

**AUTHENTICATING “NON-NATIVE SPEAKER TEACHER” PROFESSIONAL
IDENTITY IN FRENCH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (FSL) EDUCATION**

by

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative multiple case study considered language teacher identity and what it means to “be authentic” as a teacher of French. It investigated the identity construction of 87 French as a second language (FSL) teachers from British Columbia who participated in a two-week professional development sojourn to France in 2009. The study examined how participants described their experiences abroad in relation to their teaching practices in Canada, and how these accounts made evident particular understandings of cultural and linguistic authenticity. The analysis focused on the way participants’ narratives served to authenticate (Bucholtz, 2003) L2 teacher identity and how conceptions of authentic language and L2 learning and teaching represented both constraining and productive ways of “being” a certain kind of FSL teacher.

Broadly situated within a practice theory framework, FSL teacher identity was first considered through a wide-scale analysis of data from the larger cohort of BC teachers, followed by a micro-analytic examination of individual processes of identification “performed” by seven focal participants. The analyses highlighted the extent to which the “FSL teacher” category, grounded in a “native speaker” ideology, ultimately informed the identity constructions of each individual teacher. The various identity positionings manifested by focal participants shed light on a complex of language ideologies relevant in discourses operating within the FSL profession in Canada with implications for what it means to be practicing as “non-native speaker teacher” in this context.

Given current empirical emphasis on the sociolinguistic and cultural aspects of language learning and teaching (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Lafford, 2007), the present study answers a recent call in applied linguistics for a more rigorous analysis of identity which moves away from the idea of identity as a simple collection of essentialist categories (Dervin & Kramsch, 2011). It

does so by foregrounding a discursive-constructionist orientation and attending to the interactional nature of identity construction, along with a thoroughgoing consideration of researcher reflexivity. The study makes significant contributions to applied linguistics research in the areas of study abroad, L2 teacher development and identity, and the workings of prevalent ideologies informing L2 language teaching and research.

PREFACE

This study has undergone an ethical review process which was approved on June 23, 2009 by the University of British Columbia Behavioural Research Ethics Board. The Human Ethics Certificate # H09-00776 for “FSL Teachers in France” expired April 24, 2013.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACTFL	American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
AH	At home context of language learning (versus study abroad)
AL	Additional Languages
BCTF	British Columbia Teachers' Federation
CAVILAM	Centre d'Approches Vivantes des Langues et des Médias
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CLT	Communicative language teaching
CF	Core French
DELFB	Diplôme d'études en langue française
DP	Discursive psychology
EFL	English as a foreign language
FI	French immersion
FSL	French as a second language
IF	Intensive French
MC	membership category
MCA	membership categorization analysis
PA	Positioning analysis
PD	Professional development
SA	Study abroad
SLA	Second language acquisition
TESL	Teaching English as second Language
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“It is important to underscore the ways in which identities are fabrications – that is, both invented and constructed – because doing so is a necessary step in accounting for the centrality of representation in the constitution of the real.”

(Ganguly, 1992, p. 30)

« Si une bonne fée me proposait de changer en moi ce que je n'aimais pas, je changerais mon niveau de français orale et écrite. Je crois que je pouvais engager plus avec les autres professeurs de l'immersion et m'engagerais plus dans leur blague. »¹

Purpose of the study

This study is about second language teacher identity and what it means to “be authentic” as a teacher of French. It is about the identities second language teachers fashion and rely on in their day-to-day professional lives as they negotiate “conflicting cultural representations of and desires for what a teacher is and does” (Britzman, 1994, p. 55). The communities of practice that language teachers participate in and the activities in which they engage afford teachers a range of resources with which to construct particular identities. These identities are situated in larger historical, political, social, and cultural discourses that teachers can draw on to negotiate a sense of belonging and the extent to which they see themselves and are seen by others as experts within their communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The construction of identity is a social endeavour. It operates at the level of interaction between people (Norton & Early, 2011) and is negotiated in relations with others in temporally and spatially situated contexts. The primary question this study addresses is how second language (L2) teachers shape and perform

¹ *(If a good fairy allowed me to change what I do not like about myself, I would change my level of oral and written French. I think I could then engage more with the other immersion teachers and participate more in their jokes.)* This excerpt represents an answer to a class activity provided by one of the teacher participants of this study who was enrolled in the “Perfectionnement linguistique” program at the *Centre d’Approches Vivantes des Langues et des Médias* in Vichy, France.

their professional identities by drawing on the discourses that “operate in and through individuals to structure experiences, interactions, social relations, daily practices, and ways of being in the world” (Miller Marsh, 2001, p. 9).

This study investigated the identity construction of French as a second language (FSL)² teachers from British Columbia (BC) who participated in an 87-member cohort on a two-week professional development sojourn in Vichy, France. The study examined how these participants, both L1 and L2 speakers of French, described their experiences abroad and in relation to their teaching practices in Canada, and how these descriptions made evident particular understandings of cultural and linguistic authenticity that ultimately worked to *authenticate* (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) teachers’ professional identities in their own eyes and in the eyes of others. Examining “authenticity in performance” (Coupland, 2003, p. 428) in this way takes into account how teachers’ conceptions of authentic language, and authentic language learning and teaching, constitute both constraining and productive ways of “being” a certain kind of FSL teacher. The study first examined FSL teacher identity through a wide-scale analysis of the FSL teacher category design based on data from the larger, 87-member cohort of BC teachers. This was followed by a microanalysis of individual processes of identification “performed” by seven focal teacher participants that highlighted how the ideological grounding of the category “FSL teacher” shaped the distinct identity display of each individual teacher. Overall, the various identity positionings manifested by the focal participants shed light on a complex network of language ideologies relevant in discourses that operate within the FSL profession in Canada, and

² In this study, the acronym “FSL” is always used with reference to all three French language programs: core French, French immersion, and intensive French. In BC, teachers of French frequently use the “FSL” descriptor with reference to only core French or *français de base* as a way of distinguishing basic French programming from French immersion. This use has now also found its way into the research literature (e.g. Karsenti, Collin, Villeneuve, Dumouchel, & Roy, 2008; MacFarlane, 2005; Mady, 2008).

which have significant implications for what it means to be practicing as an L2 speaking teacher in this context.

Background & research questions

The basis and starting point for the present study was a provincially organized, federally funded teacher development project as part of renewed efforts to provide FSL teachers in British Columbia with professional development opportunities. This increased emphasis on effective professional development is the result of a continuing demand for French language education in BC, currently delivered through long-established FSL programs such as French immersion and core French as well as the more recent intensive French program (Carr, 2007a; Netten & Germain, 2005). A significant obstacle in meeting the demand for FSL education is the limited access to formal French language development for in-service FSL teachers, especially in Western non-francophone areas of Canada such as BC (Bournot-Trites, 2008b; Lapkin, MacFarlane, & Vandergrift, 2006; MacFarlane & Hart, 2002). Although student inter-provincial exchange programs are well established across the country and promoted through high school and post-secondary programs, many former FSL students entering the French language classroom as teachers themselves will never have experienced a French-language-dominant environment or have had extended contact with francophones (Carr, 2007b). At the same time, newer delivery models such as intensive French (Salvatori, 2009) or the implementation of alternate, potentially more effective models of existing French programs (CASLT, 2008) must be accommodated in teacher education programs. While specialized teacher education programs for FSL teachers offered by the provinces' research universities are expanding to address the absence of formal FSL teacher training (Carr, 2010; CMEC, 2011), current pedagogical changes

in curricula for the teaching of additional languages based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) are also impacting FSL programs in Canada. The adoption of CEFR competence levels and descriptors as a means of boosting official bilingualism across Canada (Council of Ministers of Education, 2010; Vandergrift, 2006) has created a further demand for the training and certification in both teaching and assessment.

In an effort to address the need for increased professional development, the British Columbia Teacher Federation (BCTF) initiated, organized and coordinated a study abroad program with the financial support of the BC Ministry of Education. As a result, in July 2009, 87 FSL teachers from BC participated in a two-week sojourn to Vichy, France, at the *Centre d'Approches Vivantes des Langues et des Médias* (CAVILAM), a centre for French language studies and pedagogy. The objectives of the program included an introduction to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, comprehensive training in the DELF exam (*Diplôme d'études en langue française*), and development of linguistic and cultural knowledge and French L2 methodology. Teachers with a francophone background or an expert level of French were encouraged to apply for the full two-week DELF certification, while teaching workshops and language classes were available for those wishing to improve their teaching strategies and use of French. The present study specifically investigated teacher participants' narratives about their experiences in Vichy and how these related to their professional environment in Canada.

Research questions

To situate the teachers' short-term professional development sojourn within the overall study and in relation to my research questions I drew on Agar (1994) and Hornberger's (2006)

use of the concept, “rich point.” Agar used the term “rich points” to refer to instances of language learning in which one is faced with an especially “problematic bit of language,” the meaning of which is almost impossible to grasp due to the many uses of the term in question (Agar, 1994, p. 100). Hornberger has employed the concept of “methodological rich points” to describe the “tensions between the practice of research and the changing scientific and social world in which researchers work” (2006, p. 221). Drawing on both of these definitions, I have conceptualized the sojourn as a “rich point” for reflection and inquiry. In view of their experiences in France, the sojourn offered teacher participants an occasion to reflect on and challenge prior or new knowledge, beliefs, and self-perceptions about what it means to learn and teach French as a second language. This process generated and/or foregrounded certain tensions for the teacher participants, while also signaling possible transformation.

