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Identity in social context: Plurilingual families in Baden-Wuerttemberg and South Tyrol

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Abstract: Möchte man verstehen, wie Identität im Angesicht von Diversität konstruiert wird, sind mehrsprachige Familien von besonderem Interesse, leben sie doch an der Schnittstelle verschiedener Kulturen und Identitäten. Wir gehen mit Bucholtz und Hall (2005) davon aus, dass Identität demographische Kategorien auf der Makroebene genauso umfasst wie lokale, ethnographisch spezifische kulturelle Positionen und temporäre interaktionale Haltungen und Rollen. Ausgehend von dieser theoretischen Basis werden wir die Identitätskonstruktion mehrsprachiger Familien in zwei unterschiedlichen Regionen untersuchen: dem offiziell einsprachigen deutschen Bundesland Baden-Württemberg und der offiziell dreisprachigen Autonomen Provinz Bozen/Südtirol. Datengrundlage sind semi-strukturierte Interviews mit und Selbstaufnahmen von mehrsprachigen Familien in Baden-Württemberg und Südtirol.

In trying to understand how identity can be constructed in the face of diversity, plurilingual families are a focal point of interest, since they live between different cultures and identities. In our article, we assume along with Bucholtz and Hall (2005) that identity encompasses macro-level demographic categories, local ethnographically specific cultural positions as well as temporary, interactionally specific stances and participant roles. Based on this theoretical assumption, we will describe how plurilingual families construct their identity by comparing two different regions: the officially monolingual German federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg and the officially trilingual Autonomous Province of Bolzano/South Tyrol. The analysis in this article is based on semi-structured interviews with and self-recordings of plurilingual families in Baden-Wuerttemberg and South Tyrol.

Keywords: multilingualism, identity, family language policy, child agency, language ideology

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1 Introduction

On the face of it, the term identity refers to ‘sameness’ (Kluge 2002). However, this simplified concept of identity is problematic on several levels: On the macro-level of nation-states, identity as ‘sameness’ is the backbone of nationalist ideology and relates to issues of social power and dominance between different social groups. On the meso-level of family and friends as well as on the micro-level of the individual, ethnic, religious, gender etc. identities can become the source of (inner) conflict, even more so if people are “living on the interfaces of cultures” (Hermans/Dimaggio 2007: 35), as is the case for plurilingual families, who are at the basis of our considerations on identity, diversity and language.

From a theoretical point of view, identity can be conceptualized from different angles (Fisher/Evans/Forbes/Gayton/Yongcan 2018; see also Block 2013, 2015): From a psychosocial perspective (e.g. Erikson 1968; Leary/Tangney 2003; McAdams/Cox 2010), it is seen as the result of a multidimensional developmental process, including both individual and social-contextual dimensions forming a coherent core identity; from a post-structural perspective (e.g. Foucault 1982; Norton Peirce 1995), identity is believed to be constantly changing and “becoming” (Deleuze/Guattari 2004: 262), yet in a non-linear, even contradictory way, depending on social and relational factors as well as historical and cultural contexts; from a sociocultural perspective (e.g. Vygotsky 1978; Block 2007; Bucholtz/Hall 2003, 2005), identity is viewed as a mediated, relational and situated construction, focussing on how social, historical and cultural contexts shape the individual.

In our article, we share a sociocultural view on identity, based on the general assumption made by Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 592) that identity is a social and cultural, rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon. As such, identity encompasses macro-level demographic categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles, and local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions. For Bucholtz and Hall, identities are in part an outcome of interactional negotiation, in part a construct of others’ perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures. We will use this latter tripartite notion of identity construction as a framework for our own analysis, where we compare interview data from eight plurilingual[1] families living in the officially monolingual region of Baden-Wuerttemberg (Germany) with data from twelve families in the officially trilingual province of South Tyrol (Italy). In doing so, we aim to describe how plurilingual families that are embedded in different socio-political contexts construct their identity in relation to (1) the macro-level frame

[1] In our article, we use the terms plurilingual and plurilingualism in relation to the individual (families), and multilingual and multilingualism in relation to society.

of regional language policy, (2) the meso-level frame of family language policy and (3) the micro-level frame of the individual family member's interaction with others.

Before we enter into the presentation and discussion of our results, we will first lay down the theoretical basis of our article in view of language and identity and situate our contribution within the broader research contexts of family language policy and child agency. We will then present our data in more detail, giving a brief introduction to the projects TALES@Home and Language(s) & Family within which the study was conducted, and specifying how and where our material was collected and analysed. We will also provide a general outline of the socio-political context in Baden-Wuerttemberg and South Tyrol, which is needed to understand the following analysis, where we first evaluate to what extent language policy and identity discourse of language communities on the macro-level serve as a frame to which plurilingual families relate and position themselves. Second, we will focus on the meso-level of language policies in plurilingual families and how they reflect families' ideas about plurilingual identity. And finally, we will focus on the micro-level, i.e. how the individual family member perceives his/her plurilingual identity in interaction. In the last chapter, we will summarize the main results and give an idea of how plurilingual identity in mono- and multilingual contexts is constructed.

2 Language and identity

Language and identity are firmly intertwined: Language not only serves as a shibboleth for group membership and hence social in- or exclusion, it is also the very means by which we construct and legitimize similarity with, or difference from, others. Despite an everyday notion of identity as a fixed bundle of characteristics that permanently adheres to the individual, sociocultural theories of identity (among others Bucholtz/Hall 2005; De Fina/Schiffrin/Bamberg 2006; Kresic 2006) conceive of identity as a dynamic construct that emerges out of the situation. One of the most influential sociological schools in this respect is Mead's (1968) symbolic interactionism, stating that the self only gets its meaning in interaction with others. Goffman (1973, 1986) takes up this idea of identity construction via social interaction assuming that in our interactions with others, we follow certain patterns of behaviour that are reflective of our evaluation of the situation, of our interlocutors and of ourselves. He considers everyday life to be a stage, where the individual incorporates a role that he/she him/herself stages and directs, but that is also highly dependent on the audience's expectations. In this respect, a lack in language proficiency can for example reflect negatively on the individual's performance on stage, i.e. his/her "face" which Goffman (2005: 5) defines as "an image of self, delineated in terms of approved social attributes (…)."

Special significance is given to categories in which the self is included, while others are excluded – which in turn has prompted reflections on the relation between individual identity and group membership (de Fina/Schiffrin/Bamberg 2006). Burke and Stets (2009) distinguish three levels of identity that overlap each other and may take centre stage according to the situation: personal identity, that is the character traits of the individual; role identity, that is the different roles the individual can embody within society; and social identity, that is the social groups the individual feels attached to versus those groups that he/she wants to distance him/herself from. Burke and Stets (2009: 218) define social groups as "set[s] of individuals who share the view that they are members of the same social category." In this context, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) underline the fact that members of a group are not identical, but simply focus on those aspects that make them similar in the specific situations, while downplaying potential differences. Group membership, however, necessarily implies that there are people who do not pertain to the group. In contrast to the in-group, the out-group is constructed in view of differences, possible similarities are neglected.

