Danish on his own before the course started, and how this led him to be keener on learning Danish.

Excerpt 7.18
Als ich mich dann aber auf Grund der Anmeldung etwas mit Dänisch beschäftigt hatte, wurde mir die Sprache immer sympathischer bis ich nichts anderes mehr lernen wollte als Dänisch.
As I started working with Danish after registering for the class, the language seemed more and more likeable until I didn't want to learn anything but Danish.
(Z012, 1.1)

Student Z012 has convinced himself that Danish is the right language for him to learn, even though he originally wanted to register for the Swedish course, as he writes in the same learning journal. Instead of positioning himself as someone who did not get what he wanted, i.e. the Swedish course, he embraces the chance for learning Danish so intensively that he could not imagine learning any other language. As student Z012 writes in positive terms about his own motivation during all three semesters and simultaneously seems to be doing more work than expected from the course curriculum, this kind of self-persuasion might be an effective meta-cognitive learning strategy (cf. O'Malley and Chamot 1990; Oxford and Nyikos 1989). The issues of self-regulation (Dörnyei 2005) and willingness to take responsibility for their own learning (Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown 1999) are relevant for excerpt 7.18 and for the whole group of hard-working students. The participants of this category position themselves as self-regulated and as willing to take on more work than what is scheduled within the course curriculum.

In excerpt 7.19, the participant describes what she does in addition to the course activities, but she does not describe these activities as working or studying. Rather, the activities are described as everyday activities that have become easier because of what she has learned in the language course.

> Excerpt 7.19
> Nu tale jeg nogle gange dansk med min mor og min mormor […] Det er også blevet nemmere at læse danske aviser.
> *Now I sometimes speak Danish with my mother and grandmother […] It has also become easier to read Danish newspapers.*
> (Z025, 3.2)

Most of the students who do additional work outside of class position themselves as hard-working students, whereas one participant, Z025 in excerpt 7.19, stresses what she can do with Danish instead of how hard she works in order to learn Danish. A plausible explanation for this is that participant Z025 actually has the opportunity of speaking Danish with close family members. Rather than regarding the language course as an academic achievement, she may regard it as a means for reaching a personal, family-related goal.

7.4 Summary of the participants' self-positioning

The self-positioning performed by the participants in the written learning journals can be divided into three categories: High expectancy students, language experts, and hard-working students. The label successful, disciplined university students encompasses the three categories, and it should be kept in mind that the participants turn in their learning journals to their teacher as part of the course curriculum, and it is very likely that the participants want to make a positive impression of themselves as foreign language students in this context. It would be interesting to investigate university students' self-positioning in other contexts as well, for instance with fellow students outside of the university context, or with friends and acquaintances that do not study at university. One important point of the analysis of this study, however, is that the participants are able to use their new foreign language, Danish, for self-positioning, although they do not feel ownership of Danish. This study demonstrates that the participants are able to position themselves already at the early stages of learning Danish. This finding adds to earlier studies on positioning and SLA, where learners at later stages of second language learning have been studied (De Costa 2011; Morita 2004; Pavlenko 2003).

The participants of my study position themselves in ways that share some similarities with Rubin's (1975) 'good language learner', although the characteristics do not fully overlap. As mentioned, the self-positioning as young successful academics, or as 'good language learners', should be viewed in the light of the classroom context, where the participants interact with the teacher via the written learning journals.

7.5 Positioning and the classroom context

The fact that the students are able to position themselves as high expectancy students, language experts, and hard-working students demonstrates that they have acquired important communicative competence. They can be said to have gained voice in the new language and are thus able to make themselves heard (or in this case read) and understood (cf. Block 2007a: 131).

The data excerpts in Danish and in German provided illustrate three categories of successful students. The positions as language experts and hard-working students that the students take are not influenced by the use of Danish or German in the learning journals. This supports my claim that the participants can indeed position themselves through a foreign language that is still relatively new to them. The category of high expectancy students occurs most frequently but not solely in the German learning journals, but this probably has more to do with the teaching material used during the first semester, and not with writing in German or Danish.

The students are generally more interested in learning the formal aspects of language, and they do not seem to be aware that they are also learning to use more functional and social aspects of language. This might have to do with the educational tradition they have experienced before university and are maybe still experiencing in some university classes. It might also have to do with the fact that formal aspects of language, e.g. vocabulary or grammar rules, are generally easier to quantify than functional and social aspects of language. It is possible that quantifying language is a way to create an overview, or at least a feeling of overview, of the language learning process.

Learning formal aspects of language, however, is not enough if the learning goal is to be able to use language, which is the case for almost all of the students in this study. As Lemke (2002: 72) says, the formal linguistic system is not sufficient to create meaning, as meaning-making is dependent on language use. Davies and Harré (1990) take this argument one step further and argue that the language system is a myth; "only *la parole* is psychologically and socially real" (Davies and Harré 1990: 43, italics in original). Norton and McKinney (2011: 77) emphasise the role of identity in language learning in the following quote:

> Language learning engages the identities of learners because language itself is not only a linguistic system of signs and symbols, but also a complex social practice through which relationships are defined, negotiated, and resisted.

As shown above, identity work is certainly relevant for the students in my study, but it is unclear whether it is reasonable to describe their language learning process as "a complex social practice through which relationships are defined, negotiated, and resisted." Most of the students primarily use Danish with their classmates and their teacher, and they are more likely to build and negotiate relationships in class through (Swiss) German. Still, positioning is identity work, also when it is carried out in an institutionalised learning context and in relation to a teacher.

It is quite typical for foreign language learners not to have to (or not have the occasion to) negotiate relationships through the language they are learning, whereas second language learners normally have to negotiate relationships with speakers of the second language. Block (2007a: 6) expresses this difference between the situations of foreign and second language learners in the following way: „It is fairly difficult for individuals in FL contexts to expereince [sic] the kinds of identity transformations associated with the naturalistic contexts of adult migrants." It is relevant to note, though, that the difference between second and foreign language learning has been blurred probably since the 1990s and definitely with the new millennium due to globalisation phenomena such as virtual social networks, internet phone calls, online chats and cheaper plane tickets. Possibilities for international communication have been facilitated through these technological changes. The participants in this study have easy access to and use Danish media such as online newspapers, films and music. They can choose to be (at least virtually) surrounded by Danish language.

It is interesting to discuss the positioning done by the participants here in relation to Rubin's (1975) 'good language learner.' Rubin (1975) mentioned seven characteristics of the 'good language learner', namely being a good guesser, having a strong drive to communicate, being willing to appear foolish, attending to form, practising and seeking out possibilities to practise, monitoring his or her own speech and the speech of others, and attending to meaning.

The first of Rubin's characteristics, being a good guesser, may be related to the positioning as language experts. As language experts, the participants underline that they are able to draw on their knowledge of other languages when learning Danish. They are not merely guessing when they try out new forms, they are making highly educated guesses, or what Swain (1995) would refer to as hypothesis testing. Rubin's characteristics of attending to form, practising and seeking out possibilities to practise, as well as monitoring his or her own speech and the speech of others also apply to the participants of my study to some degree. As we have seen in chapter 4, there is generally much attention to form among the participants. When self-positioning as hard-working students, the participants can definitely also be said to seek out possibilities to practise, and to some degree to monitor their own and others' speech.

Because their teacher collects the written learning journals, it is highly probable that the students position themselves in relation to the teacher. From this perspective, taking positions as high-expectancy, hard-working language experts can be seen as a strategy for giving the teacher a favourable impression of relevant knowledge, skills and efforts.

8 Participants’ language use

In the preceding chapters, the focus has been on the participants’ beliefs, ideologies, and positioning. This chapter centres on how the participants use language, and especially how they combine linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages. The comparison of the participants beliefs, ideologies, and their positionings through language use show some inconsistencies, as will be evident from the discussion at the end of this chapter. The way the participants draw on their linguistic repertoire, which may be thought of as including different languages, shares some similarities with the way language is used in studies of late modern youth in ethnically diverse settings (e.g. Jørgensen 2008a; Møller 2009).

The first part of the chapter describes how linguistic features usually thought of as belonging to different languages are used simultaneously by the participants in the learning journals. The second part of the chapter analyses oral language use in the group recordings, and again the simultaneous use of linguistic features usually ascribed to different languages is in focus. A joint discussion on the participants’ simultaneous use of linguistic features ascribed to different languages finishes the chapter along with a discussion of the notion of polylanguaging.

8.1 Language use in the learning journals

The analysis of written language use in this section is carried out at the lexical level, and words and letters are analysed at the level of linguistic features. Written language is also analysed within the theoretical framework of languaging and polylanguaging in the form of graffiti (Jørgensen 2008b) and internet chat room conversations (Hinnenkamp 2008). Obviously, the contexts of the studies by Jørgensen (2008b) and Hinnenkamp (2008) are very different from the context of my study. Jørgensen (2008b) studies graffiti in the streets of several European countries, and Hinnenkamp (2008) analyses language use among German-Turkish youth in internet chat rooms. Both of these contexts may be seen as oppositional in relation to adult and societal linguistic norms, whereas the participants in my study are young adults in the context of an educational institution that is norm-focussed and norm-strengthening. These differences in contexts make it all the more intriguing to focus on the resemblances between the language use described in studies of late-modern youth and language learners in a university setting.

In the analyses below, a number of languages are associated with specific linguistic features. The languages referred to are languages that the participants already know, according to their own statements. Some of the excerpts in this section have been analysed for content in previous chapters and the excerpt have been renumbered and quoted again.

Some of the more salient examples of the seamless use of features usually thought to belong to different languages are readily identifiable in relation to the official orthographies of Scandinavian or Germanic cognates. In the following excerpt, two words are particularly interesting: 'købe' (*buy*) and 'rejsehandbog' (*travel guide* or *travel handbook*).

> Excerpt 8.1
> Men jeg vil gerne lære mere nye ord og vil <u>købe</u> en <u>rejsehandbog</u> så at jeg kan lære mere systemastik.
> *But I'd like to learn more new words and I want to buy a travel guide so that I can study more systematically.*
> (B004, 2.1)

According to her own statements, student B004 speaks German as her first language and English, French, Swedish, and Norwegian as second languages. Several of these languages can be associated with the features used for writing these two words.

In Danish, the standard orthographic form of the word in question is *købe*; in Swedish, the relevant cognate is *köpa*, in Norwegian Bokmål *kjøpe*, Norwegian Nynorsk *kjøpe/kjøpa.* In Norway, there are two official orthographic norms, Bokmål (literally *book language*) and Nynorsk (literally *new Norwegian*), and both allow more than one spelling of a large range of words (Vikør 1993).

Taking a closer look at the single letters of the word 'købe' in Table 8.1a, it becomes clear that each single letter could be associated with at least two of the languages the informant knows.

Letter	Associated language
k	Danish, Swedish, Norwegian
ø	Danish, Norwegian
p	Swedish, Norwegian
e	Danish, Norwegian

Table 8.1a. Languages that can be associated with the single letters of the word ‘købe’ (excerpt 8.1).

Student B004 uses linguistic features that could be associated with several languages, when she writes the word ‘købe’. However, as student B004 is enrolled in a Danish class, and as she wants to learn vocabulary in a systematic way, it is not likely that she intends to use features associated with different languages. The combination of letters in the word ‘købe’ reflects the combination of languages in participant B004’s linguistic repertoire. Blommaert & Backus (2011: 9) state that “linguistic competence is forever changing,” and this applies to both first and later learned languages. In this learning situation, the language user is aware that she is learning something new, i.e. expanding her linguistic repertoire, although she might not be aware of what exactly she is taking in.

The second example word from excerpt 8.1 is the compound ‘rejsehandbog’ (*travel guide, travel handbook*), more specifically the second part ‘handbog’ (*handbook*). Again, the informant uses features that could be associated with several languages (see Table 8.1b).

Orthographic form	Associated language
Handbuch	German
handbok	Swedish, Norwegian B/N
håndbok	Norwegian B
håndbog	Danish

Table 8.1b. Orthographic forms of the word ‘handbog’ (excerpt 8.1) in German, Swedish, Norwegian Bokmål (B), Norwegian Nynorsk (N), and Danish.

At first glance, it could look as though student B004 has not found the keyboard shortcut for the letter ‘å’ and thus chooses the similar looking letter ‘a’. But since ‘rejsehandbog’ is followed by the word ‘så’ (with an ‘å’) in excerpt 8.1, this is not a likely explanation. It is more likely that student B004 draws on the linguistic resources of her repertoire, including the languages listed in Table 8.1b, and composes a word that looks Danish to her.

In excerpt 8.2, the word ‘ordning’ is particularly interesting. The student who wrote it down speaks, according to her own statements, German as her first language and Swedish, English, French, and Italian as second languages.

Excerpt 8.2
Jeg tror at det er lettere om man lærer den meget systemastik for at man få en ordning i hoved.
I think it is easier to learn it very systematically to get orderliness in your head.
(B009, 1.2)

	Danish	**Norwegian**	**Swedish**	**German**
Form	ordning	ordning	ordning	Ordnung
Meaning	arrangement	arrangement	orderliness	orderliness

Table 8.2. Orthographic form and meaning in Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and German of the word ‘ordning’ (excerpt 8.2).

As can be seen in Table 8.2, the orthographic form ‘ordning’ could be associated with Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, or German, although both form and meaning of the noun vary slightly. In Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish the orthographic form of the word is exactly the same, but the words are only partly synonymous. However, the meaning of the word in Danish and Norwegian is closer to *arrangement* or *agreement,* whereas the meaning of the word in Swedish and German is closer to *orderliness.* A reorganisation of form and meaning of the word ‘ordning’ and of the association of the form with specific languages is taking place here.

According to Melka, when learners encounter words that are similar in form but associated with different languages, the learners will assume that the words also carry similar meanings. In this way, learners make use of their knowledge of cognates or loanwords, especially at the beginning of a language learning process. This also seems to be the case for participant B009 with the word ‘ordning’ in the excerpt above.

Another interesting example is the word ‘texter’ in excerpt 8.3. Student Z013 speaks, according to her own statements, German as her first language and English, Swedish, and French as second languages.

Excerpt 8.3
Det er godt at vi hører texter på CD i kurset.
It’s good that we hear texts on CD in the course.
(Z013, 1.2)

As illustrated in Table 8.3, the two morphemes of the word ‘texter’ could be associated with different languages known to student Z013. The stem ‘text’ could be associated with Swedish, English, German, or even French, whereas the plural suffix could be associated with Danish or Swedish.

	Danish	**Swedish**	**English**	**German**	**French**
Stem	tekst	text	text	Text	texte
Plural (accusative) suffix	-er	-er	-s	-e	-s

Table 8.3. Orthographic forms of the stem and plural accusative suffix of the word ‘texter’ (excerpt 8.3) in Danish, Swedish, English, German, and French.

While learning Danish and reorganising her linguistic repertoire, student Z013 writes a word that looks Danish to her. She uses the words ‘text’ and ‘texter’ in learning journal 1.2, and in the following learning journal (2.1), she writes ‘tekst’ and ‘tekster’. This proves that a reorganisation of resources is taking place, i.e. that she has learned that ‘text’ is not normally associated with Danish, whereas ‘tekst’ is.