Given the widespread assumption that a francophone setting (such as France) constitutes the definitive context for authentic French language learning (Bayliss & Vignola, 2007; Salvatori & MacFarlane, 2009), the sojourn offered an important occasion for examining the notion of authenticity as it relates to L2 learning and teacher identity. Authenticity is a central criterion in communicative approaches to L2 teaching (van Lier, 1996; Widdowson, 1998) and fundamental to conceptions of legitimate language use in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) and L2 education, both in terms of pedagogy and instructional strategies (Badger & MacDonald, 2010; Shrum & Glisan, 2009) and as ideology (Heller, 1996; Train, 2007a). Prevailing conceptions of “authentic language” in association with language learning and teaching are founded on the “native speaker” ideal with teachers’ language expertise representing a decisive criterion of FSL teacher identity (Salvatori, 2007). Nonetheless, discursive-constructionist perspectives of identity in linguistic anthropology (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010) and sociolinguistic

approaches to language diversity and language use in today's globalized world (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011) provide dynamic spaces for alternative conceptions of authenticity and a potential re-articulation of what it means to be an “authentic” and therefore legitimate teacher of French. Thus, attending to *the ways in which the sojourn contributes to or contests FSL teachers' notions of cultural and linguistic authenticity* has the potential to highlight the place and workings of these conceptions in the construction of FSL teacher identity.

The inquiry represented in the following chapters was therefore guided by the following three research questions:

- 1) How are experiences and knowledge from abroad represented by the teacher participants as *authentic resources* for constructing an identity as FSL teacher?
- 2) How do the participants use conceptions of authenticity to construct their identities as FSL teachers in terms of professional development abroad and within their local professional contexts?
- 3) Based on findings for questions 1) and 2) above,
 - a) how does authenticity figure in prevailing ideologies about language learning and teaching in FSL education, and
 - b) how do these ideologies relate to tensions around FSL teacher identity for the participants of this study?

Important here is that the term “authentic resources” in the first research question not be interpreted in terms of L2 teaching, that is, as designating an instructional artifact or product (i.e. a specific type of knowledge, or instructional method, or teaching tool). Rather, as elaborated in Chapter 3, the notion of authenticity as it is used here is taken from linguistic anthropology and refers to a discursive process of authentication which sees individuals making claims to a “real”

or “authorized” self as French speakers as they describe their experiences, their interactions with others, and the world around them (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In this sense, “authentic resource” can be understood as a discursive strategy or means of authenticating an identity as FSL teacher.

The impetus for conducting this research derives from my own experiences as learner of three additional languages, English, French, and Spanish, and later as teacher of French and German, as well as my more recent involvement in French language teacher education as instructor and researcher. During the course of my teaching, I have taken the position of “non-native speaker” teacher with respect to French, my third language, and have assumed a “native speaker” position with regard to German, my first though no longer dominant language. As a teacher of German my “native speakerness” has been questioned due to my lack of an “authentic” German accent when speaking English. As novice French instructor I have been known to cart around a dictionary, and more recently appreciate having my class presentation slides “authenticated” (Bucholtz, 2003) by my francophone university students. The professional identities that I have negotiated in these different contexts serve as a background to navigating this research process collaboratively with my research participants, both in terms of data generation as well as analysis and representation.

Significance of study

This study makes significant contributions to applied linguistics research in the areas of study abroad, L2 teacher identity research, as well as with regard to the workings of prevalent ideologies informing in L2 language teaching and research.

Study abroad (SA) research to date comprises a broad range of inquiry into language learning abroad (Freed, 1998; Kinginger, 2005, 2009), yet very little literature has specifically

focused on L2 teachers studying abroad. Currently emerging SA research relevant to the present study considers the relationship between language, culture, and identity as documented in sojourners' reported experiences (e.g., Jackson, 2008; Polanyi, 1995) and the manner in which participants negotiate their positions in social interaction with others (e.g., Wilkinson, 2002). This study contributes to this area of inquiry with a focus on the conceptions of authenticity that shape L2 teacher identity constructions, specifically as these are made relevant in teachers' descriptions about their experiences on professional development abroad. Furthermore, within the field of SA research, prior research findings, such as learner variation, diverse learning outcomes (Dewey, 2004; Diaz-Campos, 2004; Freed, Segalowitz & Dewey, 2004) and the complex nature of the sojourn context itself (Kinging, 2008) have led to a more critical stance vis-à-vis the presumed linguistic and cultural benefits of study abroad. The present study takes up this critical orientation by examining the impact of the sojourn not as a learning outcome, but rather in terms of how participants' descriptions about their experiences serve as discursive resources in a complex process of teacher identity formation. Participants' narratives in questionnaire, journals, interview, and email accounts bring to light focal participants' continuous negotiation of their own language learning experiences as so-called "non-native speaker teachers" of French, making relevant the various positionings (Bamberg, 1997, 2004a) that are taken up in accounting for a particular FSL teacher identity in view of developing language expertise. Accordingly, the study offers significant insights not only about research on L2 teacher professional development abroad, but in terms of L2 teacher development more generally, particularly in light of L2 teacher education being conceived as a process of identity building.

Language teacher identity has become a prominent field of research in applied linguistics (Block, 2006; Norton, 2010) over the last few decades, as part of the “social turn” in second language acquisition (SLA) (Block, 2003; K. E. Johnson, 2006) and a theoretical shift foregrounding sociolinguistic and cultural aspects of language learning and teaching (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Zuengler & Miller, 2006). Emphasis on the social and contextual aspects of learning and teaching an additional language has led applied linguists to investigate productions and representations of culture (e.g., Talmy, 2008), relations of power (e.g., Kubota, 2004; Norton & Toohey, 2004), and agency (e.g., Kramsch, A'Ness, & Lam, 2000; Miller, 2012), studies in which the concept of identity is foregrounded as a means of addressing student engagement and learning, classroom interaction, or a reconceptualization of culture in SLA (Pennycook, 2001). Additionally, poststructuralist theories (e.g., Weedon, 1987) have focused on the concept of subjectivity, placing identity at the center of inquiry into the construction of meanings “that position and regulate how social life is narrated and lived” (Britzman, 1994, p. 56). Within this theoretical domain, the present study answers a recent call in applied linguistics for a more rigorous analysis of identity which moves away from a “soft-constructivist” perspective and the idea of identity as a simple collection of essentialist categories (Dervin & Kramsch, 2011). It does so by foregrounding a discursive-constructionist orientation with an emphasis on the interactional nature of identity construction, along with a thoroughgoing consideration of researcher reflexivity.

An important contribution of this study is its focus on the intersection of language and culture, the ideologies associated with these two concepts and the way they relate to the ideological orientations of L2 teacher identity construction. In considering interactionally constructed professional teacher identities in view of prevailing language ideologies, this study

addresses several areas of qualitative inquiry which remain currently underrepresented in research on second language (SL) teaching (Heller, 2007; Kinginger, 2009; Kroskrity, 2004; K. Richards, 2009). In North America, current research has attended to various issues involving language ideologies, with a specific focus on French as minority, heritage, official, or foreign language. Most recently this research has considered learners of French on study abroad (e.g., Kinginger, 2004), the use of French in a school environment or workplace (e.g., Heller, 1999c, 2002), multilingual student teachers learning French (e.g., Byrd Clark, 2008), and the status of the language itself and its pedagogic implications (e.g., Train, 2000, 2007a). However, little research has investigated the impact of the ideological orientations pertaining to language learning and teaching that operate in the day-to-day lives of practicing FSL teachers. Also relevant for this study is the manner in which French as Canada's "other" official language is taken up in the educational domain, particularly in Western Canada, and the underpinning socio-cultural and historical context of French within an English-dominant region such as British Columbia (Wernicke & Bournot-Trites, 2011). Discourses around learning, teaching, and speaking French make relevant particular ideologies of bilingualism and multiculturalism, standardization and language variation, as well as provincial and federal language policy and notions of national identity, all of which position learners, teachers, and speakers in a variety of ways. Within this discursively constructed context of FSL programming, different versions of professional identity are produced which teachers choose to take up, resist, or rearticulate in various ways. In turn, the manner in which this identity construction occurs (that is, the types of identities which are constructed by teachers in questionnaires, journals, interviews, and emails) foregrounds prevailing conceptions of authentic language learning and teaching constituted in larger social discourses. Although the highlighted ideologies about French as a second language

pertain first and foremost to Western Canada, insights resulting from this study are relevant for other language learning contexts as well as teachers of other additional languages, including English.

Structure of dissertation

The dissertation consists of seven chapters. The present introductory chapter is followed by a review of the literature in Chapter 2 and the theoretical framing of the study in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 sets out the methodology of the study, including descriptions of both research phases, in France and in BC, as well as my approach to data analysis in general terms. Chapter 5 represents the first discourse-analytic component of the study, a large-scale membership categorization analysis of post-questionnaire data generated by the entire cohort of BC teacher participants. This analysis centers on the production of the category of “FSL teacher” based on participants’ interpretation of what it means to be a “French language teacher” on professional development abroad. This large-scale analysis addresses the first research question by considering the “what” with regard to authenticity and thus provides the starting point for the subsequent analyses of each of the seven focal participants. The seven case-analyses are represented in Chapter 6 and address the last two research questions about how the construct of authenticity is employed by focal participants in their construction of an FSL teacher identity. The initial cases involve identity constructions that foreground language expertise as the most prominent element of the identification process while the final cases highlight participants’ direct engagement with conceptions of authenticity. Chapter 7 offers final conclusions and implications of the study.