Taking the characteristics of the in-group as norm and presenting differences of others as diverging from this norm, is in fact at the basis of social hierarchies (Eckert/McConnell-Ginet 1992). Implicit to the nationalist idea of "one language, one people, one nation" is the Romanticist notion of identity as rooted in "heritable cultural forms", especially in language (Bucholtz/Hall 2003: 374). As such, language is not only a symbol, but even a quasi-natural index of ethnic groups' cultural identity (Bucholtz/Hall 2003; Gal/Woolard 1995; Ochs 1993; Silverstein 1976):

> Once the identity of a language and its speakers becomes authenticated through nationalistic rhetoric, the language variety itself comes to index particular ways of being in and belonging to the nation-state. Everyday conversation then becomes the vehicle for authentication practices, as speakers are able to index various ethnic and nationalist stances through language choice. (Bucholtz/Hall 2003: 385)

In this line of thinking, multilingualism can only be a divergence, since cultural identities, just as languages, are essentially seen as separate and not overlapping. Transferring this concept of identity and language onto the macro-level of the state, multilingualism is an obstacle to social cohesion and national integration (Blommaert/Verschueren 1998: 206) – an assumption that still persists for example in regulations that make citizenship dependent on language proficiency in the official national language. Interestingly, similarly static notions of language and identity can be found in academic work on minority and majority languages, as speakers are categorized as "either of a minority culture in a particular context or not" (Smith-Christmas 2019:134; see also Schecter 2015). However, as a number of studies

were able to show (e.g. Li Wei 1994; King 2000), the relation between language and identity is not a simple and clear-cut dichotomy, even less so in increasingly super-diverse societies (Vertovec 2007) with highly mobile speakers living within a network of offline and online relations that are no longer limited to one single place and community – a development that is mirrored by an increased interest of sociolinguistic research in plurilingual transnational families (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2016; Lanza/Li Wei 2016; Obojska/Purkarthofer 2018, Smith-Christmas 2019). In our paper, we aim to contribute to this field of research not only by comparing identity construction of plurilingual families in relation to different social frames, but also by broadening the scope of families under focus by involving different generations and age-groups, autochthonous, allochthonous and mixed autochthonous-allochtonous plurilingual families as well as single-parent families.

The way in which plurilingual families and family members view the relationship between language and identity is, of course, closely connected to the way in which they manage, use and sometimes contest their languages – aspects which will be dealt with in the following chapter on family language policy and child agency.

3 Family language policy and child agency

Family language policy (hereinafter FLP) can be defined "as any efforts to modify language form and use within the family" (Spolsky 1998: 66). Research in FLP, therefore, deals with language use in the family and aims to understand why, how and when language maintenance and shift occur in family settings (King/Fogle/Logan-Terry 2008, see also Obojska/Purkarthofer 2018).

As field of research, FLP has undergone considerable changes since its beginning, first and foremost, in terms of research foci and, to a lesser extent, also in view of the definition of the term itself. In 1913, the French philologist Jules Antoine Ronjat (1913) published the observations he made on his bilingual child in form of diary studies, which include the first scientific description of the method that has become famous as One-Person-One-Language (OPOL). About twenty years later, German linguist Werner F. Leopold (1939) applied the scientific method developed by Ronjat to the bilingual German-English language acquisition of his child. Since then, studies on bilingual families have given way to research on multilingual or transnational families (e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2016; Obojska/Purkarthofer 2018; Van Mensel 2018), stressing "the importance of the constant mobility and the culture ties across and beyond borders" (Obojska/Purkarthofer 2018: 251) and highlighting "the system or relationship that span across two or more nations, including sustained and meaningful flows of people, money, goods, etc." (Sánchez 2007: 493).

In view of earlier research in the field, Curdt-Christiansen (2009) criticizes its mono-directionality, i.e. it being limited to the perspective of the parents, and its focus on "solving language problems", i.e. studying the factors that influence the language acquisition of the child and contribute to successful language learning. Nowadays, FLP is considered to be a more complex and bi-directional process, where language shifts in families are, in part, due to socio-cultural dynamics and ideological systems (King et al. 2008) and where children are seen as active agents and not merely the *locus* of competencies (Garrett 2007). Revis (2019), for example, was able to show that children's agency can have a decisive impact on the FLP.

According to Kuczynski (2003: 9), agency is defined as "considering individuals as actors with the ability to make sense of the environment, initiate change, and make choices". Individual agency can be affected "by the practice structure in space and time", but it can also "change the practice" (Bergroth/Palviainen 2017: 377). The role played by both, children and parents, in FLP is widely acknowledged, insofar as it connects the private sphere, the relations and the existing ties among family members and the public domain – namely how society influences the language choices and the FLP between parents and children (Curdt-Christiansen 2013; Smith-Christmas 2019). In line with this principle, parents and children are actors of the same self-defining process: in relation to their roles in both parent-child interactions and in the wider context of everyday life. Revis (2019: 178) identifies different types of language planning discussed by children within the family: medium request, metalinguistic comments and cultural and linguistic mediation. Nowadays, aspects like success in language learning, the social environment, or feelings of identity are considered to be factors that determine more or less implicit modifications and negotiations of the FLP among family members. Such modifications and negotiations within plurilingual families are of central interest for the present study.

For the purpose of the article, we have adopted the definition proposed by Lanza (2009) of the family as a "sociolinguistic unit", that is as a community of practice. Such practices include, among others, language acquisition and language beliefs. De Houwer (1999) proposes a framework in which parental beliefs and attitudes about language use and children's language learning play a fundamental role in children's language use and attitudes. Although "overly simplistic" (De Houwer 1999; King et al. 2008), insofar as the process of language learning is still seen here as a mono-directional process, this framework gives us an important insight into how the relationship between parental beliefs and child language acquisition works. Moreover, it serves as a "basic model" (King et al. 2008: 912) to delineate those factors characterizing both the attitudes and beliefs in families and the attitudes

children have towards languages, and how these attitudes and beliefs shape the identity of members of multilingual families.

4 Socio-political context and data collection

One of the aims of our paper is to see whether different socio-political contexts influence the way in which plurilingual families construct their identities. In order to answer this question, we collected data from plurilingual families that live in two linguistically different regions: the officially monolingual federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg in Germany and the officially trilingual Autonomous Province of Bolzano/South Tyrol in Italy.

Baden-Wuerttemberg was formed as a political and geographical entity through the merger of three neighbouring historic regions in 1952. To the North and East, Baden-Wuerttemberg borders on the federal states of Rhineland-Palatinate, Hesse and Bavaria, to the West it shares borders with France, and Switzerland to the South. Due to these historical and geographic characteristics, the linguistic profile of Baden-Wuerttemberg has always been heterogeneous and offers a distinctive survey area in the field of regional language varieties (Spiekermann 2008). In general, Baden-Wuerttemberg is characterized by diglossia (Wandruszka 1975) which means that the language of education in Baden-Wuerttemberg is the German standard variety, while the language of everyday life for most people is one of the regional dialects, e.g. Alemannic and Franconian dialects. The use of the regional dialects in almost every sphere of activity is actually such a genuine feature of Baden-Wuerttemberg that it even features in the region's marketing slogan: *Wir können alles. Außer Hochdeutsch* ["We can do everything. Except standard German")] (www.bw-jetzt.de, 05.05.19).