Based on the analyses presented in Tables 8.1a to 8.3, it can be concluded that the informants invariably use “whatever linguistic features are at their disposal, regardless of the features’ ascriptions to generally known and ideologically determined sets of features (languages, varieties, etc.), to achieve their communicative goals” (Møller 2009: 9). However, as will be discussed more thoroughly at the end of this chapter, the informants in my study and the usual informants in studies investigating polylingualism (e.g. Møller 2009) do not use features associated with different 'languages' for the same reasons. The participants of this study may use features ascribed to different languages without being aware of it, wheras the participants in Møller (2009) use such features for identity work.

8.2 Language use in the group recordings

The group recordings were carried out four times during two semesters, mostly with four participants at a time. In the first two group recording sessions (2.1 and 2.2), the participants are faced with the task of rearranging animal figure stickers on zoo posters, and the goal of the task is that they end up with exactly the same stickers in the same places in each of the four posters. The third recording session (3.1) presents the participants with the task of comparing pictures of living rooms and deciding which two of the four pictures are similar. In the fourth recording session (3.2), the participants solve a cross-word puzzle.

In the group recordings, the participants use linguistic features that can be associated with several of the languages they report for themselves as first or other languages. There are uncountable occurrences of what could, within an SLA framework, be labelled as cross-linguistic influence or code-switching. For the analysis of code-switches in the recordings, three categories are chosen: Code-switching as a communication strategy, a learning strategy, and a social negotiation strategy (Arnfast & Jørgensen 2003a). In some instances, however, the combination of features generally thought to belong to different languages is so intertwined that the concept of code-switching (Auer 1999; Gumperz 1977) is misleading. These instances are closer to polylingual behaviour (Møller 2009) than to code-switching.

In some instances, the participants use code-switches as a communication strategy to keep the conversation flowing, although they show several signs of unease when using linguistic features that are not usually associated with Danish. Such excerpts are flagged by pauses, hesitations, clicks, nervous giggling, self-repair, or meta-comments. The participants also laugh at themselves and each other when linguistic features not associated with Danish are used. This is illustrated in excerpt 8.4.

Excerpt 8.4 (Basel, 2.1, group 4)

B005:	på <trappen ah> [>]
eng:	*on the stairs ah*
B012:	<no no no> [<] # hm nej ha <no ha> [>]
eng:	*no no no # hm no ha <no ha>*
B005:	<ha> [<]
B007:	<ha> [<]
B013:	<ha> [<]
B012:	was isch felse
eng.	*what is rock*

In excerpt 8.4, participant B005 asks if a polar bear sticker is placed on the stairs, and participant B012 tries to explain that it is placed on a rock. After participant B005's request for confirmation 'på trappen,' participant B012 eagerly disconfirms with the repetition of 'no.' When it occurs to him, that 'no' is not Danish, he uses the Danish word 'nej' (although it could also be the Swiss German equivalent 'nei'), and laughs at his own use of the word 'no.' The fact that three other participants also laugh after B012's self-repair indicates that the use of a non-Danish word is considered inappropriate, or at least amusing in combination with the eagerness displayed by participant B012 at the beginning of his utterance. Participant B012's last utterance in German, 'was isch felse,' is a code-switch used as a request for information. Such requests in German are frequent in the data.

A further example of code-switching used as an information request can be seen in excerpt 8.5. Participant B010 is explaining where his elephant sticker and zebra sticker are placed in relation to a flamingo sticker.

Excerpt 8.5 (Basel, 2.1, group 3)

B010:	men # ikke # i: # [finger snap, click] gleichen #
eng:	*but # not # i:n # [finger snap, click] same #*
B001:	sa- samme ha
eng:	*sa- same <ha> [>]*
XXX:	<ha> [<]

B017: <like like>[<]

eng: same same

B026: <lige> [<]

eng: same

B001: like

eng: same

B026: <°lige li- lige det samme°>[>]

eng: same sa- same the same

B010: <i like platzen> [<] så som # øh flamingos ja

eng: in the same place as # uh flamingos yes

In the first line, participant B010 starts out speaking Danish with short pauses between the words. He is hesitating because he is searching for a word. As he does not recollect the word 'same' in Danish, he first snaps his fingers, then makes a tongue click, and finally produces the High German equivalent of the word. Immediately, participant B001 suggests the Danish word 'samme,' although accompanied by a false start and laughter, and another (unidentified) participant suggests the word 'like' [ˈliːkə] (*same*), which may be ascribed to Norwegian or Swedish. Participant B017 repeats the Norwegian or Swedish word 'like', and with the final utterance of the excerpt, this word is also chosen by participant B010. The suggestion 'samme' (*same*) by participant B001 is ignored, except for participant B026's repetition of the word in low volume, maybe because she (B001) comes across as insecure due to the false start preceding and laughter accompanying her suggestion. The word 'like' is accepted as the appropriate word by the participants, and after negotiating the word, participant B010 uses it without any flagging in the final line. This indicates that the participants regard the word 'like' as Danish, and that participant B010 has learned the word from his peers. Of course, it is an interesting question whether learning is the right term here, as the word in question is not usually ascribed to Danish. The word 'platzen' in the final line is similarly produced without flagging and is probably regarded as Danish by participant B010, not as a code-switch.

In the next excerpt, participant B005 is searching for the word 'fire' and tries out both the Danish word 'bål' (*bonfire*) and the Swiss German 'füür' (*fire, bonfire*), while hesitating (*uh*), pausing, inserting meta-comments (*what is it called*), and repeating words and phrases (*bonfire, bonfire*).

Excerpt 8.6 (Basel, 3.1, group 1)

B005:	det er kvell der er også bål eller øh hva heter øh hvad hvad hedder det øh # øh # i kaminen er der bål bål eller füür eller
eng:	*it is evening there is also bonfire or uh what is called uh what what is it called uh # uh # in the fireplace there is bonfire bonfire or fire or*
B014:	<füür> [>]
eng:	*fire*
B005:	<jeg kender> [<] ikke ikke ordet
eng:	*I know not not the word*
B009:	<xxx> [<]
B014:	øh eld ild
eng:	*uh fire fire*
B005:	ild <ah ild ja> [>]
eng:	*fire ah fire yes*
B009:	<så det er måske vinter> [<]
eng:	*so maybe it is winter*
B005:	der er ild ja
eng:	*there is fire yes*

Another participant, B014, first repeats the Swiss German word 'füür' overlapping with participant B005's second turn, and then produces the Danish word 'ild' (*fire*). Thus, participant B005's initial request for help leads participant B014 to repeat the Swiss German equivalent of the word in question, which again triggers the Danish equivalent from her. Participant B005 first repeats the word 'ild' *(fire)* twice and then uses it in a sentence 'der er ild ja' (*there is fire yes*). Next to the communication strategy of keeping the conversation flowing in the first turn, this excerpt also illustrates code-switching as a learning strategy (Arnfast & Jørgensen 2003a). The first instance of learning is participant B014's utterance 'füür' which triggers the Danish equivalent 'ild' from her. The second instance of learning happens when participant B005 takes ownership of the word 'ild', first by repeating it and then by using it in a sentence.

Excerpt 8.7 similarly illustrates a case of learning through code-switching.

Excerpt 8.7 (Basel, 2.1, group 4)

B005:	og der er en stor # øh en liten øh en en liten sjö sjö # he- hedder det sjö # see # sø
eng:	*and there is a big # uh a small uh a a small lake lake # is- is it called lake # lake # lake*
B007:	sø
eng:	*lake*
B005:	sø # øh en liten sø # og ved siden af søen # er der en abe # til højre
eng:	*lake # uh a small lake # and next to the lake # there is a monkey # to the right*

Participant B005 first uses the Swedish word 'sjö' (*lake*) three times, and then, after a short pause, produces the German equivalent 'see' (*lake*), which triggers the Danish word 'sø' (*lake*). Participant B007 confirms the use of 'sø', and participant B005 continues her description. Excerpts 8.6 and 8.7 clearly demonstrate that the use of code-switching can be used as a learning strategy (cf. Arnfast & Jørgensen 2003a).

Excerpt 8.8 is a further illustration of learning through code-switching, although in this case the participant in question does not learn through a code-switch that triggers a Danish word, but rather through an explanation from a fellow student.

Excerpt 8.8 (Basel, 3.1, group 3)

B020:	er din fjernsyn sluk # eller tændt #
eng:	*is your telly off # or on #*
B010:	sluk
eng:	*off*
B020:	(a oder)
eng:	*(on right)*
B010:	øh # ja # welles isch welles #
eng:	*uh # yes # which is which #*
B020:	tændt isch a und sluk <isch us> [>]
eng:	*on is on and off is off*

B010: <ah sluk> [<]

eng. *ah off*

B020: okay

The participants in excerpt 8.8 are trying to decide whether their pictures representing living rooms are similar. Participant B020 starts out asking whether the other person's TV set is on or off. Participant B010 is not entirely sure about the meanings of the words 'tændt' (*on*) and 'sluk' (*off*). In his second turn, participant B010 says 'ja' (*yes*) in (Swiss) German, pauses, and then asks for a clarification in Swiss German 'welles isch welles' (*which is which*). Participant B020 translates the two Danish words in question in a Swiss sentence with no flagging. As participant B020 has been asked to provide information, and as he knows the answer, his use of Swiss German is not considered inappropriate and is thus not flagged. Participant B010 accepts the explanation and uses the word 'sluk' in his last turn.

Flagging points to some degree of awareness among the participants; they are aware that they do not conform to the norms in the language classroom and in the setting of the recording, because they use features that can be associated with other sets of features than what is usually described as Danish. As we have seen, however, some instances of the use of features not ascribed to Danish may be unflagged, if they function as translations for peers (excerpt 8.8). It is further worth noting that, as a rule, High German and Swiss German are used for information requests and explanations. This is consistent with Hammarberg (1998), where the participant primarily uses her L1 for different types of meta-comments.

There are several examples of the seamless use of features usually associated with different languages in the recordings. One example of the simultaneous, seamless, and unflagged use of linguistic features generally ascribed to different languages is demonstrated in excerpt 8.9. Here, the participants are solving a crossword puzzle, and participant B014 is trying to guess the word 'udtryk' (*expression*).

Excerpt 8.9 (Basel, 3.2 group 1)

B014:	nej # ikke sprog
eng:	*no # not language*
B005:	nej
eng:	*no*
B009:	nej
eng:	*no*
B014:	øh # ikke tale #
eng:	*uh # not speech #*
B005:	express yourself <ha ha> [>]
B009:	<ha ha> [<]
B014:	øh # øh # udtryk
eng:	*uh # uh # expression*
B009:	ja <ha> [>]
eng:	*yes ha*
B005:	<ja> [<]
eng:	*yes*

Participant B015 first tries out the words *language* and *speech* in Danish*,* when participant B005 inserts the phrase 'express yourself' in English and laughs at her own wittiness. The phrase might, on the one hand, be interpreted as an encouragement for participant B014 to keep guessing, and, on the other hand, as a clue to the right answer, which would be *expression* in English, and thus very close to the verb 'express' used by participant B005. Participant B014 gets the drift and produces the right answer 'udtryk' in Danish. Furthermore, the phrase 'express yourself' may also be connoted with American popular culture through pop songs carrying that title (by Charles Wright, Labrinth, Madonna, and others). When using the phrase, participant B005 lends a bit of this American pop culture, but her own and another participant's laughter following the phrase indicate that she takes on an ironic distance to this culture.

The next excerpt also presents the use of English as a source of amusement. In excerpt 8.10, the group has finished the task and they are ready to switch off the microphones.

Excerpt 8.10 (Basel, 2.2, group 2)

B018:	ja stop # trykke
eng:	*yes stop # press*
B005:	på stop # oder pause #
eng:	*on stop # or pause #*
B018:	oh # <det-> [>]
eng:	*oh # that*
B001:	<øh> [<]
B018:	jeg kan ikke <s- se> [>]
eng:	*I can't s- see*
B001:	<erase> [<] <ha> [>]
B005:	<ha> [<]
B018:	häts ja gar kei pause
eng:	*there isn't even pause*
B005:	ah ha (xxx)
B018:	also stopp #
eng:	*so stop #*
B001:	ah hier stopp da uf de site
eng:	*ah here stop there on the side*

In participant B005's first turn, she asks whether she should press stop (in Danish), or pause (in German). There is a short pause between the two phrases, but the pause is not longer than the pause between the Danish words in participant B018's preceding utterance and should probably not be regarded as flagging. After some hesitating utterances from participants B018 and B001, participant B001 says the English word 'erase'. Two other participants laugh at the joke that suggests erasing the recordings they have just made. The word 'erase' is written in English next to the relevant button on the recorder, which makes participant B001's suggestion seem suitable – she is only trying to figure out which button to press and not intending to delete the data. Her use of English is not flagged and not sanctioned in any way. The participants laugh at the joke, not at the language choice. Thus, the code-switch is used here as a social negotiation strategy, where participant B001 entertains the other students with the suggestion of a practical joke that would upset the researcher. This is a way of strengthening the group identity and student identity in opposition to teacher and researcher identities. It should be noted here that another participant (Basel, 2.2, group 3, excerpt 3.11) is equally successful with the same joke, and that her use of English is similarly unflagged and unsanctioned.

The following excerpt uses English for a pun. The participants are solving a crossword puzzle, and at the beginning of the excerpt, participant B007 guesses the correct word ‘prik’ (*dot*).

Excerpt 8.11 (Basel, 3.2, group 3)

B007:	prik prik
eng:	*dot dot*
B018:	ja <det er rigtigt> [>]
eng:	*yes that’s right*
B007:	<prick ja> [<] det er rigtigt ha you just said prick <ha> [>]
eng:	*prick yes that’s right ha you just said prick ha*
B012:	<ha> [<]

Participant B018 confirms that ‘prik’ is the right word, while participant B007 repeats the word a third time with the alveolar approximant [ɹ], instead of the uvular [ʁ] used in the two instances in the first line. This pronunciation change makes the word sound more English than Danish, and participant B007 seizes the opportunity for a pun in English. She laughs at her own joke, as does participant B012. When participant B007 produces the English word ‘prick’, she simultaneously demonstrates that she knows it is a taboo word in English, and that she dares using the word for a joke. The wording ‘ha you (just) said X’ is a stock phrase in American pop culture, for example in the animated TV-series *Beavis and Butthead.* The phrase ‘ha you said X’ is used in situations where one person says a word or phrase, which is, by the interlocutor, deliberately misunderstood as a (mostly sexual) taboo word. In this excerpt, participant B007 says the the word *prick* herself and delivers the phrase *you just said prick* herself as well, that is she is playing both the role of the innocent speaker and of the naughty interlocutor who deliberately misunderstands the word. This is a case of double-voicing (Andersen 2010), where participant B007 plays both roles herself. Participant B007’s phrase ‘ha you just said prick’ is an inter-textual reference to American pop culture, and with the phrase she takes ownership of this culture.

A further example of Danish words pronounced in such a way that they sound English, is presented in excerpt 8.12. Preceding this excerpt, the participants have negotiated different pronunciations of the word ‘dug, duge’ (*tablecloth, tablecloths*) in singular and plural; the word is pronounced with a final schwa and with or without the velar stop [dugə], [duə], and with short and long vowels [du], [du:] without a final schwa.