CHAPTER 2: STUDY ABROAD & L2 TEACHER IDENTITY

[T]here are still advantages today for the teacher who is a native speaker of the target language. Whether there are advantages for the language learner is another question.

(Bailey, 2006, p. 294)

Introduction

As noted earlier, the impetus for this inquiry was a professional development sojourn to France involving a cohort of FSL teachers from British Columbia, Canada, who are for the most part L2 learners of French themselves. The research topic of L2 teacher identity construction situates this inquiry in the field of L2 teacher education, in connection with the following related areas of research: L2 teachers studying abroad, L2 teacher identity with a focus on the so-called “non-native speaker teacher” (NNST), French in Canada in terms of francophone identity, and L2 teacher professional development.

I begin this review by considering research from Europe and North America about L2 teachers who have studied abroad. This overview serves to highlight both the scant amount and narrow range of SA research with L2 teachers to date. The BC sojourn to France is most closely affiliated with professional development projects originating in the United States, while the studies documenting these projects constitute primarily program evaluations with emphasis on positive outcomes. My own study is distinct from these studies in that it: a) critically examined notions of authenticity within both the study abroad and at home contexts related to language, setting, speakers, and artifacts; b) focused specifically on the identity construction of the teacher participants; and c) adopted a discourse-based approach to the data in terms of its production, analysis, and representation. Consequently, in contrast to previously conducted research in this area, my study not only offers new findings but insights into findings from existing studies.

Current conceptions of professional development place teacher identity at the center of professional learning. For this reason, an investigation of teacher identity offers a key entry point to understanding the Vichy sojourn as a much-valued professional development opportunity for the BC teachers. In my review of L2 teacher identity, I begin with the “native speaker” concept as a way of relating research about “non-native speaker teachers” to conceptions of authenticity commonly found in the literature on L2 teacher education. As a result, this review of the literature allows me to situate the present study not just in SA research, but in the extensive research about “non-native speaker teachers,” specifically alongside studies that question or challenge conceptual foundations of “native speaker” ideology, in terms of language ownership and “authentic” language use. Furthermore, this discussion makes relevant an assumption about commonly encountered expressions of confidence in the research literature related to L2 expertise – an assumption which represents a key analytic device in my consideration of the data in Chapter 5. I conclude my review of L2 teacher identity with a look at “native speaker” identity in a Canadian French-speaking context by elaborating on the various historical discourses that have shaped the “francophone” identity category in Canada. This discussion addresses the French-speaker identity in terms of the historical-political context of the French language as a distinct Canadian variety. As a final note, I come back to the subject area of L2 professional development, which as noted earlier, forms the frame for the three areas of research reviewed here. In this sense L2 professional development is implicated in this study primarily as a topic, particularly in terms of this study’s implications for L2 language teacher education. While the study’s key concepts of authenticity and identity are certainly relevant in the literature reviewed here, my own conception of these constructs from a discursive-constructionist perspective is presented in Chapter 3.

L2 teachers studying abroad

As indicated above, research investigating L2 teacher professional development abroad has received relatively little attention thus far (Ehrenreich, 2008; Kinginger, C., personal communication, October 14, 2008), especially as compared to the extensive amount of study abroad research involving second language learners abroad (Freed, 1998; Kinginger, 2005). Already a century ago, study abroad for teachers was seen as an integral part of language teacher education (Rossmann, 1896) and over the decades it has continued to be hailed as an opportunity for L2 teachers “to refresh and perfect their language proficiency and to intensify and update their cultural knowledge” (Allen, 2010, p. 93; see also, Carroll, 1967; Kalivoda, 1977; Phillips, 1991). Over this time, study abroad has evolved from being seen as an educational endeavour associated with the European “Grand Tour” to representing a significant element in today’s globalized world where transnational linguistic and cultural experiences are viewed “as a functionally worthwhile, professionally valid, and academically strong model of education” (Gore, 2005, p. 106). Today we see study abroad as a feature of internationalization, particularly in higher education (Kubota, 2009), in connection with intercultural development (Byram, 2008; A. D. Cohen, Paige, Shively, Emert, & Hoff, 2005; Deardorff, 2004) and cosmopolitanism (Besnier, 2004; Guilherme, 2007). For L2 teachers specifically, language and culture experienced on study abroad remains a salient topic in L2 teacher education, both in terms of preparation (Schulz, 2000; Tedick, 2009) and on-going professional development (Swanson, 2012). As Salvatori (2007) observed in his study with “non-native speaker teachers” of FSL in Canada:

Participants eschewed the traditional after-hours workshop as a model of professional development that would assist them to improve their French language proficiency.

Almost every one of the participants indicated that an immersion experience for teachers in which they could focus on using French in an authentic language context would be the most effective means of further developing their language proficiency. Time spent in an authentic target language milieu remains the most popular strategy for the improvement of language proficiency. (Salvatori, 2007, pp. 127-128)

As is evident here, study abroad is seen as providing the ideal language learning setting alongside notions of authentic language and the idea of the “native speaker” as defining the ultimate goal of L2 learning (Frye & Garza, 1992; see also Rissel, 1995). As outlined in the most recent review of the literature (Kinging, 2009), current research in SA research is moving beyond a strict focus on only language by considering the study abroad setting and the individual participants in relation to what is being learned, as well as the historical and ideological contexts of SA research. In line with developments in applied linguistics, early SA research centered on improvements in L2 proficiency, fluency, and specific second language skills such as listening comprehension, reading, and writing. Later this focus extended to studies examining particular aspects of communicative, discourse, and sociolinguistic competence, including research exploring the impact of study abroad activities and communicative settings on students’ language learning. The presently emerging critical orientation is shifting from a view of study abroad as simply another variable in language learning to a focus on the complexity of the SA setting itself (e.g., DuFon & Churchill, 2006; Jackson, 2008), interpreted as a “complex, dialogic interaction of the natural and social backdrop and the subjectivities of the players” (Kinging, 2011, p. 626). This is especially relevant in the most recent SA research which considers the intersecting dynamic of language, culture, and identity as documented by students in regards to their interactions with others while abroad. It is this area of SA research with which the present study

is most closely affiliated, given its focus on participants' study abroad experiences in terms of the kinds of identity positions negotiated across various social contexts and with reliance on participants' own sociocultural resources.

As noted earlier, SA research specifically about L2 instructors who are “non-native speakers” of the language they teach remains scant. The dozen or so studies that have been conducted in the past two decades generally involve either institutionally designed/organized SA cohort program initiatives or post-secondary state-funded exchange programs that address individual learning abroad. The latter of these, post-secondary state-funded exchange programs, are prevalent in the European context where a major impetus for study abroad is currently provided by the CEFR, the Council of Europe's growing conceptual framework for language learning, teaching, and assessment. In embracing concepts such as interculturalism, plurilingualism, and mobility, the framework represents a key component of an emerging “European identity” (Little, 2002) in which study abroad is increasingly recognized as an integral element of vocational training and general education (Ehrenreich, Woodman, & Perrefort, 2008). One of the largest student exchange organizations, the Socrates/Erasmus *Programme*, promotes university student mobility in higher education across 36 countries (www.esn.org) and is likely the largest source of current SA research in Europe (Coleman, 2008). This European identity in some respects constitutes an emerging language ideology (Maurer, 2011), a particular understanding about language in Europe which features plurilingualism and multiculturalism as “European” values representative of a “new” openness towards linguistic/cultural diversity on that continent (Blommaert & Verschueren, 2002). At the same time, such a discourse is seen to function within an ideological setting that continues to uphold the “ideal political order of one

nation, speaking one language, ruled by one state, within one bounded territory” (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 63).

In the European context, SA research about adult sojourners has focused almost exclusively on teaching assistants teaching their first language (L1) in another European country for a year. Typically, these studies have involved participants in post-secondary programs who go on their “year abroad” to experience the language and culture of the host country, yet without specific career goals related to language teaching (e.g., Müller-Hartmann & Schocker-von Dithfurth, 2008; Murphy-Lejeune, 2002). For example, Byram & Alred (1992) conducted an interview study of 30 British and French students on a year-abroad in France and England, then followed up a decade and a half later with a retroactive interview study involving 15 of the former students to examine the impact of their experiences abroad on later career choices (Alred & Byram, 2006). The findings of the initial study focused on culture learning and language use in social interactions with an emphasis on mediating intercultural encounters. The follow-up study paid particular attention to how this intercultural learning affected participants’ experiences in later life, and the overall impact of the year abroad on participants’ decision to enter into the teaching profession or not. A retrospective study (Ehrenreich, 2004) modelled on the Byram and Alred studies and involving 22 EFL student teachers offered similar findings: significant variation among the participants and a noticeable shift in interest from language learning to an engagement in social networks and intercultural negotiations. In sum, these studies have tended to concentrate on issues specifically related to this geographical context – European experiences of professional and social mobility and the benefits of intercultural and plurilingual learning for (potential) L2 teachers.