Apart from that, Baden-Wuerttemberg is one of the federal states with the highest number of immigrants, who first started to arrive in the 1950s (www.statistik-bw.de, 05.05.19). According to the German Federal Statistical Office, 3.36 million out of 10.9 million people in Baden-Wuerttemberg have a 'migrant background', meaning that at least one of their parents arrived in Baden-Wuerttemberg from other countries. The most prominent groups among immigrants who do not have German citizenship originate from the territory of the former Yugoslavia (16.3 %), Turkey (15 %), Italy (10.6 %), Poland (4.9 %), Greece (4.7 %) and the territory of the former USSR (4.6 %) (www.statistik-bw.de, 2017). These statistical figures give information about the countries of origin of immigrants, but not about their actual languages – which may paint an even more diverse picture. Notwithstanding this linguistic diversity, the official medium of instruction in Baden-Wuerttemberg is the German standard variety. In some cases, schools offer the possibility to learn

migrant languages as foreign languages, e.g. Italian, Russian and Turkish. Otherwise, courses in immigrant (or heritage) languages are available in private institutions, e.g. language schools or special immigrant community institutions for culture and language.

The linguistic profile of South Tyrol, situated at the gateways of the most important trading routes across the Alps, has never been homogenous (Baur/Mezzalira/Pichler 2008; Franceschini 2011). Similar to Baden-Wuerttemberg, the regional dialect Austro-Bavarian is the language of everyday life for the majority of people in South Tyrol. However, German furthermore coexists with Italian as the language of the nation state and Ladin, a minority language closely related to Friulian and Romansh, as the language of the Dolomite valleys. According to the last census (Astat 2012), around 70 % of the population identify as German native speakers, 25 % indicate Italian as their first language (L1) and less than 5 % speak Ladin as L1. South Tyrol is furthermore characterized by a disparate linguistic situation in which Italian speakers, on the one hand, increase in numbers in the southern parts of the Province, and, on the other hand, concentrate in urban areas, while German speakers (as well as Ladin speakers) dominate in rural areas. In Bolzano, almost 80 % of the population are Italian speakers while in rural areas the population is almost entirely German-speaking with a peak of 100 % in the Martello Valley (Astat 2012). To make this already complex puzzle even more diverse, from the beginning of the 1990s onwards, a slowly increasing number of people coming from other countries have settled in the Autonomous Province of South Tyrol (Wisthaler 2015; Voltmer 2007). The most prominent groups among the new arrivals come from Albania (11.4 %), Germany (9.2 %), Morocco (7.4 %), Pakistan (7.2 %), Romania (6.4 %), Kosovo (5.1 %), North Macedonia (4.7 %), Slovakia (4.7 %), Ukraine (3.4 %) and Austria (3.3 %) (Astat 2017). Similar to the situation in Baden-Wuerttemberg, while the countries of origin are comparatively well documented, much less is known about the number of languages that are spoken by the people who have settled in the region. This general neglect of new forms of multilingualism in South Tyrol, as opposed to the careful and highly politicized consideration of old forms of multilingualism, i.e. German, Italian and Ladin, can also be found in the way schools are dealing with plurilingual children, which is only slowly beginning to change (see e.g. Schwienbacher/Quartapelle/Patscheider 2017).

However, in order to understand how language and identity interrelate, South Tyrol's multilingual situation today has to be considered in view of the region's varying history. Before the First World War, the province was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but in 1919, after the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy, South Tyrol fell to the former Kingdom of Italy. Later, during the fascist Regime (1922–

1943), the mostly German-speaking population suffered a massive and forced Italianization: It was forbidden to use German in public places, German schools were closed and German place names were italianized. At the same time, people from other regions of Italy were encouraged to settle in the region, based on an industrialization process strategically launched and promoted by the regime. After the end of the Second World War, things began to change. However, it took another two decades of civil unrest before what was promised on paper became reality with the Second Autonomy Statute (1972), which provides the legal foundation for the peaceful coexistence of the three major language groups in the current officially trilingual Autonomous Province of South Tyrol. Among other things, the Second Autonomy Statute regulates South Tyrol's education system, which is effectively divided along the three official languages as each language group has its own educational institutions (Meraner 2011; Franceschini 2010; Abel 2007). Yet, nourished by the experience of the past, ever present within the German language community is the fear of language attrition in the face of the dominant language of the nation state (Lanthaler 2007; Naglo 2007; Meraner 2011).

In order to compare both regions, data from two different projects was used: For the officially monolingual federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg (Germany), the data derives from the project Language(s) & Family, carried out in southern Germany (Bavaria and Baden-Wuerttemberg). The main goal of the project is to explore language use in immigrant families from a sociolinguistic and linguistic point of view. The project focuses on the following questions: How many and what languages are used by different family members? What motivations and beliefs do they have? How could one characterize the specific way of speaking between family members? Are there tendencies towards monolingual speech, codeswitching or language mixing in family conversations (Auer 1999)? The data on plurilingual families in South Tyrol was collected within the European project Talking about languages and emotions at home (in short TALES@Home) – a two-year project (2016–2018), which was funded by the European Erasmus+ program and involved seven partners from four countries (Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Lithuania). Similar to Language(s) & Family, TALES@Home[2] aims to study how plurilingual families in Europe manage and use their languages at home, their motivations and beliefs about the languages used within the family, and how attitudes and emotions influence language learning and language maintenance.

In the context of this article, the analysis for Baden-Wuerttemberg is based on semi-structured interviews with eight plurilingual families living in the federal state,

[2] For more information, see www.talesathome.eu.

which were collected between summer 2014 and spring 2016 and conducted in German and/or Russian in line with the families' preferences. The project focused principally on Russian-speaking immigrant families. However, apart from German, Russian and/or a regional dialect as anticipated languages or language varieties, four more languages and different Russian-German dialects were found in the recordings of the families and their family history. Each family member was bilingual or could at least understand both languages. The focus of the interviews was on the parents' perspective, but children (aged 11 to 15) also took part in the interviews. Most of the interviews were captured as handwritten notes as it was the only way parents were willing to speak freely about their families. They were asked to talk about their own language biographies and the linguistic history of their family, the linguistic repertoire and language preferences with different family members, language policy in the family and their beliefs about which language (or languages) their children should master (Busch 2012, 2017; Schwartz/Verschik 2013). The data from Baden-Wuerttemberg furthermore includes recordings of daily routines at home, e.g. cooking and eating dinner, parents playing with their children, doing homework together etc. In view of the privacy and even intimacy of everyday life and in order to reduce the so-called observer paradox (Labov 1972), the recordings were made by the families themselves in the absence of the researcher. The aim was to obtain an inside view and examples of family language practices that were as authentic as possible.