Excerpt 8.12 (Basel, 3.1 group 2)

B007:	eller du:g # dug # har du en du:g <ha> [>]
eng:	*or clo:th # cloth # have you a clo:th ha*
	sounds like ‘how do you do’
B012:	<ha> [<] har du en <du:g ha> [>]
eng:	*ha have you a clo:th ha*
	sounds like ‘how do you do’
B007:	<ha> [<]

Participant B007 continues experimenting with the pronunciation of ‘dug’ and produces a phrase that could be understood either as the Danish sentence ‘har du en dug’ meaning *do you have a tablecloth*, or as a stylised posh British English sentence ‘how do you do?’ with an exaggerated long final [u:]. She laughs at her own word play, and participant B012 immediately gets the drift, laughs, and repeats the phrase with the same stylised posh British English intonation. Participants B007 and B012 both laugh at the episode. Excerpt 8.12 is a further case of polyphony or double-voicing (Andersen 2010), where one speaker uses two voices simultaneously. In this case, one speaker produces one sentence, which can be interpreted as a Danish sentence carrying one meaning or as an English sentence carrying another meaning. The point of the language play here is, of course, that the speaker says, and the interlocutor hears, both sentences in one sentence, both languages in one utterance. The linguistic features of the sentence are not Danish *or* English, they are Danish *and* English.

It is clear from excerpts 8.9 – 8.12 that English is used for playing with language, and – in some incidents – for referring to American popular culture. All the participants know English, and the excerpts above demonstrate that the participants who use English expect the other participants to understand English and indexical values related to English.

However, as demonstrated in the following two excerpts, not only features generally thought to belong to English are used for language play. In excerpt 8.13, the participants are discussing whether a tiger sticker is placed in front of the house or in front the cabin. Participant B010 has previously explained where his locomotive sticker is placed, and although the other participants have moved on to the tiger sticker, he repeats the word locomotive.

Excerpt 8.13 (Basel, 2.2, group 1)

B010:	lokomotiv
eng:	*locomotive*
B017:	nej foran hytte
eng:	*no in front of cabin*
B010:	ah bi de andere # loco
eng:	*ah next to the others # crazy*
B017:	ikke husen
eng:	*not the house*
B010:	loco poco #
eng:	*crazy a bit #*
B025:	jeg er færdig
eng:	*I have finished*

Participant B010 pronounces the word ‘lokomotiv’ (*locomotive*) with linguistic features that could be ascribed to Danish (the intonation), and to German (the final [f]). He repeats the first two syllables of the word ‘lokomotiv’ in his following two turns. Participant B017, in her two turns, specifies that the relevant position for a sticker is in front of the cabin, not the house. Participant B010 reacts to B017’s first turn with the Swiss German ‘ah bi de andere’ (*ah next to the others*), but his next word, ‘loco’ is related to his own preceding turn, as is his third turn ‘loco poco’. The utterances ‘loco’ and ‘loco poco’ are a way of playing with the phonetics of ‘lokomotiv’, and they are not related to any of the contents in the excerpt. The two Spanish words mean *crazy* and *a bit*, and the expression may be associated with Latin American pop culture. The other participants do not react to participant B010’s language play, and participant B010 drops the phonetically based joke.

In the next excerpt, a literal, phonetically motivated, and intended humorous translation from Danish into German is carried out.

Excerpt 8.14 (Basel, 3.2 group 3)

B013:	ah det det <det er en> [>] en tankestreg
eng:	*ah it it it's a a dash*
B012:	<det er en> [<]
eng:	*it's a*
B007:	<tankestreg ja> [>]
eng:	*dash yes*
B012:	<ja det er rigtig ha> [<]
eng:	*yes that's right ha*
B018:	det er rigtigt
eng:	*that's right*
B007:	der tankstrich
com:	literal translation of Danish tankestreg
B018:	<ha> [>]
B012:	<ha> [<]

The group is doing a crossword puzzle, and participant B013 correctly guesses the word 'tankestreg' (*dash*). Two other participants, B012 and B018, confirm his guess, and participant B007 makes a literal, phonetically based translation of 'tankestreg' into 'Tankstrich'. The word 'Tankstrich' conforms to German phonotactics, to the structure of German composite nouns, and both parts of the composite noun are actual German words; 'Tank' corresponds to the Danish word 'tank' (*(fuel) tank*), and 'Strich' can be translated into Danish as 'streg' (*line*). However, the usual translation of 'tankestreg' into German would be 'der Gedankenstrich'. One possible, but admittedly far-fetched, understanding of 'Tankstrich' could be *fuel indicator,* which is usually referred to as 'die Tankanzeige' in German. Excerpts 8.13 and 8.14 show that language play is also carried out with features not associated with English.

8.3 Discussion of the participants' language use

The participants use whatever linguistic features are available to them, even if these features are usually thought of as belonging to different sets of features referred to as languages. In some cases, the participants are aware that they are not conforming to the norms of the classroom, and the different types of flagging point to a certain unease related to this awareness. In the cases where the simultaneous use of features ascribed to different languages are not flagged, the participants are either not aware that they are violating norms, or they are aware but comfortable with violating norms, or they completely ignore such norms. The latter explanation is quite unlikely for the participants of this study, as we have seen that they do adhere to ideologies of separate languages and correctness. The participants do not, in their verbal behaviour, incorporate the norm that languages should be used separately (the double monolingualism norm, Jørgensen 2010), and that languages should be used according to interlocutor, topic, and so on (the integrated bilingualism norm, Jørgensen 2010), although they generally adhere to these norms when reflecting on them on a metalinguistic level (as demonstrated in chapter 6).

In some cases, the participants are not aware that they use features generally not ascribed to Danish, for instance in excerpt 8.5, where the Norwegian/Swedish word 'like' (*same*) is accepted by the whole group, or participant B010's use of the word 'platzen' *(the place)* in the same excerpt, which is pronounced in German with the low, back, unrounded vowel [ɑ] and the stop-fricative sequence [ts], but carries Danish morphology, i.e. the plural suffix -en. Such use of features generally not associated with Danish are referred to as "literal translations, danicized words, and instances of interference" by Arnfast & Jørgensen (2003a: 29), and these categories fit a number of the uses of features generally thought to belong to other languages than Danish.

In other cases, the participants are comfortable with, or more precisely amused by, the simultaneous use of linguistic features that are usually ascribed to different set of features. Examples of this can be found in, for instance, excerpts 8.11 'you just said prick' and 8.14 'der Tankstrich'. The participants play with the phonetics of a number of ideologically defined sets of features; Danish, German, English, posh British English, Spanish.

These ideologically defined sets of features do not fit the usual sociolinguistic focus on minority and majority languages, or on home languages and nation-state languages (cf. Rampton 2006). The languages used do not reflect social power struggles. The participants do use Swiss German, which most of them consider their first language, but Swiss German is not a minority language in this setting. In the group conversations, the participants use linguistic features associated with languages that are part of the institutional setting, Danish as the study object, High German as the language for teaching, but they also use languages that do not play any official role in the language course, for example English and Spanish.

There are similarities between the data in this study and in Rampton (2006), where children in school use German outside of the German lessons for identity work and for fun. The school children do not have any ethnic affiliations with German, like the participants in my study do not have any ethnic affiliations with English or Spanish.

The participants of this study use linguistic features associated with other languages than Danish in order to keep the conversation flowing, to request information, to search for words, or for language play. In studies of language use among late-modern youth, the use of features associated with different languages is frequently analysed in terms of stereotypical indexical values associated with languages and social groups, for example 'integratedness' or 'street-wiseness' (Madsen 2011). This kind of identity work does occur in the data described in this chapter, in the excerpts 8.11 'you just said prick' and 8.9 'express yourself', but it is rare.

From the analysis of the beliefs and ideologies expressed by the students of this study, it is evident that they strive to use linguistic features associated with only one language. It is no surprise that the informants express these ideas, since they are participants in an institutional setting that propagates a corresponding ideology. The students attend a course labelled 'Danish language', their course books are labelled 'Danish language books', and their teacher is labelled 'Danish person'. In the written exams at the end of each of the three semesters, the students are expected to demonstrate 'Danish' language skills, just as the teacher is expected to accept only linguistic features that are usually labelled 'Standard Danish' when assessing the exams.

In the first round of learning journals in which the informants are asked to write in German, they use features that are usually associated with German, and almost exclusively such features. In the following five learning journals, which they are asked to write in Danish, however, the students use features that can be associated with several languages, although most of the features are related to Danish. This difference has to do with repertoire. Students are aware that university teachers usually expect that assignments are composed of features exclusively thought of as belonging to one language, and they usually try to live up to these expectations. The students accept (or have to accept) this norm, so they produce language in agreement with the norm when they are able to do this. Although the participants of this study use features that can structurally be associated with several languages, they only rarely use these features in order to draw on values or stereotypes associated with these features, or in order to stylise themselves. As a matter of fact, they try to avoid the use of features associated with other languages than Danish, because these features do not fit the normative ideology of language use at the institution.

The participants of this study are not indifferent to language values and language norms. They do ascribe values to the features used, for example values such as authenticity and correctness, but they are not always able to connect specific features with, for example, 'authentic Danish' or 'correct Danish'. They know that some of their utterances do not conform to language norms, but they are not always able to determine how exactly their language differs from the norm, and they are not able to change their utterances accordingly.

The foreign language students of this study produce language by using 'linguistic resources at their disposal which are associated with different 'languages'' (Møller & Jørgensen 2011b: 100). However, the notion of polylanguaging does *mostly* not fit the linguistic behaviour of the participants, because they do *mostly* not use features thought of as belonging to different languages for the same reasons as late-modern youth.

One important exception is language play. The participants play with linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages, in ways that are similar to what the participants in for instance Jørgensen (2003) do. Some of the examples of language play in the excerpts above (8.11 – 8.14) seem to fit the definition of polylingual behaviour. If this is so, polylingual behaviour is not exclusive to late modern youth in ethnically diverse settings, but rather may be much more widespread among different groups, for instance language learners in institutional settings. This does not mean that Swiss university students use polylingual behaviour to the same degree as late modern Copenhagen youth, but they do use it.

It should be considered that many of the participants of this study do not know each other particularly well and only meet each other once a week in the language course. Polylingual behaviour may be more widespread with groups of people who know each other well, for instance children who are part of the same school class every day for many years.

Moreover, it must be noted that the participants of this study mostly have other reasons for using features associated with different languages, as compared to the reasons that the participants of studies on polylingual behaviour (e.g. Møller 2009) have. It is necessary to include the context as well as theoretical considerations of the definition of polylanguaging, and to consider the facts that the students in this study do mostly not use features associated with other languages than Danish for identity work (stylisation), that they mostly try to avoid the use of features associated with other languages than Danish (submission to institutional ideologies), and that they are not always able to choose features that are only associated with Danish (repertoire).

In descriptions of polylingual behaviour, it is argued that the young people observed draw on indexical values (Jørgensen 2010) associated with the linguistic features they use. Jørgensen (2008a: 161) directly states that "[t]hese speakers do not choose their features randomly," but rather use specific features for specific purposes. Studies on enregisterment (e.g. Møller & Jørgensen 2011b) similarly demonstrate that language users are aware of the values attached to the linguistic features they employ. The question of intention has not yet been thoroughly discussed within the theoretical discourse on polylingual behaviour.

This calls for a discussion of the definition of polylanguaging, and it leaves us with the question of how to include the phenomena of stylisation, ideology, repertoire, and intention in the concept of polylanguaging. On the one hand, instances of polylanguaging are not necessarily stylised, although this is often the case, they do not necessarily mark a break with institutional ideologies, although this is often the case, and they are not necessarily influenced by a limited repertoire (from the point of view of the prevailing ideologies), even though this may be the case with some speakers in some situations. It is also not clear whether polylingual behaviour is necessarily intentional or not. If intention is understood as doing something 'on purpose' (van Lier 1996), polylingual behaviour may be intentional in many or maybe most cases. Jørgensen (2008a) argues that the participants of his study do not choose linguistic features randomly, and that their choices of features are purposeful.

On the other hand, it is clear from the findings of this study that the phenomena of stylisation, ideology, repertoire, and intention do play important roles when it comes to determining what can be categorised as polylingual behaviour and what cannot. The simultaneous use of features that can be associated with different languages must not necessarily be categorised as an instance of polylanguaging.

This leaves us with a further interesting question, namely how to describe and explain the language use of the participants in this study. The participants use whatever linguistic features that are available to them, but why do they use features associated with different languages, when they adhere to the linguistic ideologies of separate languages, linguistic purism, and correctness? In some cases, they use features generally ascribed to different languages for language play. In most cases, however, they use features generally ascribed to different languages as communication strategies or learning strategies. The participants mostly try to live up to norms and expectations, but their repertoires do not match these norms and expectations.

It is tempting to describe the combinations of linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages as structural polylanguaging or unintentional polylanguaging, but both of these terms might be problematic. The data of my study primarily shares structural similarities with polylingual behaviour, but within the theoretical framework of polylingual behaviour, linguistic structure and indexical values are not separable. Furthermore, as long as the relevance of intention to polylingual behaviour is not clear, the term unintentional polylanguaging should be used with caution.

Polylingual behaviour and the language use of the participants of this study clearly have structural similarities. So, if we do not want to include this kind of learner language in the phenomenon of polylingual behaviour, we need to define polylingual behaviour in terms of more than structure, possibly in terms of stylisation, ideology, repertoire, or intention.

8.4 Summary of language use

In the learning journals and in the group recordings, the participants of this study combine linguistic features generally thought to belong to different ideologically determined sets of features. In the learning journals, words and letters are analysed as linguistic features, and the analyses show that the features used by the participants may be associated with a range of different languages. Considering the beliefs and ideologies about language and language learning expressed by the participants, it is most likely that the participants do not intend to use features associated with different languages. They intend to use features that are exclusively ascribed to Danish.

In the group recordings, the participants similarly use linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages. In some cases, the combination of linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages is used as communication strategies or learning strategies, and in some cases it is used for language play. The instances of language play are similar to language play documented by Jørgensen (2003). Some of these instances also fit the definition of polylanguaging. This means that polylingual behaviour is not exclusive to late modern youth in ethnically diverse settings, but that it is also performed by young adults in an institutionalised educational setting.

However, not all the documented instances of simultaneous use of linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages can be categorised as polylingual behaviour. One reason is that these instances are not examples of stylisation, another that they are not used to oppose existing norms and ideologies, and a third reason is that these instances are shaped by the misfit between what the participants want to produce and what their current repertoires contain. These three concepts of stylisation, ideologies, and repertoires must be discussed more thoroughly in relation to the definition of polylanguaging, and in relation to the concept of intention.

9 Conclusion

In the introduction to this dissertation, possible interactions between the research fields of SLA and sociolinguistics were addressed, as were underlying assumptions within both fields. Within the field of SLA, traditional concepts such as 'native speaker,' 'learner,' and 'target language' have been thoroughly discussed in the literature since the 1990s (Firth & Wagner 2007 [1997]; Rampton 1997). In this dissertation, related concepts have been challenged, for instance the chronological order of language learning (section 2.2). Within the field of sociolinguistics, Rampton (2006) specifies three underlying assumptions that have kept sociolinguists from carrying out research on foreign language learning. Sociolinguistics has assumed that language reflects society, that the focus of sociolinguistics should be on the interface between minority or home languages and state or standard languages, and that there is no linguistic deficit, but rather a universal democracy of competence (Rampton 2006: 138-141). This analyses of this dissertation contribute to the discussion of these assumptions.