The present study is therefore more suitably located in the North American context alongside studies investigating experienced L2 teachers on study abroad. In Canada, one documented L2 teacher SA initiative involved a research project connecting Canada and Europe in a collaborative international exchange program with a focus on interdisciplinarity and intercultural learning³ (Bournot-Trites, 2008a; Thomas, Verrier, Beauchamp, & Holgado, 2007). The study was conducted over a two-year period in the early 2000s with 24 teacher education candidates from three European⁴ and three Canadian universities⁵. Participants from Canada, including two Spanish teachers and three French teachers, spent four months in Spain and France respectively, teaching in the host country's national language. Analysis of the questionnaires completed by students and administrators generally presented positive outcomes of the sojourn experience. Student teachers reported improved language performance, greater knowledge of European school systems and pedagogical approaches, an increased awareness of language use in different cultural contexts, and a heightened sense of what it means to be a language teacher in Canada (see Barkhuisen and Feryok, 2006, for similar study of pre-service English teachers from Hong Kong on study abroad in New Zealand). Another Canadian study (Plews, Breckenridge, & Cambre, 2010) investigated the experiences of two in-service English teachers from Mexico who participated in a professional sojourn in Western Canada as Spanish language assistants at two different universities and public schools. This study focused on the challenges of accommodating the multiple aims of international sojourns, which in this case included teaching engagements,

³ This program, known as the Wide Interdisciplinary System in Education or WISE, emphasized student mobility and teacher development and formed part of the Student Mobility Project (SMP) of the Canada-European Community Program for Co-operation in Higher Education.

⁴ IUFM Champagne-Ardenne, France; Uni Rovira i Virgili Tarragone, Spain; and St. Martin's College/Lancaster University, UK

⁵ University of British Columbia; Bishop's University; and Université de Sherbrooke

cultural immersion, language development, professional homestay, and organized interactions with language education professionals. Of particular interest here in relation to my own study is that the researchers found a “conspicuous” lack of attention to L2 language development in participants’ narratives, attributing this to an oversight in the program organized for these two teachers. Although a tension between learning and teaching roles is mentioned in connection with participants’ status as in-service teachers, the theme-focused narrative analysis in this study precludes further insights into the issue.

Studies involving experienced teachers studying abroad, and therefore most resembling the BC sojourn to Vichy, include a number of short-term, largely one-off cohort-based programs organized for L2 teachers in the US. Most of these studies constitute or include program evaluations focused largely on French and Spanish teachers’ SA experiences (e.g., Bacon, 1995; Thompson, 2002; Walker de Félix & Cavazos Peña, 1992). Unlike the European studies reviewed above, these US studies comprise a much stronger emphasis on language development and typically include quantitative pre- and post-assessments of participants’ language proficiency as well as qualitative journal/survey data (e.g., Barfield, 1994; Rissel, 1995). Qualitative data are typically analyzed for prevalent themes which are then variously summarized by the authors as findings and presented with a substantial selection of what appear to be randomly chosen data extracts, which offer little context as to participants’ responses and therefore little understanding of the studies’ potential implications for future research. These findings tend to highlight first-hand cultural experiences with “native” French speakers and the acquisition of authentic artifacts as teaching resources, both of which are viewed as resulting in a new “understanding of what it is to be *Français*” and make L2 learning in the home context “more real” (Allen, 2010, pp. 99-

100). Language development is discussed in relation to increased confidence and presented in terms of “improved language skills” and opportunities to “practice” the language.

One of the earliest of these studies involved a Florida Department of Education program for French and Spanish language teachers conducted between 1990 and 1993 (Badía, 1994). The duration of the sojourns ranged from two to four weeks, with program sites located in Quebec and France or in Costa Rica and Spain. The sojourns involved fieldwork as well as classroom time, with quantitative and qualitative analysis of questionnaires, journals, and interviews, as well as external evaluations reportedly showing “dramatic” gains in language proficiency, cultural knowledge, and teaching strategies. Badía’s enthusiastic conclusion about the success of this study abroad program asserts “renewed confidence and a strong sense of professionalism” among the teachers (p. 134). A later study (Allen, 2010) offers a similar discussion of research findings from 30 American French language teachers at a summer institute in Lyon, France, based on a slightly more extensive research focus. In addition to language expertise and cultural knowledge, Allen’s study examined the impact of study abroad on teachers’ curricular choices and instructional practices, as well as the potential for further professional development. An interesting observation made by Allen concerning the sojourn’s reported impact on teacher participants’ language expertise pertains to the surprisingly small number of participants who mentioned increased language proficiency in their self-reports. The content analytic approach taken in Allen’ study provided no further insight into why so few participants addressed language expertise or language learning, unfortunate because L2 development ranks among the most anticipated benefits of study abroad for L2 teachers, as discussed above. In my own study, I have theorized participants’ responses not as reported reflections, but as discourse, an analytic perspective which allows for a unique examination of language expertise (see Chapter 5).

Although the research in studies such as Badía and Allen, among others, differed slightly given the differences in program content, the value of going abroad for L2 teachers is almost always emphasized, often with authors glossing the projects' successes as an expected outcome study abroad as, for example, in the following:

Within days of their return to Texas the teachers were made aware of their greater proficiency in Spanish. Their families and friends noticed the fluency, the wider vocabulary, and the greater self-confidence they exhibited. The project, therefore, was successful in meeting the established goals. (Walker de Félix & Cavazos Peña, 1992, p. 748)

Given that in many of these studies the authors were sojourn participants themselves or even organizers of the project, "success stories" like the one above must be read as coming from stakeholders with a considerable interest in the benefits of such an initiative. Here again, the discursive-constructionist (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) approach I take in the present study, which allows for an interpretation of the data as collaboratively produced between research participants and researcher, has the potential to problematize such findings in view of current critical approaches in SA research.

A final point of concern comes from Biron's (1998) autobiographic case study, in which the author documents her own learning experiences as a post-secondary L2 Spanish teacher in a Mexican study abroad exchange program. The study is relevant to my own in that the sojourn abroad represented a definitive learning experience rather than merely an authentic setting for language development. Biron's experiences, which focused entirely on cultural knowledge, were considered in the study in terms of self-directed teacher learning (Bailey et al., 1996; Moran, 1996) and thus constituted a clear example of continued learning/development for L2 teachers –

an issue which is not a straightforward matter when it comes to the linguistic development of L2 teachers, as discussed below.

In sum, findings of the above-cited US studies generally included unproblematic glossing of improved language skills and the direct linking of language expertise with enhanced teaching abilities. Both the conception of the programs as well as participants' reports display an orientation to "authentic" language and resources in terms of host families, educators, and residents and artifacts of the so-called "target" community. This is also evident in participants' explicit and implied references to approximating "native" or "native-like" speakers as L2 learners. At the same time, the authors pay little attention to teacher participants' negative experiences or the potential challenges of having to reconcile various kinds of learning activities in terms of linguistic and sociocultural phenomena from a position as teaching professional. In this regard, my own analysis of the data provides a very different insight of the expected positive outcomes of study abroad.

L2 teacher identity

The sojourn to Vichy unquestionably constituted a much sought after form of professional development for the teacher participants from British Columbia. It was a learning process that formed an integral part of the sojourners' ongoing development and professional practices as L2 teachers. In present day terms, L2 teacher education no longer only comprises the acquisition of knowledge and skills training to be applied in the classroom – rather, the context of teaching itself constitutes a process of learning that views professional development in terms of a career trajectory (Freeman, 2009). At the centre of this process of professional learning lies L2 teacher identity (Singh & J.C. Richards, 2006) – the way in which teachers see themselves

and “how they enact their profession in their settings” (Varghese, 2006, p. 213). Theories of cultural production (Levinson & Holland, 1996), language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) and the concept of situated learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 1990) have led to a reconceptualization of L2 teacher education which places identity formation at the center of the learning process. Teacher identity is thus understood more broadly as an “evolving form of” and not simply as a “condition for” membership in a professional community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 53). In other words, teacher identity is seen as negotiated in relationships with others in a particular context, and as indexing how one sees others and how one is seen by others in the shared experiences of those negotiated interactions (K. A. Johnson, 2003, p. 788) (see also Clarke, 2008; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005).

In response to Firth and Wagner’s (1997) call for a greater orientation to social interaction and situated language use in theorizations of language learning (see also Lafford, 2007), an increasing preoccupation with sociocultural and political dimensions in L2 education (e.g., Block, 2003; Kramsch, 1993, 2002; Lantolf, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Young, 2009), and L2 teaching (e.g., K.E. Johnson, 2009a; K. Richards, 2009) have foregrounded identity as a topic of research (e.g., Norton, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995), particularly in critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001; see also Block, 2007; Kubota & Lin, 2009; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Varghese et al., 2005). Language learning as a social endeavour contrasts with traditional cognition-based conceptions of learning as autonomous internalization of linguistic knowledge, one which sees “learner” as the only identity of relevance (Gass, 1998; Ortega, 2012; Zuengler & Miller, 2006). Alternatively, understanding language learning as “located in activity” (K. E. Johnson, 2009b, p. 25) constructs language learners as active users of the language who are in the process of being socialized into the practices of a

particular sociocultural setting, a view which takes into account the many other potentially relevant social identities of those learning to speak an additional language (e.g., Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007). Such a perspective of language learning and learners also means that L2 teachers must now focus on the processes that enable L2 learners to use certain resources to make meaning in order to successfully participate and interact with others in particular contexts. These reconceptualizations of L2 teacher education, language learning and learner/teacher identity over the past few decades fall within the larger context of the “linguistic turn” (Martín Rojo, 2001), with an increasing focus on discourse and the ways in which language is used in the construction of representations of the self. The present study brings these reconceptualizations together by taking a discursive-constructionist approach to investigate L2 teacher identity.