For the officially trilingual Autonomous Province of South Tyrol (Italy), the analysis is based on twelve semi-structured interviews with plurilingual families living in the region. The interviews were held between autumn 2016 and spring 2017 and were conducted in German, Italian and/or English, using the language(s) the respective family favored. During the interviews, families were asked to talk about their family history, their linguistic repertoires, their language skills and frequency of language use in different settings of everyday family life, e.g. at the dinner table, during arguments or in view of bedtime rituals (Gumperz 1964; Gogolin/Neumann, 1991; Busch 2012, 2017). In relation to all of these topics, family language practices were discussed with regard to motivations and attitudes, and at the same time related to feelings and emotions. In order to understand the role of different family members in determining the language policy of the family, the interviews were held with at least one child (age 6 to 14) and one caregiver. The idea was to determine whether language maintenance and language acquisition are strategically planned, how different generations perceive their language use in everyday life, how individual family members rationalize their own language choices as well as those made as a family, and, finally, how they construct their plurilingual identities. In order to cover autochthonous as well as allochthonous forms of multilingualism in South Tyrol, families in the study were consciously chosen based on

their language repertoire. All in all, apart from German, Italian, Ladin and/or South Tyrolean dialect as autochthonous languages in South Tyrol, the families interviewed in South Tyrol spoke fifteen different languages, each family member being at least bilingual, i.e. he/she was able to speak more than one language without necessarily sharing the same native language (Tuominen 1999).

For the purpose of this article, we will focus on the data provided by the semi-structured interviews of both projects, but will also occasionally add excerpts from the self-recordings of families in Baden-Wuerttemberg. GAT2-guidelines for minimal transcripts (Selting/Auer/Barth-Weingarten/Bergmann/Bergmann/Birkner/Couper-Kuhlen/Deppermann/Gilles/Günthner/Hartung/Kern/Mertzlufft/Meyer/Morek/Oberzaucher/Peters/Quasthoff/Schütte/Stukenbrock/Uhmann 2009) were used to transcribe relevant passages within interviews as well as recordings. The semi-structured interviews in South Tyrol were analyzed in two ways: In view of the broader scope of the European project TALES@Home, data was coded along predefined categories in order to allow for quantitative comparisons between the four partner-countries involved in the project, the results of which will be published elsewhere. For the aim of the present study, however, a qualitative approach was adopted to analyze and compare the data from South Tyrol with data from Baden-Wuerttemberg: In a first step, we identified passages in the interviews where families touched upon plurilingual identity; in a second step, we concentrated on whether and how individual family members situated plurilingual identity within the macro-level frame of regional language policy, the meso-level frame of family language policy or the micro-level frame of individual interactions. The results present a multilayered image of plurilingual identity as it was constructed by the plurilingual families, which we will present in more detail in the next sections.

5 Plurilingual identity within the macro-level frame of society

According to Bucholtz and Hall (2003: 372), whenever there are different groups, the more powerful group will be able to constitute itself as “the norm from which all others diverge”. In Baden-Wuerttemberg, despite an increasing number of plurilingual individuals, a monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1997) is retained on the macro-level of the federal state, which means that within this monolingual setting, speaking German like a native equals blending into society, whereas speaking a language other than German sets the individual apart. In example 1 from the handwritten protocol of an interview with a Russian German family that has been living in Germany for three generations, the grandmother (age 50) correlates speaking Russian with being Russian, and being German with speaking German like a native:

Example 1: Family interview from Language(s) & Family FA4, handwritten notes

> Дома [в Германии] у нас всё было по-русски – телевизор, музыка, книги. Мы [мой муж и я] русские и останемся русскими. Наши дети – нет. (…) Мы переехали в Германию из-за наших детей, из-за их будущего. (…) У наших детей идеальный немецкий. Их не отличить от местных.
> ("At home [in Germany] we had everything in Russian – TV, music, books. We [my husband and me] are Russians and will stay Russians. Our children are not. (…) We moved to Germany because of our children, because of their future. (…) Our children speak immaculate German. One cannot distinguish them from the natives.")

In South Tyrol, there is not one, but three powerful linguistic groups: the Italian language group, as the language of the nation state, the German language group, as the majority language of the Autonomous Province, and the Ladin language group in the Dolomite valleys. In view of German as regional majority language, we find in interviews with plurilingual families that being South Tyrolean is, however, not related to speaking standard German – as was the case with the Russian-German family in Baden-Wuerttemberg –, but to speaking the local Austro-Bavarian dialect. In the following excerpt (example 2), a mother explains the dominant use of the German dialect by her bilingual daughter (Hungarian-German) for example by saying:

Example 2: Family interview from TALES@Home F03, 1:22:27 – 1:23:01

> 01 M: und dialekt isch absolut klar für mich dass das für sie äh (.)
> 02 sie isch eine kleine südtirolerin
> ("And dialect is completely clear to me that that is for her äh (.) she is a little South Tyrolean.")

For families living in South Tyrol, being able to speak the local dialect flawlessly is, in fact, seen as the highest level of language proficiency, even above mastering standard German. Within the German language community, speaking dialect, hence, becomes key to integration and to being South Tyrolean, as can also be seen in the following interview (example 3):

Example 3: Family interview from TALES@Home" F12, 0:10:46-0:13:45

> 01 M: ((…)) i think tim ((name changed)) speaks dialect because it
> 02 was his way also to kind of near to his group of friends | and
> 03 because male relationships aren't so intense (--) and maybe are
> 04 not so verbal(--) it maybe is more important that the dialect is
> 05 there because it's more about being mates with somebody | not

06 necessarily saying much but saying it in the language that's
07 common|((…))|because boys are all together and then they are all
08 speaking dialect and if you're speaking Hochdeutsch ((standard
09 German)) you're an outsider |

Language as an indicator of group membership can also be found in how individuals label themselves and others. In the following discussion (example 4) taken again from the interviews in South Tyrol, a German-Italian bilingual father questions his ten-year-old daughter about her identity, which she clearly relates to being born in and thus being a native member of a nation state, whereas the father would rather have her relate her identity to the language she uses:

Example 4: Family interview from TALES@Home F06, 0:45:39 – 0:46:23

01 M: was isch deine identität |
02 D: italienierin |
03 F: italienierin | oba wenn du olm deitsch redscht |
04 D: jo oba i bin in italien aufgwochsn |
05 F: und donn bist du eine italienerin oder |
06 ((…))
07 D: i kim net aus deitschlond drum kon i nit a deitsche sein |

(F: "What is your identity?" D: "An Italian" F: "An Italian? But you are always speaking German!" D: "Yes, but I grew up in Italy." F: "And then you are an Italian or what?" (…) D: "I'm not from Germany, so I cannot be a German!")