To take the last chapter first, the analyses of language use in written and oral form in chapter 8 challenge the second and third assumtions specified by Rampton (2006), namely that sociolinguistics must focus on minority and majority languages and that sociolinguistics must demonstrate a universal democracy of competence. In chapter 8 on language use, it is obvious that linguistic features are employed by the participants in ways that are similar to or close to the use of linguistic features in sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Møller 2009), although the languages used by the participants are not minority languages in this setting. The participants do not draw on values related to ethnic or linguistic minorities when they employ linguistic features generally ascribed to different languages. Furthermore, the concepts of competence or of repertoire and the availability of specific linguistic features to the participants are central in chapter 8. The participants are not always able to determine what features are associated with what ideologically defined sets of features. This means that they are not always able to produce language in ways that are compatible with their beliefs and ideologies about language. The analyses of language use do not only demonstrate competence, but also a lack of competence (cf. Rampton 1998).

Chapter 7 on self-positioning demonstrates that the participants are able to use their new foreign language for identity work. Again, the way the participants use language is not related to minority and majority groups. The way the participants use Danish for self-positioning does not reflect

Danish society, and it does not reflect social power struggles within society. Their self-positioning does, however, reflect relations between the students and the teacher, and between the students and their beliefs about institutional expectations. Hence, the participants' self-positioning does not reflect power relations in society, but it reflects and is shaped by local power relations and institutional ideologies.

In chapter 6, language ideologies are discussed in relation to language learner beliefs. The ideologies of language as a system, separate langauges, and the concept of an authentic target language are addressed in the chapter. These ideologies are widespread in Western societies (Makoni 2012), but in this study, they are not related to conflicts between minority and majority groups. The participants espouse ideologies that relate to their language learning and use without addressing issues of ethnicity or home languages.

Chapters 4 and 5 discuss what beliefs the participants hold and how these beliefs change over time. These chapters are closer to the SLA field than to sociolinguistics, but they form the basis of the sociolinguistic analyses of chapters 6, 7, and 8. In this way, the analysis chapters follow a path from socially informed SLA at the beginning of the dissertation to late modern sociolinguistic discussions at the end of the dissertation, and the overall study contributes to a rehabilitation of instructed foreign languages as a sociolinguistic research topic (cf. Rampton 2006).

In this study, I have asked what foreign language students believe about language and language learning, in what ways these beliefs are related to language ideologies, and how the participants present themselves in terms of beliefs, ideologies, and self-positioning. In addition, I have asked how the participants employ linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages, and how their language use relates to their beliefs and ideas about language and language learning. The answers to these research questions are summarised in section 9.1.

The methodological discussion of section 3.1 is addressed again in section 9.2 of this chapter. The methodological design of this study is a relatively traditional SLA research design, and the theoretical aim of the study is closely linked with socially informed SLA and late modern sociolinguistics. The strength of this design is that the beliefs and ideas about language and language learning expressed in the learning journals can be directly compared with the way the participants employ language in writing and speaking. Furthermore, the design makes it possible to demonstrate that beginner learners are able to position themselves in relation to fellow students and the teacher and researcher using their new foreign language in early stages of their learning. An ethnographic study with data collection in the participants' first language would not have been able to draw the same conclusions. In addition to these methodological considerations, section 9.2 also emphasises the empirical and theoretical contributions of the study within the fields of SLA and sociolinguistics.

The final part of this chapter, section 9.3, summarises new questions that have been raised by the discussions and findings of the study. The most pressing need for further studies concerns context and setting. The findings of this study are, of course, closely connected with the institutional frames of the language courses and data collection. In order to evaluate the generalisability of the findings, and in order to dig further into the contextual aspects of beliefs, ideologies, positioning, and language use, similar studies must be carried out in other contexts and settings.

9.1 Summary of findings

In the learning journals, the participants express beliefs about language and language learning. The topics that they write about most are the learning of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, the influence of their knowledge of Norwegian and Swedish on learning Danish, and their beliefs about communicative approaches to foreign language learning. At the beginning of the three-semester course, the participants are generally more concerned with the structural aspects of language learning. They focus on learning pronunciation through repetition, learning grammar through rules and structure, and learning vocabulary through memorisation of word lists. Comments on previous knowledge of Norwegian and Swedish are also more frequent at the beginning of the course, and this knowledge is seen as an advantage and a disadvantage. At the end of the course, the participants write less about linguistic structure and more about communication and culture. The belief that Danish should be learned in Denmark is particularly frequent during the third semester.

Case studies of three participants further illustrate in what ways beliefs change over time. The participants change their beliefs in the same direction, but with varying speed and along different paths. Similar demonstrations of dynamic and context-dependent beliefs can be found in several articles (Barcelos 2003; Tanaka & Ellis 2003; Peng 2011; Yang & Kim 2011). Two possible explanations for the change of beliefs during the three semesters in this study have been presented.

First, the participants may, in a process of socialisation, adapt their beliefs about language and language learning to those presented by the teacher in the form of teaching methods, teaching materials, and explanations and discussions about language learning in class (Navarro & Thornton 2011). A similar finding is described in Ritzau (2007). Second, the participants may change their beliefs according to their actual or perceived linguistic progress. At the beginning of the language course, the participants generally do not feel comfortable communicating in Danish, and this may lead them to focus on and value other aspects of language learning, particularly linguistic structure. At later stages, when the participants feel more comfortable communicating in Danish, they also address the importance of communication for learning.

The beliefs and ideas expressed in the learning journals are related to larger-scale language ideologies. The participants espouse the ideologies of

a) language as a system
b) languages as separate entities
c) the notion of one authentic target language

These ideologies are widespread in educational contexts and in society at large (Makoni 2012), so it is not surprising to find such ideologies in the data of this study. It is still important, however, to demonstrate that the participants espouse these ideologies, because that permits a comparison their ideologies with their actual language use. There is a clear discrepancy between the ideologies of systematic, separate, authentic language expressed by the participants and their written and oral language, where they simultaneously use linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages.

For the participants, the learning journals constitute a possibility for self-positioning in relation to the other students and in relation to the teacher. Based on the learning journals, three groups of self-positioned students emerge: high expectancy students, language experts, and hard-working students. The high expectancy students demand systematic teaching materials that live up to their expectations of a university course, the language experts demonstrate how they are able to draw on their experiences with language learning and their knowledge of related languages when learning Danish, and the hard-working students emphasise the autonomous, extra-curricular work they carry out in addition to classroom activities. These three groups resemble descriptions of the 'good language learner' (Rubin 1975), and of autonomous learners (Gu & Johnson 1996; Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown 1999). Obviously, this self-positioning should be viewed as closely linked to the educational and institutional context, where the participants emphasise positive aspects of their personalities and academic skills. The written learning journals are written for the teacher and researcher, and it is in the interest of the participants to position themselves in a favourable way in the educational context of the study.

The language use of the participants is analysed in written and oral form. Linguistic features in the written learning journals are analysed in relation to the languages that the participants indicate that they know. This analysis demonstrates that the participants use whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to carry out the task of writing about their own learning process, both features that are usually ascribed to Danish, and features that are usually ascribed to other languages. The participants' language use in the group recordings is also analysed. Linguistic features usually ascribed to other languages than Danish are used by the participants for several purposes. The flagged use of linguistic features not usually ascribed to Danish indicates a certain unease about using such features, although it is clear that the participants' learning of Danish is facilitated when they employ features that do not 'belong' to Danish (cf. Arnfast & Jørgensen 2003). The unflagged use of linguistic features not usually ascribed to Danish is primarily used for meta-comments such as translations of single words, and for various forms of language play. Especially features associated with English are employed for language play and identity negotiations. The predominant, but not exclusive, use of English for language play and identity work may be explained by the fact that this is a foreign language well known to all the participants, and by the fact that Anglo-American popular culture is important to the participants, as it is to young people around the globe. Thus the participants of the study expect fellow participants to understand puns and intertextual references in English, and they ascribe features associated with Anglo-American popular culture to themselves when using English.

9.2 Contributions to the field

This dissertation contributes to the field of socially informed SLA with empirical knowledge, and with methodological and theoretical insights and discussions. In the following, the contributions to the field are pointed out and discussed in relation to specific findings and to the thesis as an overall argument for a socially and sociolinguistically informed SLA research field.

The analyses of beliefs add empirical knowledge to the field of research on second language learner beliefs. The dissertation demonstrates how a group of foreign language learners at university level hold beliefs that conform to a form-focussed language view, especially at the beginning of the language course. It is further demonstrated how the beliefs expressed by the students change over time, from a form-focussed view to a more communicative view of language and language learning. This shows that beliefs may be part of a socialisation process, and that the development of beliefs may be linked to learners' actual or perceived level of proficiency in the new second language. The changing of the beliefs is consistent with the observation that a series of phenomena in SLA research are dynamic, e.g. identity, language use, and language itself. The longitudinal design of this study permits a demonstration of how the beliefs change over time.

Thus, the analyses of beliefs and the three case studies of changing beliefs form an argument in favour of qualitative, longitudinal studies of language learner beliefs. The complexity and dynamics of the beliefs studied become apparent because the data is collected several times during a year and a half, and because the participants write about their beliefs in their own words. To capture these changes and complexities, qualitative, longitudinal studies with several phases of data collection are useful. A qualitative approach enhances the chances of obtaining learner-centred data. In this study, the participants were free to write anything about their foreign language learning process and to do so in their own words. Several phases of data collection are necessary to show how beliefs change over time and to document the directions and rates of change. A longitudinal study with only two data collections, at the beginning and at the end of the study, would be able to show changes over time, but not how different students change their expressions of beliefs through different paths and at different rates. Although all three students described in chapter 5 change their beliefs in the same direction, participant B009 changes her expressions of beliefs with every semester, whereas the beliefs described by participants B013 and B020 follow a more complex path where some aspects of their beliefs change faster than others, and other aspects remain salient during all three semesters. These different paths and rates of change reveal individual differences between learners and are only observable when several phases of data collection are carried out.

The chapters on positioning and language use integrate SLA with sociolinguistics, each in their own way. It is demonstrated that positioning is practised among learners during an early stage of second language acquisition. Positioning has, to the best of my knowledge, not previously been shown to take place with beginner learners through the new second or foreign language in written form. The chapter on positioning both contributes empirical knowledge about how beginner learners position themselves through the language they are learning, and it helps close a gap within positioning studies in SLA, as research on beginner learners has not previously been carried out.

The analyses of written and oral language use among the participants further integrate sociolinguistics and SLA. In addition to the empirical contribution of demonstrating that university language students simultaneously use linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages, these analyses also prepare the ground for further discussions of the theoretical notion of polylanguaging. Some of the excerpts in the section about oral language use may be categorised as polylingual behaviour. However, many of the oral and all of the written excerpts of this study illustrate how the participants use linguistic features usually thought of as belonging to different languages, without actually demonstrating polylingual behaviour. Stylisation, opposition to language ideologies, linguistic repertoires and access to features, as well as intention are suggested as relevant concepts for further refinements of the notion of polylingual behaviour. The analyses of my study show that the simultaneous use of linguistic features generally ascribed to different languages cannot be categorised as polylanguaging, unless some of these phenomena are present.

9.3 Suggestions for further studies

In this thesis, a series of questions that need to be treated in future studies have emerged. Especially the issues of research context and data collection need to be developed in future studies in order to enhance and broaden research on socially and sociolinguistically informed SLA.

The quasi-experimental setting of this study may have influenced the way the participants present their language learner beliefs and position themselves as language learners. A greater diversity of contexts and settings is needed to investigate whether, to what degree, and how beliefs change. It would be interesting, for example, to study the beliefs expressed by university language learners at the university compared to an informal setting among friends or family. In addition, an ethnographic study of learner beliefs in both contexts, at university and outside of the university, would help us to better understand why the learners hold specific beliefs. Moreover, a research setting where the researcher has the possibility of returning to the participants in order to collect more focussed data (cf. Charmaz 2006; Corbin & Strauss 2008) on the development of beliefs would contribute to a richer pool of data.

Qualitative studies on beliefs need to be carried out during even longer periods of time in order to investigate whether the beliefs keep developing over time, and if they do, to find out how and in what directions they develop. Longitudinal studies could, for example, focus on the transition from secondary school to university (cf. Peng 2011), because learners might find that institutional expectations and support change when they move from school to university.

It would also be interesting to study to what degree foreign language students at Swiss universities actually use the learning strategies that they describe as useful or necessary, and to study in what ways they would maintain or change their beliefs if these are challenged through discussions or relevant information about language learning.

Further study of positioning among beginner learners could also be revealing. Are there, for instance, differences between the ways that beginner learners and more proficient learners position themselves under comparable conditions? Moreover, a comparison of self-positioning taking place in the classroom with self-positioning of the same participants in other contexts might help to cast light on the link between positioning and context. A comparison between self-positioning through writing and through speaking would illuminate contextual aspects.

With regard to the analyses of language use and the discussion of the term polylanguaging, both theoretical discussions and further empirical studies must be carried out. Studies on a wider range of social contexts and among other types of language learners may prove fruitful for this discussion. The phenomena of stylisation, opposition to language ideologies, linguistic repertoires and access to features, as well as awareness should all be thoroughly discussed in relation to polylingual behaviour, so as to decide what role these issues play in the phenomenon of polylanguaging. This needs to be done both in the usual setting of late-modern ethnically diverse urban youth (e.g. Møller 2009), and among language learners in institutional settings.

To sum up, the further studies suggested here would contribute to empirical insights into language learning, and to theoretical discussions of the relation between SLA and sociolinguistics.

The analyses and discussions of this study have addressed the issue of interaction between SLA and sociolinguistics, and a number of the findings have been demonstrated exactly because the two fields of research have been connected. The study as a whole can be seen as an argument for a fruitful integration of sociolinguistics and socially informed SLA and as an example of the relevance of the foreign language classroom to late modern sociolinguistics.

References

Amaro, Jennifer Cabrello, Suzanne Flynn & Jason Rothman (2012a) (eds.), *Third Language Acquisition in Adulthood.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Amaro, Jennifer Cabrello, Suzanne Flynn & Jason Rothman (2012b), 'Introduction. Third language (L3) acquisition in adulthood.' In: Jennifer Cabrello Amaro, Suzanne Flynn & Jason Rothman (eds.), *Third Language Acquisition in Adulthood.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1-6.

Ammon, Ulrich et al. (2004), *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz und Deutschland sowie in Liechtenstien, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

Andersen, Nina Møller (2010), 'Talesprog og sproglig polyfoni. Bachtins sproglige begrebsapparat i anvendelse,' *TijdSchrift voor Skandinavistiek*, 31(2), 3-23.

Anderson, Benedict (1991), *Imagined communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Aragão, Rodrigo (2011), 'Beliefs and emotions in foreign language learning', *System,* 39(3), 302-313.