In the following section I review the research literature relating specifically to L2 teacher identity, with an emphasis on teachers who teach their L2, given that three quarters of the BC teachers who participated in the Vichy sojourn were L2 speakers of French. The notion of the “native speaker” construct therefore figures prominently as a frame for this discussion. Although the present study is concerned with the identities of already practicing L2 teachers, teaching as “practice” (Britzman, 2003) means that identity constitutes an ongoing process of signification and identification (Dervin, 2011). Accordingly, research pertaining to both apprenticing and experienced teachers is reviewed in the following sections.

The “native speaker”

One of the most prominently discussed identities in the research literature about language teaching is the construct of the so-called “non-native speaker teacher” (NNST). This is not surprising given that the majority of L2 teachers teach a language they themselves have learned

as an additional language. Ostensibly derived from the “native speaker” (NS) category, the NNST has received much attention in SLA and L2 teacher education over the past two decades (e.g., Braine, 1999; Johnston, 1999; Tang, 1997). Current studies investigating the realities of NNSTs represent a well-established area of research, with prominence given to English language teaching (e.g., Braine, 2010; Kamhi-Stein, 2004; Llurda, 2005; Moussu & Llurda, 2008). More than anything, the continuing growth of this scholarship points to persistent language ideologies about the value of the “native speaker” in L2 learning (e.g., Gass, Mackey, & Pica, 1998) and teaching (Moussu & Llurda, 2008), despite the highly disputed use of the “NS” construct and the view that it merely points to the reproduction of unequal power relations (Menard-Warwick, 2005).

“Native speakerness” typically refers to the usage of a “standard” language variety associated with a homogenous group of monolingual speakers representative of educated, middle-class mainstream society (Widdowson, 1994). Commonly associated with Chomsky’s (1965) notion of the ideal speaker-hearer and associated with Western notions of schooling (Rajagopalan, 2005; Train, 2007a), the “native speaker” norm became the accepted standard in cognitivist-based SLA (Bhatt, 2002) in conjunction with the expansion of communicative language teaching (CLT) and a growing emphasis on oral competence and sociolinguistic knowledge (Kramsch, 1997; Mahboob, 2010b; Phillipson, 1992b). Early orientations in SLA to acculturationist and assimilationist models of L2 learning posited “optimal models” (Ricento, 2005, p. 898) of identification as a measure of learners’ ability (or failure) to achieve “nativelike” fluency. Despite the enthusiastic proclamation twenty years ago that “[t]he native speaker is dead!” (Paikeday, 1985) and ongoing efforts in applied linguistics to challenge this construct (e.g., Bhatt, 2002; Braine, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999; Kachru, 1992; Mahboob, 2010b;

Phillipson, 1992b), the notion of an idealised standard persists in conceptions of language competence and use, whether as a birthright (Rampton, 1990), a theoretical convenience (Chomsky, 1965; Cook, 1999; A. Davies, 1991; Halliday, 1985), or as a standard of lexical and grammatical accuracy (Kramersch, 1986). With regard to English specifically, the “NS/NNS” opposition has been used to categorize its many varieties around the world in terms of an Inner/Outer Circle dichotomy (Kachru, 1985, 1997). The Inner Circle comprises “mother tongue” (i.e., “native speaker”) varieties of English such as are found in Britain, North America, and Australia. Outer Circle groups together “non-native” English varieties that function as “sublanguages” in institutional contexts and have to some extent become “nativized” alongside other languages, typically in countries previously colonized by the British (e.g., India) (1986, p. 19). English as a foreign language is associated with a third area, the “Expanding Circle.”

Among the various critiques contesting the validity of the “native speaker” construct, many point to the concept as representing “a political rather than a linguistic label” (Murphy-O'Dwyer, 1996, p. 21), with the “notion of native and non-native speakers...interwoven with issues of race and ethnicity” (Pennycook, 1999, p. 333). Similarly, specifically in terms of identity, the notion of “native speakerness” is considered to represent not a linguistic construct but a (self-)ascribed, socially constructed identity (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001) “based on cultural assumptions of who conforms to the preconceived notion of a NS” (1999, p. 416). The ability to ascribe the “NS” category (to oneself or others) depends on one’s (self-)perceived proximity to the “NS” standard at a given time, and for this reason is not seen as “a generalizable phenomenon” (Inbar-Lourie, 2005, p. 279), but a relational one; perceived “native speaker” identity is said to be “the product of the interaction between the judge and the person being judged and the relevant knowledge that both parties bring to the joint encounter” (p. 279). This

constructionist understanding of the “native speaker” highlights the situatedness and relational character of such an identification, and is therefore particularly relevant for examining a categorization of “non-native speaker” from a discourse perspective. For the L2 teachers in the present study, the “native speaker” category is closely associated with language expertise and, by extension, teachers’ legitimacy as FSL language professionals (see also Medgyes, 1994; Reves & Medgyes, 1994). Examining accounts of confidence in terms of language expertise therefore has the potential to provide significant insights into L2 teacher identity construction as it relates to conceptions of authenticity associated with the “native speaker” construct.

Another common means of challenging the NS construct is to move beyond the “NS/NNS” and Inner/Outer Circle dichotomies by proposing alternative conceptualizations, such as the notion of language “ownership,” for example (A. Davies, 2003). Higgins (2003), following Norton (1997), views “taking ownership” as offering speakers a sense of legitimacy as rightful, authoritative users of the language, with access to “the material and symbolic resources associated with knowing the language” (p. 617; see also Kramsch, 1996, 1997). Again others have rejected the “NS” concept outright, offering a historically-based definition of the construct related to linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992b) and colonialism (Pennycook, 1998). Similarly, Nayar (1994) has characterized the “native/non-native speaker” dichotomy as a mythical notion and offered a list of linguistic and non-linguistic features to critically dismiss the “native speaker” construct. Meanwhile Train (2007a) has pointed out that the notion of “ideal” language competence not only implicates language itself, but involves a context of standardization in which standardized language associated with the “native speaker” concept defines “what counts as ‘a’ or ‘the’ language, and profoundly shapes the discursive practices

surrounding that constructed idea of language and speakers in a given sociocultural context” (p. 244).

The “native speaker teacher” and “non-native speaker teacher”

In L2 teacher education research many scholars have sought to justify the “native speaker” construct by emphasizing the advantages of either side of the “native/non-native speaker” dichotomy (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Medgyes, 1992, 1994). Others have downplayed the distinction between the two groups or simply focused on valued qualities of “non-native speaker” teachers. Davies, for example, outlines various “native speaker” characteristics based on linguistic, psycholinguistic, and socio-linguistic perspectives to challenge the “exclusivity” of this idealized standard for teachers, arguing that the “skills and knowledge possessed by the native speaker are ...attainable by non-native speakers” (2003, p. 8). Alternatively, a considerable amount of research continues to focus specifically on the advantages of the NNST (e.g., Mahboob, 2010b). Many researchers, for example, report that L2 teachers’ own language-learning experiences form an integral element of their teaching practices (e.g., Braine, 2010; Moussu & Llorca, 2008; Tatar & Yildiz, 2010) by providing “a privileged understanding of the problems and weaknesses of their students” (Tang, 1997, p. 578). Such experiences appear to be particularly valued when it comes to boosting teachers’ confidence levels as a way to counter shortcomings of language expertise, both (self)-perceived (Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Seidlhofer, 1999) and as expressed by administrators and students (Moussu, 2006). Alternatively, instead of an emphasis on the NST/NNST dichotomy, other scholars have advocated for bridging the divide, calling for collaboration between “native” and “non-native”

L2 teachers as a way to benefit from the strengths of each type of teacher in a holistic manner (Matsuda & Matsuda, 2001).

When the “native speaker” concept is considered in terms of “correct usage,” notions of linguistic authenticity and professional legitimacy/authority are foregrounded. According to Widdowson (1994), the concept of authentic language privileges “native speaker teachers” as the only ones with access to “the proper language for learning” (p. 387). While many researchers would agree that “native speaker” status is not indicative of “good” teaching (e.g., Pasternak & Bailey, 2004), expert language use is commonly viewed as resulting in effective L2 teaching. Furthermore, notions of authenticity associated with a “native speaker” standard highlight the assumption that language development depends on access to “authentic” language, speakers, and immersive settings. Carr’s study with Canadian generalist FSL teachers who teach French in addition to other school subjects demonstrated that those with very little oral French expertise tended to focus on songs and poetry as the “most authentic forms of language use” in order to negotiate increased confidence in their teaching of FSL (Carr, 1999, p. 173). Similarly, Salvatori has suggested that interacting “with native and expert speakers in authentic target language situations” affords a means of “instilling confidence in the NNS teacher,” based on his study with Canadian “NNS” FSL teacher (2007, pp. 170-171). Such conceptions of authenticity directly associated with a “native speaker” standard were prominently represented by the participants in my own study.