How to label oneself in view of identity was a difficult question for all plurilinguals, also for the following mother (example 5) who, as a speaker of Ladin, is a member of one of the three autochthonous language groups in South Tyrol:

Example 5: Family interview from TALES@Home F05, 0:45:39 – 0:46:23

01 F: gibts sowas überhaupt | gibts die verbindung sprache und
02 identität | wer man ist und sprache |
03 M: wahrscheinlich | äh | (--)| ich fühl mich so als wär ich eine
04 ladinische südtirolerin ((not understandable)) a bissl als
05 italienerin fühl ich mich auch ((laughs))

(F: „Is there something like that: Is there a connection between language and identity, who you are and language?" M: probably äh (--) I feel like if I were a Ladin South Tyrolean ((...)) but I also feel a little like an Italian.")

In this case, South Tyrolean as identity label does not suffice, as, by default, it would rather refer to the German speaking majority. Being a member of the minor-

ity language group of Ladin speakers, the label is further specified by using an attributive adjective. Yet, she still misses a part of her identity, as she also feels a little bit Italian – an information she gives in a separate sentence. It seems as if the morphological structure of German does not allow for hybrid identities that do not conceive themselves as pertaining to only one dominant group label.

In line with this idea of group labelling as taking sides, plurilingual families in Baden-Wuerttemberg for different reasons came up with a third option: In some of the families (e.g. FA2 and F10), the participants stated that their elder relatives had experienced discrimination in the Soviet Union, as they were often seen as Germans and even badmouthed as fascists, for example by classmates. However, in Germany, they were considered Russians. These experiences explain the fact that some of the participants label themselves neither as Germans nor as Russians, but as a separate ethnic group of Russian-Germans. In example 6, taken from a conversation in a plurilingual family about handling of administrative formalities, the mother uses the term *русак* [rusák] as a common self-designation of Russian-speaking migrants in Germany:

Example 6: Self-recording from Language(s) & Family FA9, 0:19:23-0:19:31

01 M: ну это уже начинается если русак и немец | dann hast du keine
02 chance | also (-) а если ещё beamte какой-то |
03 F: das war schon immer so (--)|
04 M: hascht_du sowieso schon verloren |
(“M: Well, it already starts if there is a Russian German and a German, then you don’t stand a chance, so, and if it’s even some official F: it has always been like that M: you’ve lost anyway”)

The term *русак* designates a person that has his/her roots in Russian culture, comes from a country of the former Soviet Union and speaks Russian among other languages. The term is mainly used in spoken language and has a mostly neutral, but occasionally slightly negative connotation. In the above excerpt, it is used to demarcate two opposing sides, German and Russian German – with administrative officials being a negatively connoted group that stands even further apart.

Despite its officially trilingual status, South Tyrolean polity, policy and politics is similar to the socio-political context of Baden-Wuerttemberg insofar as it is firmly grounded in the idea of monolingual identity, which – based on the concept of ethnic proportional representation (Peterlini 1997), which regulates the peaceful cohabitation of the different language groups – forces the individual to choose one official language group and, thus, a single language identity. And even though the South Tyrolean educational institutions invest strongly in the development of plurilingual competences of their students, plurilingual families still have to choose

whether they want to send their children to an Italian, German or Ladin-speaking school – a practice which encourages the dominance of the language of the school and, hence, one monolingual identity, as we will see in example 9. Those who transgress these expected norms of linguistic practice, i.e. in case of South Tyrol a single dominant language identity, are marked and can cause mistrust (Buchholtz/Hall 2003), as can be seen in the two following excerpts (examples 7 and 8) taken from the official transcripts of the public debates with which, in 2015, South Tyrol started a political process aimed at amending and modernizing the Second Autonomy Statute:

Example 7: Transcript of the Open Space Debate in Bolzano, March 5, 2016 (Autonomiekonvent 2016)

> In Südtirol tendieren die zweisprachigen Schüler zum Italienischen, der Sprache des Staates. Italienisch ist dominanter. Zweisprachige Schüler würden die Dominanz des Italienischen weiter stärken. ("In South Tyrol, bilingual students tend towards Italian, the language of the state. Italian is more dominant. Bilingual students would strengthen the dominance of Italian even further.")

Example 8: Transcript of the Open Space Debate in Bolzano, March 5, 2016 (Autonomiekonvent 2016)

> Zweisprachige Schulen sind gefährlich für Minderheit im Fremdnationalen Staat. ("Bilingual schools are dangerous for the minority in a foreign nation state.")

As can be seen from the two examples, public opinion about bi- or multilingualism may set limits to the extent to which multilingual agendas can effectively be introduced in education. In contrast to this ideologically tainted view of the sociodemographic consequences of bilingualism, there is this excerpt (example 9) taken from the semi-structured interviews conducted within the project TALES@Home:

Example 9: Family interview from TALES@Home F06, 0:29:58-0:30:56

01 I:	((...)) die präferierte sprache von dir (-)|
02 F:	ist deutsch | ja weil die mama hat auch darauf bestanden|
03	wir sind in südtirol und deutsch ist wichtig in südtirol |
04	weil italienisch (.) lernen sie ja sowieso | und das stimmt
05	dass man (-) äh eher (-) italienisch äh (-) lernt als als
06	nicht muttersprachler | obwohl ich hab das ja als zweite
07	muttersprache | (.) aber (.) sie hat darauf bestanden deutsch
08	deutsche kultur deutsche schule (-) und der vater hat gsagt
09	okey | er wollt jetzt zwar auch dass wir italienische schule
10	besuchen | aber da hat sich die mutter durchsetzen können

°hh | und dann äh ma wenn man äh wenn man mal in die deutsche schule eingeschrieben ist | dann hat man deutsche kollegen | da geht da fängt das das leben an wirklich (.) hauptsächlich deutsch zu sein | weil man verbringt ja den großteil des tages mit (-) an an der schule und | äh | und mit der in der freizeit mit vielen schulkollegen | also | °h von dem her ist es klar |

("I: … your preferred language ... F: is German, yes, because my mom insisted. We are in South Tyrol and German is important in South Tyrol, because Italian they learn anyway and that is true that one rather learns Italian as non-native speaker. But she insisted, German, German culture, German school. And my father said okay. He would have wanted us to go to the Italian school, but my mother was able to prevail. And then when you are inscribed into the German school, then you have German friends and then life really and predominantly becomes German, because you spend most of your time in school and in your spare time with lots of classmates, so, you see, it's clear.")

In example 9, the German/Italian bilingual father relates how his family, more specifically his mother, consciously chose his educational path in favor of German in order to preserve and ensure the future of German as minority language and culture in South Tyrol. What is more, the example also shows the effect of predominantly monolingual schooling, in which Italian is merely taught, but not used by pupils as a true second language. In this way, the macro-level of language policy and public discourse does have an effect on language choice of plurilingual families. This also holds true for the third official minority language of South Tyrol, Ladin, as can be seen in the following excerpt (example 10) taken from an interview with a Ladin speaking family:

Example 10: Family interview from TALES@Home F05, 0:04:50-0:05:36

01 M: vor allem in den siebzigerjahren haben viele ladiner (.) deutsch mit ihren kindern gesprochen | weil das einfach so eine prestigesache war | auch als ich noch in die schule ging | als kleines kind | haben viele deutsch gesprochen das war einfach so (-) angesehener so deutsch sprechen ((…)) und heutzutage redet man schon mehr ladinisch | vielleicht durch die schule (-) es äh °h hm | weil einfach äh (--) weil ladinisch unterrichtsfach ist (--) | dann durch die rai ladinia durch radio gherdëina °h und und äh | auch politiker reden heutzutage viel mehr äh ladinisch als früher |

("Especially in the 70s many Ladin people spoke German with their children because it was simply a prestige thing. Also when I went to school, as little child, many spoke German, it was simply more esteemed. And today, one speaks more Ladin, perhaps because of school, it äh because simply äh because Ladin is subject at school, then because of RAI Ladinia and Radio Gherdëina and and also politicians today speak more Ladin than in the past.")