Arnfast, Juni S. & Jens Normann Jørgensen (2003a), 'Code-switching as a communication, learning, and social negotiation strategy in first-year learners of Danish,' *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 13(1), 23-53.

Arnfast, Juni S. & Jens Normann Jørgensen (2003b), '[ˈjæmə ˈgåd mæn ˈu:ð̞ 'bæsd] (Hjemme godt men ude bedst)'. In: Anne Holmen, Esther Glahn & Hanne Ruus (eds.), *Veje til dansk. Forskning i sprog og sprogtilegnelse*. København: Akademisk, 55-89.

Auer, Peter (1999), 'From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech,' *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3(4), 309-332.

Bailey, Nathalie, Carolyn Madden & Stephen D. Krashen (1974), 'Is There a "Natural Sequence" in Adult Second Language Learning?' *Language Learning,* 24, 235-243.

Barcelos, Ana Maria Ferreira & Kalaja, Paula (2011), 'Introduction to Beliefs about SLA revisited,' *System,* 39(3), 281-89.

Barcelos, Ana Maria Ferreira (2003), 'Researching Beliefs About SLA: A Critical Review.' In: Paula Kalaja & Ana Maria Ferreira Barcelos (eds.), *Beliefs about SLA. New Research Approaches.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 7-33.

Barcroft, Joe (2009), 'Strategies and performance in intentional L2 vocabulary learning', *Language Awareness,* 18 (1), 74-89.

Berggren, Harald & Kari Tenfjord (2007), *Andrespråkslæring.* Oslo: Gyldendal.

Bernat, Eva (2008), 'Beyond beliefs: Psycho-cognitive, Sociocultural and Emergent Ecological Approaches to Learner Perceptions in Foreign Language Acquisition,' *The Asian EFL Journal,* 10(3), 7-27.

Bernat, Eva & Inna Gvozdenko (2005), 'Beliefs about Language Learning: Current Knowledge, Pedagogical Implications, and New Research Directions,' *TESL-EJ,* 9(1), 1-21.

Block, David (2007), *Second Language Identities.* London: Continuum.

Block, David (2003), *The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition*. Georgetown University Press.

Block, David (1996), 'Not so Fast: Some Thoughts on Theory Culling, Relativism, Accepted Findings and the Heart and Soul of SLA,' *Applied Linguistics*, 17(1), 63-83.

Blommaert, Jan, Sirpa Leppänen & Massimiliano Spotti (2012), 'Endangering

Multilingualism.' In: Jan Blommaert, Sirpa Leppänen, Päivi Pahta & Tiina Räisänen (eds.), *Dangerous Multilingualism: Northern Perspectives on Order, Purity and Normality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-24.
Blommaert, Jan & Ben Rampton (2012), 'Language and Superdiversity.' In: Jan Blommaert, Ben Rampton & Massimiliano Spotti: *Diversities*, 13, 1-21.
Blommaert, Jan & Ad Backus (2011), 'Repertoires revisited: 'Knowing language' in superdiversity,' *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies*, Paper 67.
Blommaert, Jan & Piia Varis (2011), 'Enough is enough: The heuristics of authenticity in superdiversity,' *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, 2.
Blommaert, Jan (2009), 'Language, Asylum, and the National Order', *Current Anthropology*, 50, 415-441.
Blommaert, Jan (2008), 'Artefactual ideologies and the textual production of African languages,' *Language & Communication,* 28, 291-307.
Blommaert, Jan (2007), 'Sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis: Orders of Indexicality and Polycentricity,' *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 2(2), 115-130.
Blommaert, Jan (2006), 'Language Ideology.' In: Keith Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics, Second Edition,* vol. 6. Oxford: Elsevier, 510-522.
Blommaert, Jan (2005), *Discourse*. Cambridge University Press.
Böhm, Andreas (2007), 'Theoretisches Codieren: Textanalyse in der Grounded Theory.' In: Uwe Flick, Ernst von Kardoff & Ines Steinke (eds.), *Qualitative Forschung. Ein Handbuch.* Hamburg: Rowohlt, 475-485.
Boulton-Lewis, Gillian M., Ference Marton, David C. Lewis & Lynn A. Wilss (2000), 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander university students' conceptions of formal learning and experiences of informal learning,' *Higher Education*, 39, 469-488.
Braun, Bettina (2006), 'Jugendliche Identitäten in SMS-Texten.' In: Christa Dürscheid & Jürgen Spitzmüller (eds.), *Zwischentöne. Zur Sprache der Jugend in der Deutschschweiz.* Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 101-114.
Brown, Roger (1973), *A First Language. The Early Stages.* London: George Allen.
Byram, Michael & Karen Risager (1999), *Language Teachers, Politics and Cultures*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Canagarajah, Suresh (2011), 'Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy,' *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2, 1-27.
Canagarajah, Suresh (2007), 'Lingua Franca English, Multilingual Communities, and Language Acquisition,' *The Modern Language Journal,* 91(5), 923-939.
Cenoz, Jasone (2003), 'The additive effect of bilingualism on third language acquisition: A review,' *International Journal of Bilingualism,* 7(1), 71-87.
Chamot, Anna Uhl (2004), 'Issues in Language Learning Strategy Research and Teaching,' *Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 1(1), 14-26.
Charmaz, Kathy (2006), *Constructing Grounded Theory. A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
Cook, Vivian (2005), 'An Introduction to Researching Second Language Writing Systems.' In: Vivian Cook & Benedetta Bassetti (eds.), *Second Language Writing Systems*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1-67.
Cook, Vivian (1999), 'Going Beyond the Native Speaker in Language Teaching', *TESOL Quarterly,* 33(2), 185-209.
Corbin, Juliet & Anselm L. Strauss (2008), *Basics of Qualitative Research* (3rd edition). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
Cotterall, Sara (1999), 'Key variables in language learning: what do learners believe about

them?' *System* 27(4), 493-513.
Coupland, Nikolas (2009), 'Dialects, standards and social change.' In: Marie Maegaard, Frans Gregersen, Pia Quist & J. Normann Jørgensen (eds.), *Language attitudes, standardization and language change.* Oslo: Novus, 27-49.
Cromdal, Jakob (2013), 'Bilingual and second language interactions: Views from Scandinavia,' *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 17(2), 121-131.
Cromdal, Jakob (1998), 'Barns kodväxlingar i lek.' In: Janus Møller, Pia Quist, Anne Holmen & Jens Normann Jørgensen (eds.), *Nordiske sprog som andetsprog.* Københavnerstudier i tosprogethed, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, 77-89.
Crystal, David (1998), *Language Play*. University of Chicago Press.
Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly (1997), *Finding Flow. The Psychology of Engagement with Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.
Davidsen-Nielsen, Niels (2003), 'Fonetik og fonologi.' In: Michael Herslund & Bente Lihn Jensen (eds.), Sprog og sprogbeskrivelse. Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur, 61-82.
Davies, Bronwyn & Rom Harré (1990), 'Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior,* 20(1), 43-63.
De Angelis, Gessica (2007), *Third or Additional Language Acquisition.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
De Bot, Kees & Bert Weltens (1995), 'Foreign language attrition,' *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 15, 151-164.
De Costa, Peter I. (2011), 'Using language ideology and positioning to broaden the SLA beliefs landscape: The case of an ESL learner from China,' *System*, 39(3), 347-358.
Dörnyei, Zoltán (2005), *The Psychology of the Language Learner. Individual Differences in Second Language Acquisition.* Mahwah: Lawrence Earlbaum.
Dulay, Heidi C. & Marina K. Burt (1974), 'Natural Sequences in Child Second Language Acquisition,' *Language Learning,* 24(1), 37-53.
Dürscheid, Christa & Jürgen Spitzmüller (2006), 'Jugendlicher Sprachgebrauch in der Deutschschweiz: eine Zwischenbilanz.' In: Christa Dürscheid & Jürgen Spitzmüller (eds.), *Zwischentöne. Zur Sprache der Jugend in der Deutschschweiz*. Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 13-48.
Eckert, Penelope (2011), 'Where does the social stop?' In: Frans Gregersen, Jeffrey K. Parrott & Pia Quist (eds.), *Language Variation – European Perspectives III*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 13-29.
Elbaum, Batya E., Cynthia A. Berg & David H. Dodd (1993), 'Previous Learning Experience, Strategy Beliefs, and Task Definition in Self-Regulated Foreign Language Learning,' *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 18, 318-336.
Ellis, Rod (2001), 'The metaphorical constructions of second language learners.' In: Michael P. Breen (ed.), *Learner Contributions to Language Learning*. Harlow: Longman, 65-85.
Ellis, Rod (1994): *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford University Press.
Ellis, Rod (1989), 'Sources of intra-learner variability in language use and their relationship to second language acquisition. ' In: Susan Gass, Carolyn Madden, Dennis Preston & Larry Selinker (eds.), *Variation in Second Language Acquisition*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 22-45.
Ehrman, Madeline & Betty Lou Leaver (2003), 'Cognitive styles in the service of language learning,' *System,* 31(3), 393-415.
Extra, Guus & Durk Gorter (2001), 'Comparative perspectives on regional and immigrant minority languages in multicultural Europe.' In: Guus Extra & Durk Gorter (eds.), *The other languages of Europe.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1-41.

Firth, Alan & Johannes Wagner (2007), 'Second/Foreign Language Learning as a Social Accomplishment: Elaborations on a Reconceptualized SLA', *The Modern Language Journal,* 91(5), 800-819.

Firth, Alan & Johannes Wagner (2007 [1997]), 'On Discourse, Communication, and (Some) Fundamental Concepts in SLA Research', *The Modern Language Journal,* 91(5), 757-72.

Firth, Alan & Johannes Wagner (1998), 'SLA Property: No trespassing!', *The Modern Language Journal,* 82, 91-94.

Freeman, Diane E. Larsen (1975): 'The Acquisition of Grammatical Morphemes by Adult ESL Students,' *TESOL Quarterly*, 9, 409-419.

Færch, Claus & Gabriele Kasper (1984), 'Two ways of defining communication strategies.' *Language Learning,* 34, 45-63.

Genesee, F., J. Hamers, W.E. Lambert, L. Mononen, M. Seitz, & R. Stark (1978), 'Language Processing in Bilinguals,' *Brain and Language,* 5, 1-12.

Gerber, Lukas (2006), 'Merkmale schweizerdeutscher Chatkommunikation.' In: Christa Dürscheid & Jürgen Spitzmüller (eds.), *Zwischentöne. Zur Sprache der Jugend in der Deutschschweiz*. Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 49-62.

Glaser, Barney G. & Anselm L. Strauss (2008 [1967]), *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* New Brunswick: Aldine.

Golden, Anne (1984), 'Hva vil det si å kunne et ord?' In: Anne Hvenekilde & Else Ryen (eds.), *'Kan jeg få ordene dine, lærer?' Artikler om norsk som andrespråk, språkfunksjoner, tospråklighet, tokulturell undervisning.* Oslo: Cappelen, 160-69.

Goodenough, Ward H. (1990), 'Evolution of the Human Capacity for Beliefs,' *American Anthropologist,* 92(3), 597-612.

Graham, Suzanne (2006), 'A Study of Students' Metacognitive Beliefs About Foreign Language Study and Their Impact on Learning,' *Foreign Language Annals*, 39 (2), 296-309.

Gregersen, Frans (2003), Factors influencing the linguistic development in the Øresund region, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 159, 139-152.

Groenke, Ulrich (1998), *Die Sprachlandschaft Skandinaviens*. Berlin: Weidler Buchverlag.

Grønnum, Nina (2003), Why are the Danes so hard to understand? In: H. G. Jacobsen et al. (eds.): *Take Danish – for instance. Linguistic studies in honour of Hans Basbøll.* Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 119-130.

Gu, Peter Yongqi (2003), 'Vocabulary Learning in a Second Language: Person, Task, Context and Strategies,' *TESL-EJ,* 7(2), 1-29.

Gu, Yongqi & Robert Keith Johnson (1996), 'Vocabulary Learning Strategies and Language Learning Outcomes,' *Language Learning*, 46(4), 643-679.

Gumperz, John J. (1977), 'The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching,' *RELC journal* 8(2), 1-34.

Hammarberg, Björn (2010), 'The languages of the multilingual: Some conceptual and terminological issues,' *IRAL* 48, 91-104.

Hammarberg, Björn (1998), 'Bakgrundsspråkens interaktion vid tredjespråksinlärning.' In: Janus Møller, Pia Quist, Anne Holmen & Jens Normann Jørgensen (eds.), *Nordiske sprog som andetsprog.* Københavnerstudier i tosprogethed, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, 41-59.

Harding-Esch, Edith & Philip Riley (2003), *The Bilingual Family. A Handbook for Parents.* Cambridge University Press.

Harré, Rom (2012), 'Positioning Theory'. In: Daniel J. Christie (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of*

Peace Psychology. Malden: Blackwell, 1-4.
Harré, Rom & Fathali Moghaddam (2003), 'Introduction: The Self and Others in Traditional Psychology and in Positioning Theory.' In: Rom Harré & Fathali Moghaddam (eds.), *The Self and Others. Positioning Individuals and Groups in Personal, Political, and Cultural Contexts*. Westport: Praeger, 1-11.
Heller, Monica (2007), 'Bilingualism as ideology and practice.' In: Monica Heller (ed.): *Bilingualism: a social approach*. Palgrave Macmillan, 1-22.
Henriksen, Birgit (1999), 'Ordforråd og ordforrådsindlæring.' In: Anne Holmen & Karen Lund (eds.), *Studier i dansk som andetsprog*. København: Akademisk, 71-106.
Hinnenkamp, Volker (2008), 'Deutsch, Doyc or Doitsch? Chatters as Languagers – The Case of a German-Turkish Chat Room,' *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(3), 253-275.
Holmen, Anne (1993), 'Syntactic development in Danish L2.' In: Kenneth Hyltenstam & Åke Viberg (eds.): *Progression and regression in language: sociocultural, neuropsychological and linguistic perspectives*. Cambridge University Press, 267-288.
Horst, Marlise & Paul Meara (1999), 'Test of a Model for Predicting Second Language Lexical Growth through Reading,' *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 56(2), 308-328.
Horwitz, Elaine K. (1999), 'Cultural and situational influences on foreign language leaners' beliefs about language learning: a review of BALLI studies,' *System* 27(4), 557-76.
Horwitz, Elaine K. (1988), 'The Beliefs about Language Learning of Beginning University Foreign Language Students', *The Modern Language Journal,* 72(3), 283-94.
Hosenfeld, Carol (2003), 'Evidence of emergent beliefs of a second language learner: A diary study.' In: Paula Kalaja & Ana Maria Ferreira Barcelos (eds.), *Beliefs about SLA: New Research Approaches.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 37-54.
Hunt, Alan & Beglar, David (2002), 'Current research and Practice in Teaching Vocabulary.' In: Jack C. Richards & Willy A. Renandya (eds.), *Methodology in Language Teaching. An Anthology of Current Practice.* Cambridge University Press, 258-66.
Hvenkilde, Anne (1984), 'Om ord, ordforråd og læring av ord.' In: Anne Hvenekilde & Else Ryen (eds.), *'Kan jeg få ordene dine, lærer?' Artikler om norsk som andrespråk, språkfunksjoner, tospråklighet, tokulturell undervisning.* Oslo: Cappelen, 140-59.
Hyltenstam, Kenneth & Niclas Abrahamsson (2000), 'Who can become native-like in a second language? All, some, or none? '*Studia Linguistica*, 54, 150-166.
Hymes, Dell (1997 [1974]), 'The Scope of Sociolinguistics.' In: Coupland, Nikolas & Adam Jaworski (eds.): *Sociolinguistics. A Reader*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 12-22.
Hyttel-Sørensen, Liva (2009), *Dem de andre ikke vil lege med. En undersøgelse af børns sprogholdninger med fokus på dansk som andetsprog.* Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism.
Johansson, Lars-Erik (2011), 'Dialektbegreppet – dialekt som varietet och/eller dialektbruk som stil'. In: Lars-Erik Edlund, Lennart Elmevik & Maj Rainhammer (eds.), *Studier i dialektologi och sociolingvistik. Föredrag vid Nionde nordiska dialektologkonferensen i Uppsala 18-20 augusti 2010.* Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien, 187-194.
Jørgensen, Jens Normann, Martha Sif Karrebæk, Lian Malai Madsen & Janus Spindler Møller (2011), 'Polylanguaging in Superdiversity.' In: Jan Blommaert, Ben Rampton & Massimiliano Spotti: *Diversities*, 13, 23-37.
Jørgensen, Jens Normann (2010), *Languaging. Nine year of poly-lingual development of young Turkish-Danish grade school students.* Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism.