À propos language expertise

Notions of authenticity in association with the “native speaker” construct underpin the view that language expertise is “of concern to most language teachers” (Murdoch, 1994, p. 254)

– a prevalent issue in L2 teaching research, particularly for “non-native speaker teachers” for whom language development is portrayed as an essential component of L2 teacher training and development (e.g., Barnes, 2002; Bayliss & Vignola, 2007; Berry, 1990; Hiver, 2013; Kamhi-Stein, 1999; Lange, 1990; Lavender, 2002; McDonald & Kasule, 2005; Veilleux & Bournot-Trites, 2005). Particularly in the Outer/Expanding Circle, language development has been characterized as “the bedrock of ...professional confidence” for “non-native speaker teachers” of English (Murdoch, 1994, p. 254). Interestingly, this attention to improving L2 teachers’ language skills has been frequently articulated in the research literature with reference to “classroom language” (e.g., R. K. Johnson, 1990), in a sense, establishing two “versions” of language learning – one for L2 learners and one for L2 teachers (i.e., former L2 learners). An emphasis on language expertise in terms of “classroom language” is presented as a response to the increased demand for “natural” or “authentic” language in the CLT classroom (Cullen, 1994), as a means of improving L2 teachers’ ability to engage in “realistic and spontaneous classroom interaction” (2002, p. 220). Addressing L2 teachers’ “language proficiency” in terms of specifically “classroom language” constructs this form of language development as a purely professional endeavour. Such a move could be interpreted as possibly signaling a sense of trepidation around the notion of language learning as an acceptable element of L2 teachers’ professional identity – a central issue in the present study as elaborated in Chapter 5.

While some researchers explicitly acknowledge that L2 teachers are “language learners as well as...language teachers” (Broogden & Page, 2008, p. 126), other studies investigating L2 teacher language proficiency with regard to confidence point to a tension when it comes to reconciling L2 learning with L2 teaching. For example, Bayliss and Vignola’s study about French language proficiency levels among FSL teacher candidates in Canada report participants’

asserting “adequate L2 skills for their profession” with only “certain aspects” needing improvement (2007, p. 386). The authors attributed their participants’ display of confidence to successfully passing the French language admission test. However, one might also interpret this show of confidence as an effective means of constructing an identity as competent FSL teacher-to-be. With regard to transitioning from L2 learner to L2 teacher, the authors described participants’ level of confidence as “precarious, ” noting that, although participants were “willing to accept criticism of their language skills” from associate teachers, they were “not entirely comfortable with it” (p. 387). In this case we might interpret criticism of teachers’ language expertise as a direct challenge to the FSL candidates’ projected identity as FSL teachers. A similar situation was, in fact, observed by Salvatori (2007) in his study examining Canadian “non-native” FSL teacher’s self-perceived linguistic identity, only in this case in terms of teachers’ maintenance of French language proficiency and its effects on their teaching practices. To establish FSL teachers’ self-perceived level of French, Salvatori asked his participants to “identify their degree of confidence” when undertaking a number of teacher-related activities and interacting with other students and colleagues in French (p. 93). According to Salvatori, the teacher participants reported feelings of insecurity when perceiving to be judged by more proficient speakers, with the judging itself “often construed as a questioning of the credibility of the NNS teacher's status as an FSL teacher” (p. 152). Interestingly, the language expertise/confidence connection typically associated with L2 learners is presented by Salvatori as conflicting with participants’ sense of legitimacy as teachers of French, even as they were negotiating their ongoing L2 development in that language.

Of significant interest in this regard is a study by Johnson (K. A. Johnson, 2001; see also Varghese et al., 2005) which investigates the L2 teacher identity of a “non-native” English

language teacher candidate enrolled in a M.A. TESOL program in the United States. Drawing on social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974) the study focused specifically on the tension that was generated as the candidate's attempted to reconcile her "conflicting" L2 learner/teacher identities. According to the author, the candidate's concerns with language expertise was "troublesome" for the mentor-teacher overseeing the teaching practicum – the mentor was able to accept the emerging ESL teacher identity but struggled with the candidate's "concurrent self-identification as ESL student" (p. 26). The idea that language knowledge should not be an issue for the L2 teacher is similarly implied in the candidate's own observation: "I'm an ESL teacher, I should know, shouldn't I?" Conclusions drawn from this study attribute the candidate's "nervousness" to the typically marginalized position of the "non-native speaker" status in L2 education. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, the tension manifested by the teacher candidate in Johnson's study is also evident in the responses of my own participants. While I, too, examine L2 learning and teaching in terms of "native speaker" ideologies, the focus in my study is on the discursive construction of L2 teacher identity from a participant-relevant perspective – not as an externally ascribed social category but as an interactionally constructed identity category that makes evident various "native speaker" ideologies at play.

Challenging the "native speaker"

Ultimately, then, the NS construct serves to position "non-native speaker teachers" specifically in relation to "native speaker teachers," that is, in the subordinate category of "defective communicator," at the expense of all other social identities (Firth & Wagner, 1997; J. K. Hall, 1995). At the same time, there is evidence in the research literature that apprenticing L2 teachers find ways of resisting or challenging "native speaker" ideologies as a means of

legitimizing a position as “authentic” L2 teacher. This is also evident in studies using narrative inquiry as a form of action research to generate critical language awareness among “non-native speaker teachers” in order to address issues of L2 teaching in relation to “NNSTs” as a disempowered, marginalized subgroup (e.g., Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Chacón, 2009; Rajagopalan, 2005), often with a focus on racial identities (e.g., Amin, 1997). A key consideration in these studies is the notion of resistance as a means of countering “native speaker” ideologies by creating awareness among participants that such ideologies entrench L2 teacher identity in a restricted conception of legitimate language. At the same time, alternative conceptions of language use and L2 teaching offer participants a space in which to move beyond or directly challenge the constraints of “native speaker” discourses.

One example is Pavlenko's (2003) study of L2 speaking English teachers which demonstrated the effects of a “non-native” categorization on teacher identity and on the professional choices available for L2 teachers. The study illustrated how labels such as “non-native speaker” (or “L2 learner”) function as potential gatekeepers that can restrict a language user’s membership into a particular “imagined” community of practice (Norton, 2000). In Pavlenko’s study, most of the apprenticing and experienced teachers who used English as an additional language were unable to identify as members of the imagined community of English speaker teachers, given the discursive constraints of an identity categorization based on the “native/non-native” dichotomy. A new awareness of differing understandings of L2 speaker incorporating conceptions of bilingualism and multicompetence allowed participants to take up alternative identities to “non-native” speaker. Positioning themselves within a re-imagined community of multilingual, multicompetent speakers allowed these teacher participants to see themselves and be seen as competent future English language teachers instead of as “failed”

“non-native” speakers. Golombek and Jordan (2005) present a similar study in which two L2 English student teachers in a Masters TESOL program challenge native-speaker discourses with a focus on multicompetence. Meanwhile Faez (2007), who investigated self-perceived linguistic identities of English language teacher candidates in Canada, offers a series of identity category labels as alternatives to the simplistic NST/NNST dichotomy (*English dominant, L1 dominant, bilingual, second generation English speaker, English variety speaker*, and so on). In the present study, one of my focal participants makes evident a similar process in the form of “authentication” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), also as a means of reconceptualizing and/or subverting standardizing language ideologies.

With respect to methodology, as with the SA research reviewed earlier in the chapter, most of the studies addressing L2 teacher identity involve some form of content analysis (coding of patterns, Grounded Theory, category comparisons), in some cases without direct mention of how the data were analysed. While teacher identity has been examined as discursively constructed in terms of larger discourses and ideologies (e.g., Britzman, 1994) and as produced in interaction (e.g., G. C. Johnson, 2006), only one other study offers a discourse perspective on specifically L2 teacher identity construction – the pragmatic occasioning of “native speakerhood as an idealized abstraction” (Nao, 2011). As alluded to throughout this review of the literature, my decision to also focus on discourse as the basis for identity construction provides significant new insights about L2 teacher identity, particularly with regard to both the persistence and pervasiveness of “the native speaker fallacy” (Mahboob, 2010b) in L2 education.

Particularly significant for the present study is that the research investigating L2 teacher identity, specifically “non-native speaker teacher” identity, makes relevant a taken-for-granted association between language expertise and confidence. In most studies, language expertise is

commonly expressed in terms of increased confidence and, in the process, often becomes directly associated (at times even conflated with) teaching expertise. In other words, “being confident” about one’s language expertise is equated with “being confident” as L2 teacher. In much of this research, then, confidence functions as a “natural” indicator of language expertise – even if not explicitly addressed as such. Only seldom is the relationship between the two directly considered as, for example, in the following:

...what really counts when it comes to assessing a teacher's self-confidence is not necessarily their actual, publicly attestable knowledge of the language, but rather the way they perceive themselves and rate their own fluency. (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 290; see also Berry, 1990)

In some cases this relationship is presented with confidence not merely reflecting language competence but “potentially impacting [L2 teachers’] self-perceived level of proficiency” (Faez, 2007, p. 96; see also Salvatori, 2007). A more detailed discussion of confidence vis-à-vis language expertise follows in Chapter 5 as analytical framing for the analysis represented there.