Yet, how you feel in a society that does not speak your language also depends on the kind of language you speak. Example 11 illustrates how current language ideology influences not only society's stance towards migrants, but also towards society's own kind of multilingualism:

Example 11: Family interview from TALES@Home F05, 0:37:40-0:38:32

01 M: i have so many positive experiences of being english (--) and
02 even without them knowing anything about what | i mean they have
03 an image of what an english but they they | it's all positive | i
04 mean when i think of what of what the perception is | the italian
05 german perception is very negative towards each other no | and
06 i'm so shocked (-) when people are blindly (.) kind of blindly
07 positive about me being english | and they immediately say | oh
08 that's such an advantage to speak english | ok i'm thinking | oh
09 look at you what advantage you have | you've got the possibility
10 to speak (.) german and italian | but they don't see that at all |
11 they just say | english ah but that's the global language or (.)
12 so there's that side | they seem to think that the fact that i
13 know english is somehow greater value than them being able to
14 speak two languages |

In contrast to the official monolingual habitus and in line with the de facto plurilingual society of the province is the following excerpt (example 12), taken from the semi-structured interviews conducted within the project Language(s) & Family, where a trilingual mother (Russian, Ukrainian, German) expresses her and her husband's opinion on what languages are the most important for her children and why:

Example 12: Family interview from Language(s) & Family FA7, handwritten notes

Мы с мужем считаем, что наши дети должны хорошо говорить на трёх языках: немецком, английском и русском. Немецкий, потому что мы живём в Германии. Английский, потому что это язык мира. А русский язык и культура составляют наше культурное наследие, которое мы хо-

тим передать нашим детям. Кроме того, русский является важным языком в международных отношениях между Германией, Россией и другими странами бывшего Советского Союза.
(„My husband and I think that our children should speak three languages properly: German, English and Russian. German because we live in Germany, English because it is the language of the world. And Russian language and culture form our cultural heritage we want to pass on to our children. Besides, Russian is an important language for the international relations between Germany, Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union.")

In this example, we can see how not only the macro-level of the language policy of the country, but also the tendency towards languages that are considered to be powerful and influential on a global scale, such as English and Russian, have an impact on language choice of plurilingual families. Language ideology, i.e. sets of beliefs about language(s) that prevail in public discourse and reflect their historical roles, economic values, political power and social functions (Silverstein 1976; Blommaert 2006; Curdt-Christiansen 2016), can have a strong effect on plurilingual families. In this language ideological frame, Ukrainian as the second language of the trilingual mother has little importance and is not even mentioned.

6 Plurilingual identity within the meso-level frame of FLP

According to King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008), parents largely have clear ideas about which languages should be used with their children and why. In this sense, an Italian-Portuguese family gives an interesting insight about this concept when asked about this topic. The family is defined as balanced bilingual according to Tuominen (1999) – i.e. one parent speaks the non-majority language (Portuguese) as a native and the other speaks it well, having South Tyrolean dialect as L1. In example 13, the mother, when clarifying the language choice made at home, mentions both the necessity not to lose ties with the grandparents or relatives living in the country of origin and thus to protect the integrity of the family (Tannenbaum 2012), and also her and her husband's beliefs about the advantages of multilingualism in general.

Example 13: Family interview from TALES@Home F09, 05:29 - 06:05

01 M: mah per noi era proprio il contrario perché abbiamo sempre |
02 pensato che più lingue sai meglio è (-) ecco |
03 F: è un fatto culturale |
04 M: è anche una ricchezza avere ehm (-)sapere più lingue (-)ehmm (-)|

05 e c'era l'opportunità (-) appunto per loro di imparare portoghese
06 (-)anche perché per comunicarsi con la mia famiglia | (-) quando no
07 (-) andavamo in Brasile | e loro là non sanno italiano e tedesco e
08 quindi (-) | per comunicare (-) usano portoghese |
("M: No, it was the opposite for us. We have always thought that the more languages you know, the better. F: It is a cultural factor also. M: We think speaking more languages is an asset and once there was the opportunity to learn Portuguese also because to communicate with my family in Brazil. There they (my family) speak neither German nor Italian so the only possibility is to learn Portuguese …")

In view of general attitudes towards multilingualism, the answer of an Argentinian mother (also living in South Tyrol) is of particular interest. The mother grew up as Spanish monolingual in Patagonia. In example 14, she explicitly refers to her polyglot father and his attitudes towards languages other than Spanish, thus, trying, on the one hand, to give reasons why she and her brother saw value in speaking more than one language, and, on the other hand, highlighting the need to transmit this positive stance to their children.

Example 14: Family interview from TALES@Home F10, 05:55 – 10:12

01 M: ((…)) in Patagonia si parlano altre lingue non solo lo spagnolo |
02 per esempio *Mapuche* la lingua della gente del posto |((…))| si (-)
03 ehmm (-) non so perché (-) ma (-)nella mia famiglia c'è sempre
04 stato molto rispetto per dialetti (-) forme dialettali | e (-) si
05 (-) ehmm (-) io e mio fratello abbiamo ereditato da nostro padre
06 questa forma di rispetto e curiosità per le lingue |((…))| io e mio
07 marito siamo cresciuti in un ambiente multilingue | e cerchiamo di
08 trasmetterlo ai nostri figli |
("M: In Patagonia languages other than Spanish are spoken, for example Mapuche, the language of the locals (…), yes, I do not know why but in my family there was a lot of respect for dialects dialectal forms and yeah, ehm, and me and my bother inherited from our father this form of respect and curiosity towards languages. Me and my husband, we grew up in a multilingual surrounding and we try to transmit that to our sons.")