Jørgensen, Jens Normann (2008a), 'Introduction. Polylingual Languaging Around and Among Children and Adolescents', *International Journal of Multiligualism*, 5(3), 161-176.
Jørgensen, Jens Normann (2008b), 'Urban Wall Languaging', *International Journal of Multiligualism*, 5(3), 237-252.
Jørgensen, Jens Normann (2003), 'Gender differences in the development of language choice patterns in the Køge Project,' *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 7(4), 353-377.
Jørgensen, Jens Normann (1999), 'Om tilegnelse af dansk udtale hos voksne indlærere.' In: Anne Holmen og Karen Lund (eds.), *Studier i dansk som andetsprog*. København: Akademisk Forlag, 107-136.
Kachru, Yamuna (1994), 'Monolingual bias in SLA research,' *TESOL Quarterly,* 28(4), 795-800.
Kalaja, Paula, Riikka Alanen & Hannele Dufva (2011), 'Teacher trainees' beliefs about EFL learning in the light of narratives.' In: Stephan Breidbach, Daniela Elsner & Andrea Young (eds.), *Language Awareness in Teacher Education. Cultural-Political and Social-Educational Perspectives*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 63-78.
Kalaja, Paula (2003), 'Research on students' beliefs about SLA within a discursive approach'. In: Paula Kalaja & Ana Maria Ferreira Barcelos (eds.), *Beliefs about SLS: New Research Approaches.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 87–108.
Kelle, Udo (2005), '"Emergence" vs. "Forcing" of Empirical Data? A Crucial Problem of „Grounded Theory" Reconsidered,' *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* 6, Artitcle 27.
Kellerman, Eric & Michael Sharwood Smith (1986) (eds.) *Crosslinguistic influence in second language acquisition*. Pergamon Institute of English.
Kelly, Gerald (2000), *Teach Pronunciation*. Harlow: Longman.
Kilickaya, Ferit (2004), 'Authentic materials and cultural content in EFL classrooms.' *The Internet TESL Journal* 10, 1-6.
Kirilova, Marta (2006), *Han er fra Amager, men også lidt fra Afrika. Dansk med accent. En empirisk baseret undersøgelse af indfødte danskeres holdninger til dansk sprog med forskellige accenter.* Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism.
Kirk, Katrine & Lene Mølgaard Jørgensen (2006), *På vej mod effektiv udtaleundervisning.* København: Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration.
Koda, Keiko (2007), 'Reading and Language Learning: Crosslinguistic Constraints on Second Language Reading Development,' *Language Learning,* 57(1), 1-44.
Koefoed, H. A. (1958), *Danish. Teach Yourself Books.* London: St. Paul's.
Kojic-Sabo, Izabella & Patsy M. Lightbown (1999), 'Students' Approaches to Vocabulary Learning and Their Relationship to Success,' *The Modern Language Journal*, 83(2), 176-192.
Kramsch, Claire (2002), 'Introduction: "How can we tell the dancer from the dance?"' In: Claire Kramsch (ed.), *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization. Ecological Perspectives.* London: Continuum, 1-30.
Krashen, Stephen D. (2009 [1982]), *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*, Internet edition, http://www.sdkrashen.com/content/books/principles_and_practice.pdf (retrieved on 01.04.2014).
Krashen, Stephen D. (1976), 'Formal and Informal Linguistic Environments in Language Acquisition and Language Learning,' *TESOL Quarterly*, 10(2), 157-168.
Kristiansen, Tore & Jens Normann Jørgensen (2003), 'Introduction. The sociolinguistics of Danish,' *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* 159, 1-7.
Kristiansen, Tore (1997), 'Language Attitudes in a Danish Cinema.' In: Nikolas Coupland &

Adam Jaworski (eds.), *Sociolinguistics – A Reader*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 291-305.
Labov, William (1964), 'Phonological Correlates of Social Stratification.' *American Anthropologist,* 6, 164-176.
Lambert, Wallace E., R.C. Hodgson, R.C. Gardner & S. Fillenbaum (1960), 'Evaluational Reactions to Spoken Languages', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 60, 44-51.
Landerl, Karin, Heinz Wimmer & Uta Frith (1997), 'The impact of orthographic consistency on dyslexia: A German-English comparison,' Cognition, 63, 315-334.
Lantolf, James P. (2011), 'The Sociocultural Approach to Second Language Acquisition: Sociocultural theory, second language acquisition, and artificial L2 development.' In: Dwight Atkinson (ed.), *Alternative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition.* London: Routledge, 24-47.
Lantolf, James P. & Patricia B. Genung (2002), '"I'd rather switch than fight:" An activity-theoretic study of power, success, and failure in a foreign language classroom.' In: Claire Kramsch (ed.), *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization. Ecological Perspectives.* London: Continuum, 175-196.
Lantolf, James P. & Aneta Pavlenko (2001), '(S)econd (L)anguage (A)ctivity theory: understanding second language learners as people.' In: Michael P. Breen (ed.), *Learner Contributions to Language Learning*. Harlow: Longman, 141-158.
Lantolf, James P. & Matthew E. Poehner (2008), 'Introduction.' In: Lantolf, James P. & Matthew E. Poehner (eds.), *Sociocultural Theory and the Teaching of Second Languages.* London: Equinox, 1-30.
Larsen-Freeman, Diane & Lynne Cameron (2008), 'Research Methodology on Language Development from a Complex Systems Perspective,' *The Modern Language Journal,* 92(2), 200-213.
Larsen-Freeman, Diane (2007), 'Reflecting on the Cognitive-Social Debate in Second Language Acquisition', *The Modern Language Journal,* 91, 773-787.
Larsen-Freeman, Diane (2002), 'Language acquisition and language use from a chaos/complexity theory perspective.' In: Claire Kramsch (ed.), *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization. Ecological Perspectives.* London: Continuum, 33-46.
Larsen-Freeman, Diane (2001), 'Individual cognitive/affective learner contributions and differential success in second language acquisition.' In: Michael P. Breen (ed.), *Learner Contributions to Language Learning*. Harlow: Longman, 12-24.
Larsen-Freeman, Diane (1997), 'Chaos/Complexity Science and Second Language Acquisition', *Applied Linguistics,* 18(2), 141-65.
Laufer, Batia & Nany Girsai (2008), 'Form-focused Instruction in Second Language Vocabulary Learning: A Case for Contrastive Analysis and Translation,' *Applied Linguistics,* 29(4), 694-716.
Laufer, Batia (2003), 'Vocabulary Acquisition in a Second Language: Do Learners Really Acquire Most Vocabulary by Reading? Some Empirical Evidence,' *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 59(4), 567-587.
Lave, J. and E. Wenger (1991) *Situated learning. Legitimate peripheral participation.* Cambridge University Press.
Lemke, Jay L. (2002), 'Language development and identity: multiple timescales in the social ecology of learning.' In: Claire Kramsch (ed.), *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization. Ecological Perspectives.* London: Continuum, 68-87.
Lightbown, Patsy M. & Nina Spada (2006), *How Languages are Learned.* Oxford University

Press.
Lindqvist, Christina & Camilla Bardel (2010) (guest eds.), *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 48.
Long, Michael H. & Peter Robinson (1998), 'Focus on form. Theory, research, and practice.' In: Catherine Doughty & Jessica Williams (eds.), *Focus on Form in Classroom Second Language Acquisition.* Cambridge University Press, 15-41.
Long, Michael H. (1997), 'Construct Validity in SLA Research: A Response to Firth and Wagner,' *The Modern Language Journal,* 81(3), 318-323.
Lyons, John (1991), *Chomsky*. London: Fontana.
Madsen, Lian Malai (2011), Social status relations and enregisterment in contemporary Copenhagen, *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, Paper 72, King's College London.
Maegaard, Marie (2005), 'Language attitudes, norm and gender,' *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, 37, 55-80.
Magnan, Sally Sieloff (2008), 'The unfulfilled promise of teaching for communicative competence: insights from sociocultural theory.' In: James P. Lantolf & Matthew E. Poehner (eds.), *Sociocultural Theory and the Teaching of Second Languages*. London: Equinox, 349-79.
Makoni, Sinfree (2012), 'A critique of language, languaging and supervernacular,' *Muitas Vozes,* 1, 189-199.
Makoni, Sinfree & Alastair Pennycook (2007), 'Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages.' In: Sinfree Makoni & Alastair Pennycook (eds.): *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1-41.
Meara, Paul (2009), *Connected Words. Word associations and second language vocabukary acquisition.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Meisel, Jürgen, Harald Clahsen & Manfred Pienemann (1981), 'On determining developmental stages in natural second language acquisition,' *Studies in second language acquisition* 3(2), 109-135.
Melka, Francine (1997), 'Receptive vs. productive aspects of vocabulary.' In: Norbert Schmitt & Michael McCarthy (eds.), *Vocabulary: Description, Acquisition and Pedagogy.* Cambridge University Press, 84-102.
Mercer, Sarah (2011), 'Language learner self-concept: Complexity, continuity and change,' *System,* 39(3), 335-46.
Milton, James (2008), 'Vocabulary uptake from informal learning tasks,' *The Language Learning Journal*, 36(2), 227-237.
Mitchell, Rosamond & Florence Myles (1998), *Second Language Learning Theories.* London: Arnold.
Morita, Naoko (2004), 'Negotiating Participation and Identity in Second Language Academic Communities', *TESOL Quarterly*, 38, 573-603.
Møller, Janus Spindler & Jens Normann Jørgensen (2011a), 'Language enregisterment and attitudes.' In: Janus Spindler Møller & Jens Normann Jørgensen (eds.), *Language Enregisterment and Attitudes.* Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism, 5-9.
Møller, Janus Spindler & Jens Normann Jørgensen (2011b), 'Enregisterment among adolescents in superdiverse Copenhagen.' In: Janus Spindler Møller & Jens Normann Jørgensen (eds.), *Language Enregisterment and Attitudes.* Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism, 99-121.
Møller, Janus Spindler (2009), *Poly-lingual interaction across childhood, youth and adulthood.* Ph.D. dissertation. University of Copenhagen.

Nagy, William (1997), 'On the role of context in first- and second-language vocabulary learning.' In: Norbert Schmitt & Michael McCarthy (eds.), *Vocabulary: Description, Acquisition and Pedagogy.* Cambridge University Press, 64-83.
Nation, Paul (2002), 'Best Practice in Vocabulary Teaching and Learning.' In: Jack C. Richards & Willy A. Renandya (eds.), *Methodology in Language Teaching. An Anthology of Current Practice.* Cambridge University Press, 267-72.
Nation, Paul & Robert Waring (1997), 'Vocabulary size, text coverage and word lists.' In: Norbert Schmitt & Michael McCarthy (eds.), *Vocabulary: Description, Acquisition and Pedagogy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 6-19.
Navarro, Diego & Katherine Thornton (2011), 'Investigating the relationship between belief and action in self-directed language learning', *System,* 39(3), 290-301.
Norton, Bonny (2000), *Identity and language learning. Gender, ethnicity and educational change.* UK: Longman.
Norton, Bonny (2001), 'Non-participation, imagined communities and the language classroom.' In: Michael P. Breen (ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research*, Addison-Wesley: Longman, 159-171.
Norton, Bonny & Carolyn McKinney (2011), 'An Identity Approach to Second Language Acquisition.' In: Dwight Atkinson (ed.), *Alternative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition.* London: Routledge, 73-94.
Nunan, David (1991), 'Communicative Tasks and the Language Curriculum,' *TESOL Quarterly,* 25, 279-295.
Odlin, Terence (1989), *Language Transfer. Cross-linguistic influence in language learning.* Cambridge University Press.
O'Malley, J. Michael & Anna Uhl Chamot (1990), *Learning strategies in second language acquisition*. Cambridge University Press.
Oxford, Rebecca & Martha Nyikos (1989), 'Variables Affecting Choice of Language Learning Strategies by University Students,' *The Modern Language Journal*, 73, 291-300.
Pavlenko, Aneta (2003), '"I Never Knew I Was a Bilingual": Reimagining Teacher Identities in TESOL,' *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education,* 2, 251-268.
Pavlenko, Aneta (2000), 'L2 influence on L1 in Late Bilingualism,' *Issues in Applied Linguistics,* 11(2), 175-205.
Peng, Jian-E (2011), 'Changes in language learning beliefs during a transition to tertiary study: The mediation of classroom affordances', *System,* 39(3), 314-24.
Pennycook, Alastair (2007), 'The Myth of English as an International Language.' In: Sinfree Makoni & Alastair Pennycook (eds.), *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 90-115.
Poulisse, Nanda (1997), 'Some Words in Defense of the Psycholinguistic Approach: A Response to Firth and Wagner', *The Modern Language Journal* 81(3), 324-328.
Quist, Pia & Jens Normann Jørgensen (2001), 'Native Speakers' Judgements of Second Language Danish,' *Language Awareness*, 10(1), 41-56.
Rampton, Ben (2006), *Language in Late Modernity. Interaction in an urban school.* Cambridge University Press.
Rampton, Ben (2000), 'Speech Community,' *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, Paper 15, King's College London.
Rampton, Ben (1998), 'Language Crossing and the Redefinition of Reality: Expanding the Agenda of Research on Code-switching,'