“Francophone”

In this section I address the concept of “francophone” identity, not only as a “native speaker” construct but also with regard to its historical and sociopolitical construction in an officially bilingual context. In studies conducted in Canada, L2 teacher identity has been addressed in terms of a national/multicultural identity (Byrd Clark, 2008) and with reference to a francophone identity (Brogden, 2009), yet without specific elaboration of FSL teacher identity. As seen from the above discussion of L2 teacher identity, the “native speaker” concept also figures prominently in FSL teacher research undertaken in Canada. In French the term “native

speaker” is commonly translated as “locuteur natif,” but can to some extent be equated with the label “francophone” with reference to someone who is a “native speaker” of French. At the same time, given the complex political history of French in Canada, the label “francophone” carries an additional load of historically constituted meanings within the Canadian context. These meanings are tied into ethnocultural and national understandings of French Canadian identity as well as language ideologies of linguistic isolationism/purism (Bucholtz, 2003), both of which are evident in the data generated for this study. In this section, I therefore offer a discussion of French in Canada⁶ as well as in relation to the French spoken in France (European French) in order to provide a frame for the analytic work in subsequent chapters.

Inside Quebec

In Canada, French has always been a fundamental source of identity for French Canadians as descendants of 17th and 18th century French settlers of New France – initially as an ethnic collectivity of colonials and later as a means of mobilizing a shift to territorial nationalism in its more recent history (Heller, 1999b, 2011). Canadian francophones have relied on their language as a means of ensuring cultural and linguistic survival in an English-dominant environment. Language ideologies of linguistic purism have been crucial in orchestrating this protectionism, not only against the anglicization of the French language but also against cultural and social assimilation, as a way of resisting the political and economic control of the English-speaking majority. Historically, then, social relations between the two groups were built along linguistic lines (McRoberts, 1997), with ethno-national labels such as “francophone” and “anglophone” functioning as social categories that served to construct hierarchical class relations

⁶ I refer to French in Canada or Canadian French not as a single variety but as comprising the many varieties of Quebecois French and those spoken in other parts of Canada, historically and today.

between the English-speaking elite and the marginalized francophone minority (Heller, 2011). In the 20th century, monolingualism played an important role in nationalist discourse within Quebec society, ultimately leading to greater political power for francophone Quebecers and the elevation of French to a language of equal socioeconomic power (Fraser, 2006; Hayday, 2005; Heller, 1999b). In the early part this century, francophone mobilization efforts promoted monolingual use of French as the moral social order of French Canadian society, meaning that “to be francophone was to seek to live in a monolingual world” (Heller, 2011, p. 61).⁷ Since the 1970s, provincial language policy in Quebec and the creation of the *Office de la langue française* have served as an important strategy in maintaining francophone political and socioeconomic control in that province, ensuring use of French in not only the public but also the private sector. Heller has described Canadian francophone identity as laying the groundwork for a modernist discourse, one in which language is seen as a central means of nation-building. According to this discourse, the only way francophones can successfully participate in the modern world as equals is “if they can fall back on institutions that are monolingual and belong to them” (2001, p. 384). As noted by Heller, conceptions of francophone identity in present day Quebec are certainly “consistent with modern liberal democracies” in that they “foreground language as a means to build participation in the nation-state, on the grounds that anyone can learn a language” (Heller, 2011, p. 71). The sense of inclusiveness expressed here stands in obvious contrast to earlier understandings of French Canadian identity based on ethnicity and religion, and yet the notion of authenticity associated with “francophoness” clearly points to implicit exclusionary practices of ethno-national differentiation (Haque, 2012). For Heller this authenticity is evident in the commodification of French Canadian language and culture in a globalized market. In my own

⁷ For example, the *Ordre de Jacques Cartier*, a Catholic-affiliated male-only secret society of educated francophones in Central and Eastern Canada active from 1926 until 1965 promoting a strong French Canadian identity and supporting the political mobilization of francophones in Canada (Heller, 2011)

study, I examine notions of “authentic” Frenchness (Coffey, 2010) as highlighted in participants’ identity constructions through a process of authentication (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) in which Canadian French both converges and is contrasted with the French from France.

Interwoven with the notion of French as central to francophone identity in Canada is a century-old preoccupation with the quality of Canadian or Quebecois French vis-à-vis the French spoken in France. The ongoing “revalorisation” of Canadian French – its enhancement in terms of prestige – manifests itself in the efforts of Quebec’s *Office de la langue française* to promote extensive and correct usage of both spoken and written Quebecois French (Levine, 2010). These efforts are a response to a past which saw the French spoken in Canada constructed as an outdated, “bastardized” language (Lappin, 1982). Pejorative attitudes towards Canadian French contributing to the deterioration of the language date to eighteenth century historical texts (newspaper articles, personal accounts, government and court documents) (Bouchard, 2002; Noël, 1990). In these texts, the perceived “decline” of the quality of French was largely voiced by the French Canadian educated elite which saw the “anglicization” of French in Canada as threatening the collective rights of the French Canadian people. Losing French meant losing the prestige associated with France’s glorified past, ultimately reducing the French Canadian people to “un petit peuple pauvre, isolé, dominé et voué à l’extinction” (a *small, poor people, isolated, dominated and destined for extinction*) (Bouchard, 2002, p. 92). At the same time, the language spoken by the rural population, the “paysans,” was seen to represent the authentic language of the past – the language of seventeenth century France, le grand siècle, and therefore a language untainted by the dominance of English Canada. According to this view, it was better to be speakers of a “pure” form of French rather than of a corrupted, modern version.

At the same time, not only the pervasive “anglicismes” but also the presence of “archaïsmes” (archaic language) was viewed as detrimental to the quality of Canadian French, prompting calls for the adoption and use of modern French based on the normative standard evolving in Europe. In France, the standardization of French by sixteenth and seventeenth century grammarians under the auspice of the *Académie Française* extended into post-Revolutionary France. A late-nineteenth century popularized English language publication characterizing Canadian French as backward and outdated underwrote the perception among largely anglophone Canadians that French in Canada amounted to merely a patois, further contributing to the caricature of its speakers as “illettré, pauvre, simple” (*illiterate, poor, and simple-minded*) (Bouchard, 2002, p. 97).

The tension between the desire to cling to a venerated historical era and the need to defend one’s language against the power of the English persisted into the twentieth century. Francophones continued to see the “patois”-classification of their language as a fundamental threat to French Canadian identity and to their survival as a linguistic minority in North America. As summarized by Bouchard:

S’ils ne parlent qu’un patois, il ne vaut plus la peine de se battre pour conserver ce qui les déclasse, leur langue ne mérite alors aucun statut officiel, elle ne mérite pas d’être enseignée ni perpétuée. (Bouchard, 2002, p. 101)

Despite increasing bilingualism, especially among working class francophones in urban areas who began to see the socio-economic benefits of English, monolingualism was viewed as the only means of defending and protecting the identity of French Canadians and thereby their rights as a people. Consequently, we see the “refrancisation” of French Canadian society initiated at the beginning of the twentieth century as part of francophone political mobilization in Canada, with

a focus on the revitalization of French and efforts to reassert its value as a legitimate language. By the 1960s an inquiry into the “degenerated” status of French in Canada became part of the mandate of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Royal Commission, 1967) and was subsequently addressed in Quebec’s language policy, Law 101, which substantially limited the use and visibility of English in favour of French in that province. The latest instantiation of that law in 2012, Bill 14, sets out further restrictions in terms of access to English language education for francophone and allophone⁸ students in Quebec. Over the past fifty years several quantitative studies have examined perceptions and attitudes among francophone, anglophone, and more recently also allophone speakers in Quebec towards spoken Quebecois French as compared to European French (e.g., Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Kircher, 2012; Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960). Although perceptions towards Quebecois varieties have become increasingly more favourable, the most recent survey showed no significant increase in positive attitudes towards the status of French in Quebec as compared to two decades ago, pointing to the “persistence of the monocentric ideology surrounding the French language” (Kircher, 2012, p. 365).

In Canada, then, francophone identity is not only directly linked to the French language, but also predicated on a certain quality of that language (Heller, 1994), with ideologies of monolingualism and purism generating a notion of French as both protected from extinction and as untainted (i.e. as “authentic”). Authenticity of French in Canada rests on the paradoxical orientation to both the idealized standard of European French and insistence on a legitimate, local French Canadian standard variety. This tension plays itself out on the North American continent with publications of a standard Quebecois dictionary (Guillot, 1999), progressive

⁸According to Mady (2007), allophones are students who have arrived in Canada during their elementary or secondary school careers and are learners of English and/or French as an additional language.

spelling reforms as compared to France, and the use of feminine equivalents for the names of professions which continue to be rejected by the Academie Française (Dawes, 2003). The tension is also directly evident in ongoing debates about which variety (European French or standard Quebecois⁹) should serve as the model of reference for French speakers in Canada (Kircher, 2012). In addition to the experiences documented by my participants, my own experiences as sojourn participant and researcher in France, certainly can attest to European perspectives of Quebecois French as merely a humorous diversion or a quaint artifact – that is, as a language variety that doesn't amount to “real” French nor is suitable for L2 learners of French.