In contrast to the above family where a plurilingual mindset is passed on from generation to generation that aims to respect and value plurilingualism as such, other families and partnerships struggle with their FLP. In the following excerpt (example 15), the Hungarian mother relates how the relationship with her German speaking husband influenced the plurilingual practices in the family:

Example 15: Family interview from TALES@Home F05, 0:12:12 – 0:13:28

01 M: Mein exmann| er hat sich |glaub ich| ein bisschen herausgestoßen
02 gefühlt |(--)| und weil er hat immer gesagt | ähm | aber wenn ich
03 nicht da bin dann versteh ich nicht | und dann sag ich | aber was
04 meinst du |ähm| worüber werden wir jetzt da |äh| wir sind keine
05 staatsgeheimnisse | was wir da miteinander sprechen | und wenn
06 wir alle drei sprechen | dann sprechen wir deutsch |(-)| ich
07 spreche mit ihr nur ungarisch | also | wenn ich mit ihr rede |
08 und du bist in andere zimmer | dann werd ich wohl ungarisch reden
09 |((…))| wenn wir uns getrennt haben |(--)| ich sag immer | des is
10 unser jolly gwesen | das ist ganz traurige sache | aber es is von
11 der sprache her °h an jolly | weil ähm | ich glaube unsere
12 umgangssprache wäre ganz also langsam untergangen

("M: My ex-husband, he felt, I think, a little bit forced out, and because he always said ähm: but when I am not there, then I don't understand. And then I said: But what do you think ähm what we are now ah these are no state secrets what we talk about and when we speak all three of us, then we speak German. I speak only Hungarian if I speak to her and you are in a different room, then I, at least, am allowed to speak Hungarian (…) when we separated, I always say, it was our joker. That was a very sad story, but in view of the language it was a joker, because I think our common language would have slowly gone down.")

However, it is not only parents who influence and decide which languages should be spoken by the family members. The following episode (example 15) is meaningful for understanding the significance of the child's language perception. The interviewed family is a balanced bilingual family where the mother has Spanish as L1, while the father is South Tyrolean-Italian, but able to understand Spanish, and the child was, according to the mother, a passive bilingual, stronger in Spanish than in Italian.

Example 15: Family interview from TALES@Home F10, 0:12:06 – 0:12:27

01 M: ((…)) I remember my child (-) ehmm (-) till he was four he only
02 spoke Spanish with me | even outside the house at the supermarket
03 | or when Italian relatives were on visit | he spoke Spanish
04 always |even with his (Italian) father yes | ((…))| (.) well (-)
05 suddenly at the age of 4 we were outside the kindergarten | when
06 he said to me Mum I cannot answer you in Spanish anymore because
07 people don't | understand us and I do not like leave them out
08 of the conversation |

This excerpt may serve to demonstrate two things: On the one hand, Grosjean's (1984) complementary principle, insofar as the multilingual child is sensitive about the use of languages for different purposes in different contexts and the inclusive as well as exclusive role language plays in group formation. It is also indicative of the markedness of plurilingual identity in society. On the other hand, it serves to show the child's agency in shaping the FLP. In fact, entering kindergarten seems to be a turning point in which plurilingual families rethink their FLP, also in Baden-Wuerttemberg, which can be seen in the following example 16, taken from the handwritten protocols:

Example 16: Family interview from Language(s) & Family F10, handwritten notes

> Наш сын слышал дома только русский. В три года он начал ходить в детский сад и говорить дома на немецком. Тогда мой муж предложил нам всем начать говорить только по-немецки. В таком случае мы с мужем научились бы немецкому у нашего сына. Но я была абсолютно против этого [предложения]. В то время у нас еще были очень слабые знания немецкого. Мы не смогли бы все время говорить только на немецком. А наш сын полностью потерял бы свой русский. Мне удалось отстоять свою точку зрения. С тех пор у нас есть правило: дома мы говорим только по-русски. Когда мой сын приходит из школы и говорит по-немецки, я напоминаю ему об этом правиле, и он переходит на русский.
>
> ("Our son heard only Russian at home. At the age of 3 he started to attend a kindergarten and to speak German at home. Then, my husband suggested that all of us should speak German only. In that case my husband and me would learn German from our son. But I was absolutely against that [suggestion]. Our knowledge of German was very weak at that time. We could not speak all the time German only. And our son would completely loose his Russian. I managed to assert myself. Since that we have the rule: At home we speak Russian only. When my son arrives back from school and speaks German, I remind him of this rule. And he switches to Russian.")

Starting kindergarten, the child leaves the meso-level context of the family with its hitherto established FLP and enters the macro-level context of the surrounding society with its language education policy and new meso-level peer groups the child wants/has to fit into. For parents, this can be a moment of fear and possible conflict. If language is conceptualized as one of the key elements for group membership, then the child's opting for the language of society instead of speaking the family languages is perceived as othering, as being out-grouped by one's own child, which is illustrated by the following excerpt from South Tyrol (example 17):

Example 17: Family interview from TALES@Home F12, 0:15:37-0:17:20

01 M: tim ((name changed)) was four years old | he had gone to the nido
02 ((nursery))| and then he went to scuola materna ((primary
03 school)) in lago maggiore | ja (.)| and he just spoke italian
04 with us | so we i would speak in english | paul would speak in
05 german | and he would answer in italian | and it began to kind of
06 worry us a little bit | because we thought | my god | his first
07 language is not going to be either of our first languages | and
08 so when we came here ((Bolzano)) we were very keen for him to go
09 to a german school so that at least his first language would also
10 be one of our first languages ((…)) it ((Italian)) was his
11 language to the point that |((…))|when we came to bolzano |((…))|
12 we had been to germany | and i sat waiting with tim | we had been
13 in germany for | i don't know | three four days and so | and he
14 had been listening only to german and |(.)| we arrived there |and
15 they made an announcement ((in Italian))| saying that the train
16 was arriving | and tim looked at me | and he said |((…))| loro
17 parlano la mia lingua ((they are speaking my language))

All in all, we can see that FLP of plurilingual families in both regions is not only controlled by the parents, but is levelling between the macro-frame provided by society, and the agency and influence of individual family members.

7 Plurilingual identity within the micro-level frame of interaction

In the following passage (example 18), a plurilingual South Tyrolean teenager (S) (German, Italian, Portuguese) – while discussing with his father (F) and the interviewer (I) – provides his impression – confirmed by his sister (D) – on the one hand, about how monolingual communities deal with plurilingual identity, and, on the other hand, how he himself conceives his plurilingual identity.

Example 18: Family interview from TALES@Home F06, 0:43:03 – 0:45:46

01 S: das ist immer umgekehrt| in brasilien bist du ein deutscher |
02 hier bist du ein brasilianer | zwischen den italieniern bist du
03 ein deutscher | zwischen den deutschen bist du eher deutsch |
04 F: was | man sieht eher die verschiedenheit oder |
05 S: wenn ich mit boznern unterwegs bin | bin ich der deutsche | wenn
06 ich mit zum beispiel diesen mit meinen kollegen aus den Tälern|
07 die alle deutsch sind | bin ich der italiener |

08 D: jo hell stimmt
09 I: und für dich selber|
10 S: für mich selber (---) ich weiß es nicht (---) ich bin ja in
11 Österreich geboren | deswegen ist nochmal chaos | aber ich weiß
12 nicht | ich fühl mich so (--) mischmasch
13 D: i a

("S: It is always the other way round: in Brasil, you are a German, here, you are Brasilian, for the Italians you are a German, for the Germans you tend to more German. F: What? They rather see the difference? S: If I'm out with people from Bolzano, I am the German. If I am going out with my friends from the valleys who are German, I am the Italian. D: Yes, that's true. I: And you yourself? S: For myself, I don't know, I am born in Austria, so there is even more chaos. But I don't know. I feel myself … mishmash. D: Me, too.")