www.academia.edu/1220156/Language_crossing_and_the_redefinition_of_reality_1998 (retrieved on 20.02.2014) (also published in Peter Auer (1997/98), *Code-switching in conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity.* London: Routledge.)
Rampton, Ben (1997), 'Second language research in late modernity: A response to Firth and Wagner,' *The Modern Language Journal* 81(3), 329-333.
Rampton, Ben (1995), *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity Among Adolescents*. London: Longman.
Rampton, Ben (1990), 'Displacing the ‘native speaker’: expertise, affiliation, and inheritance,' *ELT Journal,* 44, 97-101.
Richards, Jack C. (1976), 'The Role of Vocabulary Teaching,' *TESOL Quarterly,* 10(1), 77-89.
Riley, Philip (2006), 'Self-expression and the negotiation of identity in a foreign language', *International Journal of Applied Linguistics,* 16(3), 195-317.
Ritzau, Ursula (2013a), 'A Qualitative Investigation of the Dynamics and Complexity of Language Learner Beliefs through Written Protocols,' *Linguistik Online*, 61.
Ritzau, Ursula (2013b), 'Self-positioning through beginners' foreign language,' *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*. DOI: 10.1111/ijal.12053
Ritzau, Ursula (in press), 'Sådan plejer vi at gøre i Schweiz. Om universitetsstuderendes forestillinger om tilegnelsen af dansk som fremmedsprog [This is how we do it in Switzerland. On University Students’ Beliefs about Danish as a Foreign Language],' *RASK International journal of language and communication.*
Ritzau, Ursula (under review), 'Learner Language and Polylanguaging', *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism.*
Ritzau, Ursula (2007), *Almindelig fremmed dansk. En masketest-undersøgelse hos danske learnere af holdninger til dansk med accent*. Københavnerstudier i tosprogethed, Københavns Universitet.
Ronald, Jim (2009), 'Repeated L2 Reading With and Without a Dictionary', in Tess Fitzpatrick & Andy Barfield (eds.), *Lexical Processing in Second Language Learners.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 82-94.
Rubin, Joan (1975), 'What the "good language learner" can teach us,' *TESOL quarterly*, 9(1), 41-51.
Schmidt, Richard (1993), 'Awareness and Second Language Acquisition,' *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 13, 206-226.
Schmidt, Richard W. (1990), 'The Role of Consciousness in Second Language Learning,' *Applied Linguistics,* 11(2), 129-158.
Schmidt, Richard W. & Sylvia Nagem Frota (1986), 'Developing basic conversational ability in a second language: A case study of an adult learner of Portuguese.' In: R. R. Day (ed.), *Talking to learn: Conversation in second language acquisition.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 237-326.
Selinker, Larry (1972), 'Interlanguage,' *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching,* 10(3), 209-231.
Selinker, Larry (1969), 'Language Transfer,' *General Linguistics,* 9, 67-92.
Shen, Ming-yueh (2010), 'Effects of perceptual learning style preferences on L2 lexical inferencing,' *System*, 38(4), 539-47.
Silverman, David (2005), *Doing Qualitative Research.* London: Sage.
Singleton, David (1997), 'Learning and processing L2 vocabulary,' *Language Teaching,* 30(4), 213-225.
Swain, Merrill (1995), 'Three functions of output in second language learning.' In: Guy Cook

& Barbara Seildhofer (eds.), *Priciple & Practice in Applied Linguistics. Studies in honour of H. G. Widdowson.* Oxford University Press, 125-144.
Swain, Merrill (1985), 'Communicative competence: Some roled of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development.' In: Susan M. Gass & Carolyn G. Madden (eds.), *Input in Second Language Acquisition.* Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House, 235-253.
Swan, Michael (2002), 'Seven Bad Reasons for Teaching Grammar – and Two Good Ones.' In: Jack C. Richards & Willy A. Renandya (eds.), *Methodology in Language Teaching. An Anthology of Current Practice.* Cambridge University Press, 148-152.
Sweller, John (1994), 'Cognitive Load Theory, Learning Difficulty, and Instructional Design,' *Learning and Instruction,* 4, 295-312.
Tanaka, Koichi & Rod Ellis (2003), 'Study-abroad, Language Proficiency, and Learner Beliefs about Language Learning,' *JALT Journal,* 25(1), 63-85.
Tarone, Elaine (2007), 'Sociolinguistic Approaches to Second Language Acquisition Research—1997–2007', *The Modern Language Journal,* 91(5), 837-848.
Thorne, Steven L. & James P. Lantolf (2007), 'A Linguistics of Communicative Activity.' In: Sinfree Makoni & Alastair Pennycook (eds.), *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 170-195.
Vaid, Jyotsna (2002), 'Bilingualism.' In: Vilayanur S. Ramachandran (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Human Brain.* Elsevier, 417-434.
van Lier, Leo (2008), 'Agency in the classroom.' In: Lantolf James P. & Matthew E. Poehner (eds.), *Sociocultural Theory and the Teaching of Second Languages.* London: Equinox, 163-86.
van Lier, Leo (2002), 'An ecological-semiotic perspective on language and linguistics.' In: Claire Kramsch (ed.), *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization. Ecological Perspectives.* London: Continuum, 140-164.
van Lier, Leo (2000), 'From input to affordance: Social-interactive learning from an ecological perspective.' In: James P. Lantolf (ed.), *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language learning.* Oxford University Press, 245-259.
van Lier, Leo (1996), *Interaction in the Language Curriculum. Awareness, Autonomy & Authenticity.* Harlow: Longman.
Vikør, L.S. (1993), *The Nordic Languages. Their Status and Interrelations*. Nordic Language Secretariat, Novus Press.
Wenden, Anita L. (2001), 'Metacognitive knowledge in SLA: the neglected variable.' In: Breen, Michael P. (ed.), *Learner Contributions to Language Learning.* Harlow: Longman, 44-64.
Wenden, Anita L. (1999), 'An introduction to Metacognitive Knowledge and Beliefs in Language Learning: beyond the basics', *System,* 27(4), 435-41.
Wenger, Etienne (1998), *Communities of Practice. Learning, Meaning, and Identity.* Cambridge University Press.
Werlen, Iwar (2010), 'Wer lernt in der Schweiz warum und wie welche Fremdsprachen? Ergebnisse des Projekts linguadult.ch,' *Bulletin Suisse de linguistique appliquée*, 1, 47-64.
Woods, Devon (2003), 'The social construction of beliefs in the language classroom.' In: Kalaja, Paula/Barcelos, Ana Maria Ferreira (eds.): *Beliefs about SLA. New research approaches.* Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 201-229.
Woolard, Kathryn A. (1992), 'Language Ideology: Issues and Approaches,' *Pragmatics*, 2(3), 235-249.

Wortham, Stanton (2010), 'Listening for identity beyond the speech event,' *Teachers College Records,* 112, 2848-2871.
Wortham, Stanton (2001), 'Interactionally Situated Cognition: A Classroom Example,' *Cognitive Science,* 25(1), 37-66.
Yang, Nae-Dong (1999), 'The relationship between EFL learners' beliefs an learning strategy use', *System*, 27(4), 515-535.
Yang, Jin-Suk & Tae-Young Kim (2011), 'Sociocultural analysis of second language learner beliefs,' *System,* 39(3), 325-334.
Yoon, B. (2008), 'Uninvited Guests: The Influence of Teachers' Roles and Pedagogies on the Positioning of English Language Learners in the Regular Classroom,' *American Educational Research Journal*, 45(2), 495-522.

Teaching materials

Afzelius, Otto 1997, *Fra del til helhed. Lær at skrive dansk 2.* Specialpædagogisk forlag.
Aidt, Naja Marie 2006, *Bavian*. Gyldendal.
Blicher, Steen Stensen (2003), *Hosekræmmeren. Bearbejdet af Kirsten Kirch.* Specialpædagogisk forlag.
Hastenplug, M. (2011), *Dänisch mit System. Der praktische Sprachkurs.* Langenscheidt.
Kledal, Ann & Barbara Fischer-Hansen (1999a), *Parat start,* vol. 1, 2, 3. Herning: Specialpædagogisk forlag.
Kledal, Ann & Barbara Fischer-Hansen (1999b), *Basis-Grammatikken*. Herning: Specialpædagogisk forlag.
Jeppesen, Bodil & Grethe Maribo (2003a), *Under Overfladen 1. Dansk for udlændinge.* Alinea.
Jeppesen, Bodil & Grethe Maribo (2003b), *Under Overfladen 1. Lærervejledning.* Alinea.
Jeppesen, Bodil & Grethe Maribo (1999), *Mellem linjerne. Dansk for udlændinge.* Alinea.
Jeppesen, Bodil & Grethe Maribo (1996), *Multimediedansk. Danish for Ducklings.* Alinea.
Køneke, Mikael & Lone Nielsen (2004), *Etteren. Begynderbog i dansk for udlændinge*. 2. udgave. Nyt Teknisk Forlag.
Madsen, Peter 1980, *Valhalla 2. Thors brudefærd.* Carlsen Comics.
Nexø, Martin Andersen (2002), *Pelle Erobreren. Bearbejdet af Torben Petersen.* Specialpædagogisk forlag.
Nicolaisen, Anne, Birger Lind & Kaj Aage Andersen (1998), *Sider af dansk kultur. Grundbog.* Gyldendal.
Snefstrup, Kirsten & Lars Schmidt Møller (2010): *Det lyder godt. Grundbog i udtale*. København: Alfabeta.
Thorborg, Lisbet 2006, *Dansk udtale i 49 tekster.* Synope.
Thorborg, Lisbet 2003a, *Dansk udtale. Øvebog.* Synope.
Thorborg, Lisbet 2003b, *Dansk udtale for begyndere.* Synope.
Thorborg, Lisbet 2001, *Dansk udtale i praksis.* Akademisk.

Internet resources

Blick am Abend (Blick am Abig), 28 May 2013.
http://epaper.blick.ch/flipbook/baa.html?doc=BAA280513ZH&issue=zeitung&region=ZH#1
(retrieved on 04.07.2013)

Bundesamt für Statistik, Schweiz.
www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/de/index/dienstleistungen/forumschule/them/02/03b.html
(retrieved on 04.07.2013)

Swatch Group (2012), *Gschäftbricht 2012. Eimaligi Dialäkt-Usgaab.*
http://www.swatchgroup.com/de/investor_relations/jahres_und_halbjahresberichte
(retrieved on 04.07.2013)

University of Zurich, Course Catalogue of Autumn 2013.
www.vorlesungen.uzh.ch/HS13/lehrangebot/fak-50000007/sc-50306169/cga-50306169130/cg-50309242/cg-50319717.module.html (retrieved on 11.03.2014)

University of Zurich, Course Catalogue of Spring 2014.
http://www.vorlesungen.uzh.ch/FS14/suche/e-50666098.details.html (retrieved on 04.04.2014)

Resume på dansk

Denne afhandling undersøger indlærerforestillinger, sprogideologier, selv-positionering og sprogbrug hos en gruppe danskstuderende på to universiteter i Schweiz. Den teoretiske ramme for afhandlingen trækker på socialt orienteret forskning i andetsprogstilegnelse og på senmoderne sociolingvistik.

Forskningsspørgsmål

- Hvilke forestillinger om sprog og sprogtilegnelse udtrykker schweiziske danskstuderende, hvorfor har de disse forestillinger og hvordan hænger deres forestillinger sammen med sprogideologier?
- Hvordan præsenterer deltagerne sig selv gennem forestillinger, ideologier og selv-positionering?
- Hvordan bruger deltagerne sproglige træk, der generelt associeres med forskellige sprog, i hvilken grad kan deres sprogbrug sammenlignes med polysprogning, og hvordan hænger deres sprogbrug sammen med deres forestillinger og ideologier om sprog?

Data

I løbet af tre semestre (halvandet år) har jeg indsamlet tre forskellige slags data fra deltagerne: Spørgeskemaer til dokumentation af baggrundsviden, læringsprotokoller til undersøgelse af indlærerforestillinger og ideologier og lydoptagelser individuelt og i grupper til undersøgelse af deltagernes sprogbrug.

Resultater

I det første semester fokuserer deltagerne på strukturelle aspekter af sprog og sprogtilegnelse, og hen mod det tredje semester orienterer de sig mere mod en kommunikativ tilgang til andetsprogstilegnelse. Forestillingerne er påvirket af deltagernes omfattende erfaringer med at lære sprog. Ændringen fra en struktur-fokuseret til en kommunikativ tilgang kan dels forklares med en gradvis socialisering i løbet af kurset, og dels med deltagernes ændrede opfattelse af egne sproglige evner og deres sproglige progression.

Deltagerne giver udtryk for sproglige ideologier, der afspejler institutionelle og samfundsmæssige ideologier. De udtrykker ideer om sprog som system, om sprog som adskilte fænomener og om autentisk målsprog.

Allerede på tidlige stadier af sprogtilegnelsen er deltagerne i stand til at positionere sig selv gennem det nye fremmedsprog dansk. De positionerer sig som studerende med høje forventninger, som sprogeksperter og som hårdtarbejdende studerende. Deres selvpositionering hænger tæt sammen med undervisningssituationen.

De forestillinger og ideer om sprog og sprogtilegnelse, som deltagerne giver udtryk for, bliver sidst i afhandlingen sammenlignet med deres skriftlige og mundtlige sprogbrug. I nogle tilfælde bruger deltagerne sproglige træk, der normalt associeres med forskellige sprog, for at lege med sprog, men i de fleste tilfælde forsøger de at bruge sproglige træk, der udelukkende associeres med dansk. Deres samtidige brug af sproglige træk, der normalt associeres med forskellige sprog, er i de fleste tilfælde utilsigtet. Det fører til en diskussion af fænomener som stilisering, ideologi, repertoire og bevidsthed i forbindelse med definitionen af polysprogning.

Abstract in English

This dissertation investigates learner beliefs, language ideologies, self-positioning, and language use among a group of Swiss university students of Danish as a foreign language. The theoretical framework of the study draw on socially informed second language acquisition (SLA) research and on late modern sociolinguistics.

Research questions

- What do Swiss university students of Danish as a foreign language believe about language and language learning, why do they hold these beliefs, and how do the beliefs relate to language ideologies?
- How do the participants present themselves in terms of beliefs, ideologies, and self-positioning?
- In what ways do the participants use linguistic features generally thought to belong to different languages, to what degree can their language use be compared with polylingual behaviour, and how does their language use relate to the beliefs and ideologies expressed by the participants?

Data

During three semesters, or a year and a half, three types of data were collected from the 49 participants: Questionnaires for background knowledge, learning journals for the study of beliefs and ideologies, as well as individual and group audio recordings for the study of language use.

Main findings

At the beginning of the three semester course, the participants generally express structure-focussed beliefs about language and language learning, whereas at the end of the course, they focus more on communicative approaches to language learning. The beliefs held by the participants are influenced by their comprehensive experience with language learning. The change from a structural to a communicative focus may be explained by a socialisation process during the course, or by changes in the participants' perceived and actual sociolinguistic progression.

The participants further express ideas about language and language learning, which relate to institutional and societal language ideologies. The participants express ideas about language as a system, languages as separate entities, and authentic target languages.

Self-positioning is carried out by the participants at the earliest stages of language learning, and the position themselves as high expectancy students, language experts, and hard-working students. This self-positioning is closely linked with the classroom setting.

The beliefs and ideas held by the participants are compared with the way they use language in written and oral form. In some cases, the participants use features generally thought to belong to different languages for language play, but in most instances the participants try to use features that are exclusively associated with Danish, and their use of features generally thought to belong to different languages is not intentional. This finding leads to a theoretical discussion of the notion of polylanguaging, particularly how the concepts of stylisation, ideologies, repertoire, and awareness can be integrated into the definition of polylanguaging.

Appendix

Appendix 1

Overview of participants.

Nr.	Gender	Age	First languages	Other languages	Journ.	Ques.	In.rec.	Gr.rec.	S1	S2	S3
B001	F	22	High German, Greek	English, French, Italian, Norwegian, Swedish, Swiss German,	3	2	0	2	x	x	-
B002	F	22	German	English, French	1	2	0	1	x	x	-
B003	F	-	German	English, French, Italian, Norwegian, Russian, Spanish	2	1	1	0	x	-	-
B004	F	21	German	English, French, Norwegian, Swedish	4	3	5	1	x	x	-
B005	F	22	German	English, French, Norwegian	6	5	5	4	x	x	x
B006	M	24	German	English, French, Italian, Swedish	2	2	4	0	x	x	-
B007	F	21	German	English, French	4	4	4	4	-	x	x
B008	F	23	German	English, French, Italian, Norwegian	2	1	3	0	x	-	-
B009	F	23	German	English, French, Italian, Swedish	6	5	9	3	x	x	x
B010	M	?	German	English, Swedish (?)	4	0	2	3	x	x	x
B011	F	22	German	English, French	4	3	0	2	x	x	-
B012	M	23	German	English, French, Latin	6	4	9	4	x	x	x
B013	M	22	German	English, French, Italian		4	8	4	x	x	x
B014	F	33	German, Finnish	English, French, Spanish, Swedish	4	4	2	2	-	x	x
B015	F	22	German, Hungarian	English, French, Spanish	0	1	0	0	x	-	-
B016	F	20	German	English, French	6	5	4	1	x	x	x
B017	F	19	German	English, French, Italian	6	3	0	2	x	x	x
B018	F	23	German	English, French, Italian	5	3	8	4	x	x	x
B019	M	54	German	English	2	2	2	0	x	x	-
B020	M	23	German	English, French	6	5	7	3	x	x	x
B021	F	23	German	English, French, Spanish	3	3	4	1	x	x	-
B022	F	21	German	Arabic, Dutch, English, French, Persian, Russian	6	5	0	2	x	x	x
B023 Error	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B024	F	21	German	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B025	F	21	German	English, French, Italian	3	3	4	2	x	x	-
B026	M	66	German	English, French, Italian	6	5	6	4	x	x	x
B027	F	36	Croatian	English, German, Macedonian, Russian, Serbian	1	1	2	0	x	-	-
Total Basel	**7 M 19 F 26 Inf.**			**3.3 L2 on average** (83:25= 3.3)	**97**	**76**	**89**	**49**	**23**	**21**	**13**

Z001	F	21	German	English, Icelandic, Italian, Swedish	4	3	5	2	x	x	-
Z002	F	23	German, Arabic, English	French, Icelandic, Italian, Norwegian, Spanish	0	2	1	0	x	-	-
Z003	F	26	German	English	0	2	1	0	x	-	-
Z004	F	25	German	English, French, Italian, Norwegian	0	2	0	0	x	-	-
Z005	M	27	German	Dutch, English, French, Spanish	1	2	2	0	x	-	-
Z006	F	23	German, Hebrew	Englisch, Finnish, French, Swedish	4	3	6	0	x	x	-
Z007	F	22	German	English, French	2	2	1	0	x	-	-
Z008	F	25	German, Italian, Spanish	English, Finnish, French, Japanese, Luxemburgish, Swedish	1	2	1	0	x	-	-
Z009	F	25	German	English, French, Italian	2	2	0	0	x	-	-
Z010	F	22	German	English, Italian, French	1	2	0	0	x	-	-
Z011	M	18	German	Dutch, English, French, Italian, Latin	0	2	0	0	x	-	-
Z012	M	20	German	English, French, Scottish-Gaelic, Spanish	6	5	4	3	x	x	x
Z013	F	21	German	English, French Swedish	3	2	4	1	x	x	-
Z014	F	24	German	English, French, Spanish	3	4	6	2	x	x	x
Z015	M	?	German	-	2	0	2	0	x	-	-
Z016 Error	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Z017	F	22	Swiss German	English, French, High German, Latin	4	2	1	2	x	x	-
Z018	F	27	German	English, French, Italian	3	4	6	4	-	x	x
Z019	F	23	English, German	French	2	1	2	1	-	-	x
Z020	F	24	German	English, French, Italian, Spanish	1	1	2	1	-	-	x
Z021	F	26	German	English, French, Spanish	2	2	2	1	-	-	x
Z022	F	22	German	English, French	2	2	3	1	-	-	x
Z023 Error	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Z024	M	-	German	-	1	0	2	2	-	-	x
Z025	F	-	German	-	1	1	3	2	-	-	x
Total Zuric h	**5M 18F 23 Inf.**			**3,5 L2 on average** (69:20=3,5)	**45**	**48**	**54**	**22**	**16**	**7**	**9**
Total	**12M 37F 49 Inf.**			**3,4 L2 on average** (152:45 = 3.4)	**142**	**124**	**143**	**73**	**39**	**28**	**23**

Nr. = participant number; Gender: F indicates female, M indicates male; Age: indicates age in the first available document from each participant; Journ. = learning journal; Ques. = Questionnaire; In.rec. = individual recordings; Gr.rec. = Group recordings; S1 = first semester; S2 = second semester; S3 = third semester.

The average number of other languages are based on the total number of other languages mentioned by the participants (83 in Basel, 69 in Zurich, 152 in total) divided by the number of participants who have given information about their foreign languages (25 out of 26 in Basel, 20 out of 23 in Zurich, 45 in total).

In the columns *Journ., Ques., In.rec.,* and *Gr.rec*., the figures indicate number of data available from each participant. A dash (-) indicates that no data is available.

In the columns *S1, S2,* and *S3,* an x indicates that the participant was enrolled in the semester. A dash (-) indicates that the participant was not enrolled in the semester.

The grey shaded rows (B023, Z016, Z023) indicate that the numbers were not assigned to any participants. The participant numbers are marked with the word *error*.

Appendix 2

Questionnaire: Background. Translated from Danish.

Questionnaire

Informant no.:
Date:
University:
Course:

Age:
Sex:
First language(s):

1) What other languages do you speak and on what level (describe in your own words)?

2) Why are you in the Danish course?

3) Are you planning to attend course 2 / course 3 / course 4 as well?
(*The question is adjusted according to the current semester*)

4) Do you have family or friends in Denmark? How are they related to you (friend, grandparents...)? How often and in what ways do you communicate with them?

5) Do you know any Danes or Danish-speaking people in Switzerland or elsewhere? How are they related to you (friend, grandparents...)? How often and in what ways do you communicate with them?

6) Have you been to Denmark? (you may indicate several visits or stays)
Where:
When:
For how long:
Purpose of the stay:

7) Would you like to travel to Denmark?
Where:
When:
For how long:
Purpose of the stay:

Appendix 3
Questionnaire: Self-assessment. Translated from Danish.

Self-assessment

Informant no.:
Date:
University:
Course:

1) How would you describe your current level of Danish? (describe in your own words)
- Reading
- Writing
- Speaking
- Pronunciation
- Listening
- Grammar

2) In what areas has your level of Danish improved during the last six months?

3) What level of Danish do you think you can obtain within the next six months? (describe in your own words)
- Reading
- Writing
- Speaking
- Pronunciation
- Listening
- Grammar

4) What level of Danish do you think you can obtain in the long term? (describe in your own words)
- Reading
- Writing
- Speaking
- Pronunciation
- Listening
- Grammar

5) Are there any areas within the acquisition of Danish that you consider particularly important? Which areas? Why?

6) Are there any areas within the acquisition of Danish that you consider particularly difficult? Which areas? Why?

7) How would you describe your own performance with regard to the acquisition of Danish?

Appendix 4

Instructions for learning journals, 1st semester. Translated from German and Danish.

Danish 1, Autumn 2007
Ursula Ritzau

Protfolio

During the course of this semester, two portfolios are to be handed in on 15 November and 13 December. The portfolios are part of the curriculum and thus compulsory.

The portfolio should be approximately one page long (Times New Roman, 12 point, 1.5 line spacing) and contain the following topics:

1. What have you learned so far?
2. What would you like to learn?
3. What advances or inhibits your learning process?
4. Thoughts about your own progress and motivation, the course in general, suggestions for changes etc.

The protocol for the 15 November is to be written in German.

The protocol for the 13 December is to be written in Danish.

Appendix 5

Words and phrases for the protocols in Danish. 1st and 2nd semester.

At skrive protokol på dansk

1. Was du bis jetzt gelernt hast = **Hvad du har lært indtil nu**
   - Jeg har lært at...
   - Jeg kan godt/ikke...
   - Før kunne jeg ikke...., men nu kan jeg jeg...
   - Det er nemt/svært, at...

2. Was du lernen möchtest = **Hvad du gerne vil lære**
   - Jeg vil gerne lære, at...
   - Jeg kunne godt tænke mig, at...
   - Det ville være spændende at lære...
   - Det er vigtigt at lære...
   - Det er nødvendigt, at lære...

3. Was deinen Lernprozess fördert bzw. hindert = **Hvad der fremmer hhv. hindrer din læringsproces** (hhv. = henholdsvis)
   - Det hjælper mig at...
   - Det hjælper mig, når...
   - Jeg lærer mest, når...
   - Jeg kan bedst lide...
   - Det hjælper mig ikke, at...
   - Det hjælper mig ikke, når...
   - Jeg lærer ikke så meget, når...
   - Jeg kan ikke så godt lide...

4. Gedanken über eigene Leistung und Motivation, den Kurs im Allgemeinen, Vorschläge für Änderungen etc. = **Tanker om din egen præstation og motivation, kurset generelt, forslag til ændringer osv.**
   - Jeg synes, at... (personlig mening)
   - Jeg tror, at... (ich glaube, dass...)
   - Jeg vil gerne...
   - Jeg vil ikke...
   - Det motiverer mig (ikke), at/når...
   - Det virker (ikke så) motiverende, at/når...
   - Jeg kunne godt tænke mig, at...
   - Det er (ikke så) godt, at...
   - Det ville være en god ide, at...

Appendix 6

Suggestions for protocol topics. 3rd semester. Translated from Danish.

Ideas for the protocol, Danish 3

There's always enough to write about in the protocol – your language and your language learning process keep changing.

Here are some topics to think about while writing:

- Do you learn languages in the same way as you learn other things?
- Do you learn Danish in the same ways as other languages?
- Are you more or less motivated now compared to earlier?
- Are you still studying Danish for the same reasons as before?
- Has your linguistic confidence changed?
- Do you prefer working in groups, in pairs, in class, or alone?
- Do you prefer working at home, at the university, or at other places?
- Do you think you learn more in class, when doing homework, when writing, when reading, or when doing something else?
- Are there any areas of the learning process that you find particularly exciting, fun, boring, difficult, easy, trivial…?

Appendix 7

Transcription key.

B005	Informant number
Int.	Interviewer
recte	Original utterances
italics	Translations into English
Bold	Comments
#	Pause
< >	Overlapping speech
[>]	Overlap with following utterance
[<]	Overlap with preceding utterance
(der)	Unclear
xxx	Unintelligible
:	Length
°low°	Low volume compared to surrounding speech
ha	Laughter

Appendix 8

Reading texts for individual recordings.

Reading text 1st semester

Det er en kold og kedelig søndag i november. Det er mørkt, og det regner og blæser. Der er ingen mennesker på gaderne. Inde hos Lars og Sofie er der varmt og hyggeligt, og de kan høre vinden udenfor. Lars sidder i en lænestol med en avis og en kop kaffe. Sofie kommer ind i stuen. Hun vil også have en kop kaffe. Hun går ud og henter en kop.
- ”Der er en god film i fjernsynet”, siger hun.
- ”Hvad er det for en film?” spørger Lars.
- ”Det er en polsk film”, siger Sofie.
- ”Lad os bare se den”, siger Lars. ”Men hvad med mad? Jeg er sulten.”

De kigger på hinanden og går ud i køkkenet. Sofie kigger i køleskabet, men det er næsten tomt. De er begge sultne, og der er ikke noget mad.
- ”Vi kan ringe efter en pizza”, foreslår Sofie.
- ”Det er en god ide”, siger Lars.

Han ringer til et pizzeria og bestiller en stor pizza.

The text is a revised version of text nr. 16 in *Dansk udtale i 49 tekster* (*Danish pronunciation in 49 texts,* Thorborg 2006). I have added the underlined sentences.

Reading text 2nd semester

Lisa er en pige på seks år, der lige er begyndt at gå i skole. Her er fortællingen om en typisk skoledag for Lisa:

Klokken syv om morgenen kommer Lisas mor ind og vækker hende, og så står Lisa op. Lisas forældre drikker kaffe, og Lisa tager et glas juice og en portion havregryn til morgenmad. Klokken halv otte børster Lisa tænder og tager tøj på. Et kvarter senere er hun klar til at gå i skole. Lisa bor ved vandet, og hun cykler sammen med veninden Mathilde langs stranden hele vejen til skolen. De følges altid ad.

Henne i skolen sidder Lisa og Mathilde ved det samme bord. Mathildes bedste fag er matematik, men Lisa kan bedst lide gymnastik. De har gymnastik to gange om ugen, og Lisa synes, det er rigtig sjovt. Klokken tolv spiser alle eleverne frokost mens læreren læser en historie for dem. De rydder op efter deres frokost, og så er de klar til et par timers undervisning mere, før Lisa og Mathilde sammen går over i fritidsordningen. Lisa bliver hentet af sin far klokken fire, og når de kommer hjem, går de en tur med hunden langs med stranden. Klokken seks spiser familien aftensmad, og bagefter hjælper Lisa med at vaske op og gøre rent, inden hun skal i seng.

Reading text 3rd semester

Ude på landet, tæt ved Øresund, bor en gammel bonde. Han har boet og arbejdet på sin egen gård i 50 år. Men nu er han blevet gammel, han har ondt i hænderne og i lænden, så han kan ikke arbejde mere. Bonden er nu pensioneret. Først vidste han ikke, hvad han skulle få tiden til at gå med, men nu har han vænnet sig til at have fri hver dag.

Om morgenen går han en tur ned til sundet og kigger på sandet og vandet. Han går hver dag, også selvom det regner og vinden rigtig blæser. Når det er godt vejr, sætter han sig på bænken med sin pibe i hånden og kigger ud over vandet. Det gør ham altid i godt humør. På vejen hjem igen kan han være heldig at finde et sneglehus eller en flot musling, og så tager
han sneglehuset eller muslingen med hjem for at sætte dem i vindueskarmen.

Efter frokost drikker bonden kaffe, og det hænder, at han også får en kage. Han læser i en bog og tager en lur bagefter. Han synes, det er dejligt at sove til middag.

Om aftenen ser han for det meste fjernsyn, men en gang om ugen spiller han skak med en gammel ven. Nogle gange spiller de hjemme hos bonden, og nogle gange hjemme hos vennen. Bonden kan godt lide at spille skak, men han kan selvfølgelig allerbedst lide at vinde.

Hvis man går forbi gården om aftenen, kan man gennem det åbne vindue høre bonden sige til sig selv: "Det var da en dejlig dag, jeg havde i dag".