Example 18 clearly demonstrates two things (Bucholtz/Hall 2005): that identity is constructed in relation to others and encompasses macro-level demographic categories, temporary roles and stances as well as local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions; and that identity is partly intentional, partly habitual and only hardly conscious, "in part an outcome of interactional negotiation, in part a construct of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures" (Bucholtz/Hall 2005: 585).

As for plurilingual caregivers who migrated to South Tyrol and Baden-Wuerttemberg, both share the experience that, from the point of view of the autochthonous group, they remain 'the other', irrespective of their language proficiency and the rate of integration within the local community. In example 19, a Hungarian woman who had been married to a native South Tyrolean speaks about her feeling that she will always be classified as the Hungarian ex-wife of an in-group member:

Example 19: Family interview from TALES@Home F05, 0:20:08 – 0:21:23

01 M: also ich fühle mich total ungarisch (.) also I bin also meine
02 identität mein äh hm (-) ich halte mich oder ich fühle mich äh
03 eine waschechte ungarin (--) der sehr gut deutsch spricht (.)
04 punkt | ((…)) äh ähm absolut nicht südtirolerin (.)| also hier ist
05 sehr schwierig in in südtiroler ähm (-) äh wie sagt man in
06 gesellschaft einen platz zu kriegen | ((…)) man fühlt sich immer
07 | also | die kinder nicht mehr weil sie sind sie sind hier besser
08 integriert | ich bin auch intergriert weil weil ich habe viele
09 freundinnen und so weiter aber aber (--)| wenn man nicht unter
10 die freunde sind ist dann ist man immer dann bleibt man immer ein
11 ausländer | also ich ich kann noch zwanzig jahre hier leben aber

12 ich werde immer die ungarin sein die mit dem herrn mühlberger
13 ((name changed)) verheiratet war ((…)) ich fühle das so |

("So, I feel completely Hungarian. That is, I am, well my identity, äh hm, I think of myself or I feel like äh a true Hungarian who speaks German very well. Full stop. Absolutely not South Tyrolean. Well, here it is very hard in in South Tyrolean, how do you say, in society to get a place. You always feel, well, not the children anymore because they are better integrated, I am integrated, too, because because I have many friends and so on, but but if you're not among friends, then you are you always remain the foreigner, that means I can stay here even for twenty years longer but I will always be the Hungarian who was married to Mr Mühlberger [name changed]. I feel it that way.")

Plurilingual children, on the other hand, sometimes have trouble maintaining the (heritage) language(s) of the family, which, in the context also of wider family relations, can make them an outsider. If a given community expects its members to speak a certain language, or certain languages, well, lacking in language proficiency, for the individual, can become face-threatening and a source of shame, as can be seen in the following example 20 from the self-recordings of plurilingual families in Baden Wuerttemberg:

Example 20: Self-recording from Language(s) & Family FA3, 0:04:16 – 0:04:35

01 D: solange du keine sprache sprichst | (.)dauernd ja | (--) ge (.)
02 gerät sie in vergessenheit | (.) und das waren ja gerade mal zehn
03 tage |(-) ich rede nie russisch | (---) und (.) dementsprechend
04 kann ich auch kein russisch | (1.0) mama hat gesagt ich schäm |
05 ne (.) mama hat gesagt äh (.) ich bin schüchtern | als ob ich
06 schüchtern war | (.) ich war verlegen weil ich kein wort sagen
07 konnte |

("If you do not speak a language for a longer time, it falls into oblivion. And there were just ten days. I never speak Russian. And thus, I cannot [speak] Russian. Mum said I was ashamed. No, mum said I was shy. As if I was shy... I was embarrassed because I could not say a word.")

What is more, just being plurilingual, i.e. not pertaining to only one language community, is source for othering, not only in monolingual Baden-Wuerttemberg, but also in the officially trilingual province of South Tyrol. In the following, last excerpt (example 21), the father of the teenage boy in example 18 reflects once more on the identity status of plurilinguals in South Tyrol, comparing his autochthonous form of German-Italian bilingualism with the even more complex plurilingualism of his children.

Example 21: Family interview from TALES@Home F06, 0:46:23 – 0:47:43

01 F: ((identity))ist überhaupt nicht einfach |ja| schon als südtiroler
02 |äh| ich war auch so ein kuriosum | woasch | wia | an italiener |
03 wieso redsch donn deitsch | na |°°h | äh | gut jetzt (.) gehts eh
04 | aber als ich klein war | weißt du | da warn die nationalitäten
05 wirklich stark | der franzose sprach französisch | der deutsche
06 redt deutsch | der italiener italienisch | ja aber | und weißt du
07 |wir waren dann immer ein bisschen anders |((…))| und ich glaub
08 |ihnen gehts nochmal anders | weil sie haben nochmal komponenten
09 |weil die mama aus brasilien | wir sind südtiroler |ja| italiener
10 aber mehr deutsch | so | und |°°h ja | ich glaub | das ist nicht
11 mehr so klar definiert | was identität ist |ähhh| heutzutage als
12 noch vor zwanzig jahren als noch vor siebzig jahren |°°h ähh| ja
13 |ob es überhaupt definierbar isch | das ist die frage

("[Identity] is not simple at all, yes, even as a South Tyrolean, ah, I was also such a curiosity, you know. How come, you, an Italian, why are you then speaking German? Well, ah, now, it's better, but when I was young, you know, nationalities were really strong: the French spoke French, the German speaks German, the Italian Italian, yes but, and you know, we were always a bit different […] and I think, they face a different situation again, because they have still other components, because the mother from Brasil, we are South Tyroleans, yes, Italians but more German, so, and, yes, I think that it is no longer so clearly defined what identity is, ah, today compared to twenty years ago compared to seventy years ago, ah, yes, whether it can be defined at all, that is the question.")

Interestingly, even though he distances himself from prior times, when being French meant speaking French, being German speaking German and so on, he himself uses a macro-level frame concept of identity based on native country and nationality when out-grouping his wife from Brasil from the we-group of the rest of the family.

8 Conclusion

In our paper, we tried to relate language and identity, first, to the macro-level of regional language and education policy, second, to the meso-level of family language policy, and, last, to the micro-level of the individual and his/her interaction with others. The interviews with plurilingual families in both regions showed families navigating between preserving old and acquiring new linguistic identities, between appreciating plurilingualism in general and showing a general concern for

becoming an out-group member. It became clear that language does not so much concern identity, but rather concerns "identification as an ongoing social and political process" (Bucholtz/Hall 2003: 376) in view of self and other. Monolinguals tend to conceptualize plurilinguals as 'the other', which might explain why plurilinguals often seem reluctant to reveal their plurilingual identity, as it may be used as a grounds for othering. It remains to be seen whether the concept of national homogeneity and monolingual identity can be successfully contested and replaced by a concept of identity as being multilingual and multicultural, so that plurilinguals no longer have to take sides.

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