In the ROC (Rest of Canada)

The “French fact” in Canada is also evident in discourses that circulate outside Quebec in the rest of Canada. Dallaire and Denis (2000) have attributed the term “francophone” to a national discourse within Canada which has contributed to the formation of this concept as defined within both a linguistic and cultural discourse. The linguistic discourse, primarily centered on French language proficiency, promotes the idea that both francophone and non-francophone speakers have access to French language activities or institutions based on their ability to understand and express themselves in French. According to Dallaire and Denis, this linguistic discourse “opens the boundaries of the francophone community and offers a broad, multicultural definition of the term francophone” (p. 424). The notion of inclusiveness discussed earlier is thus constructed as extending to non-francophone regions of Canada by including both “francophone” and “francophile” identities (the latter refers to impassioned “non-native” French speakers and devotees of everything French), without attending to the power differential between

⁹ European French refers to the standard in France commonly associated with the French spoken in the region of Paris, Île de France. Standard Quebecois French is typically seen as representative of educated, middle-class francophone speakers of the Montreal region (Genesee & Holobow, 1989).

these two categories constructed on notions of “natural” versus “learned” language expertise. An important related concept to the notion of inclusiveness is that of *la francophonie* (the French-speaking world), French as lingua franca which comprises a range of culturally different societies, all of which share French as a common language (St-Hilaire, 1997). The notion of international or world French – although often still predicated on monolingual francophone spaces promoting standard French – is legitimated through “authenticating” local features of the regional French-speaking community (Heller, 1999a, p. 338), in this way, contributing to a sense of French as “plural” (Fagyal, Kibbee, & Jenkins, 2006).

The cultural discourse, conversely, relates “francophone” to an “authentic” cultural heritage, (e.g., French-Canadian, Quebecer, Acadian) in much the same way that the English “native speaker” identity indexes ethnic or racial belonging in a particular linguistic community. The cultural identity of “francophone” thus attributes ownership of French to only “native speakers” of the language and thereby excludes those who speak French as an additional language. In other words, the first, more inclusive “linguistic” construction of the term “competes with the assumption that those whose mother tongue is French have a stronger claim to francophone identity” (Dallaire & Denis, 2000, p. 428). Similar to the “native speaker” construct, then, francophone not only references a linguistic identity but constitutes a socio-historically constructed cultural identity which is fundamentally grounded in a notion of ethnic or racial authenticity.

In sum, francophone identity in Canada has to do with the construction of discursive spaces in which ideologies of purism and authenticity, national emancipation, as well as standardization and modernization operate (Heller & Labrie, 2003). On the one hand, French in Canada is tied into a purist language ideology grounded in Herderian notions of language as “the

soul” of the nation. Maintenance of French in Canada protects both francophone culture and francophone identity. Insistence on a strong regional language variety (Canadian French or Québécois French) has allowed francophones to establish themselves as distinct from France and to simultaneously carve out their own place and participation in a globalized world (Heller, 1994). On the other hand, ideologies of French as a monocentric language, its idealized standard represented in terms of “le bon usage”¹⁰ specifically vis-à-vis European French, continue to underscore the difficult past of French in Canada and the continuing struggle to see Québécois French (or any other French Canadian variety) validated as equal to the French in France.

Conclusion

The BC teachers’ professional development sojourn to France brings together a series of interrelated themes – teacher study abroad, the “non-native speaker teacher” identity in L2 education, and notions of French and francophoness – all of which provide a context that informs my participants’ identity construction as FSL teachers within this research project. L2 teacher professional development comprises various forms of teacher development for both apprenticing and experienced teachers (J.C. Richards & Farrell, 2005) – reflective teaching (J.C. Richards & Lockhart, 1996), portfolios (Davis & Osborn, 2003), and narrative inquiry (K. E. Johnson & Golombek, 2002). In view of the study’s research focus on FSL teacher professional identity, the topic of professional development plays a key role in this study in that the sojourn constitutes an intended learning experience for my participants. The way in which this learning was ultimately taken up by the participants is informed by their interpretation of what it means to be an FSL

¹⁰ The construct of *le bon usage* originated with the seventeenth century grammarian Vaugelas and is generally understood to be representative of the French used by “la classe cultivée de Paris à une époque donnée” (*the cultivated/educated class of Paris at a particular time period*), based here on the definition by French linguist Albert Dauzat (Hatzfeld, 1962, p. 40).

teacher. Investment in ongoing teacher development is closely connected to issues of language expertise and perceived legitimacy as French language teacher and in this way informs participants' decisions to take part in professional activities and to see themselves as legitimate members of the larger community of FSL teachers (see Karin in Chapter 6). Consequently, the relevance of L2 teacher PD in this study applies in particular to the implication of the study's findings – how continued learning, specifically language learning, conceptions of language expertise and “being confident” fit into the identity construction of FSL teacher.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMING

[T]he endorsement of one sort of action or activity over another implicitly attributes authenticity to one while denying it to others. It runs the risk of assuming that some sort of actions are “natural” whereas others are “contrived.”

(Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 117)

Introduction

Our participation in everyday life and our interactions with one another as social beings are rooted in our ability to make meaning in and of the world. Our engagement with language lies at the basis of this meaning-making process and is inextricably linked to knowledge or knowing, and to our understanding of how we come to know what we know. A view of language as social practice requires that we conceive of learning and teaching as social action in which knowledge and expertise are collaboratively constructed through our interactions with one another. It is in these interactions that we construct conceptions about what it means to be authentic, or competent or expert, and therefore legitimate, and it is here that we fashion our identities amid the relationships we form with fellow practitioners within our communities of practice, both shaped by and shaping the practices and resources afforded by the larger social world.

In this chapter I present the theoretical framing of the study. In so doing, I outline a social practice approach for an understanding of language and culture, and the intersection of these in the formation of identity that is accomplished through processes of authentication. I begin with some fundamental principles of practice theory and the interplay between structure and agency, and how this informs my understanding of language and culture as action. I then discuss authenticity, first in terms of prevailing conceptions of the concept as ideology, followed by a review of some of the language ideologies relevant to this study, and finally in terms of a process

in which authenticity is considered as an achievement as opposed to as an inherent, pre-existing, quality. From this follows my conception of identity and its construction in discourse. I conclude the chapter with a brief sketch of the relationship between authenticity and identity.

Practice theory

This study adopts a social constructionist framework that articulates with the fundamental premise of practice theory, namely that language and culture constitute social action, one result of which is the construction of identity. Practice theory places action (and by extension power) at the centre of analysis, with action inextricably linked to both social structure and individual agents. *Practice* is understood as human activity – activity that is never neutral but always characterized by asymmetry, inequality, and domination in its particular historical and cultural setting (Ortner, 1989). In this sense, then, practice can be understood as “the construction and reflection of social realities through actions that invoke identity, ideology, belief, and power” (Young, 2009, p. 37). Moreover, this activity is articulated and defined by individuals, not with reference to actors alone but always in relation to structure. As part of the foundational work of practice theory (Bourdieu, 1977b; Giddens, 1979, 1984), Giddens’ structuration theory proposes a recursive relationship between structure and practice in which social structure is produced and reinforced by people’s concrete actions and, at the same time, shapes those actions. Bourdieu also offers a dynamic perspective of structure with his concepts of habitus and field. Habitus is a structure that comprises an individual’s dispositions, the way an individual is predisposed or inclined to act in a particular social field or context. The habitus is shaped by a person’s past and present experiences and conditions and, at the same time, structures or shapes a person’s actions. In that sense habitus is a structure that is both *structured* and *structuring* (Grenfell, 2008).

Structure is therefore central to the analysis of practice, since practice “emerges from structure, it reproduces structure, and it has the capacity to transform structure” (Ortner, 1989, p. 12). An analysis of practice examines the underlying principles of people’s action – the relationship between structure and individual agency. It asks, what makes people act the way they do? In the present study, it considers what makes participants construct particular kinds of identities as FSL teachers in Canada. The emphasis on social action is an attempt to move beyond a deterministic notion of social structure or culture (e.g., in the sense of rules that are intentionally followed), as well as the idea that human action is based solely on free will (Ahearn, 2001; Ortner, 1989).

Echoing Giddens, Wenger (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) conceptualizes the structure/agency relationship in terms of the (re)production of institutional practices as (re)negotiated meaning. Within their daily practices, individuals engage with one another in the mutual negotiation of meaning, a productive process that is at once “historical and dynamic” and “contextual and unique,” and which continually leads to new “circumstances for further negotiation and further meanings” (Wenger, 1998, p. 54). This process of negotiation involves the working duality of *participation* (the mutually recognized individual engagement in a social endeavor) and *reification* (the process by which experience is abstracted and given a particular form by way of a policy or concept). The interplay of participation and reification constitutes our “experience of meaning” in everyday life: what we say and do, how and with whom we speak and (inter)act, and how we see ourselves. Meaning is then not a given entity, either in the world or in our heads, but is created in and through our actions. We are engaged in the “doing” or “practice” of meaning-making, which in turn, conceives of individuals as agentive beings in the world.

Wenger's conceptualization of meaning is emulated in Duranti's definition of agency, here enacted and represented in language through the dimensions of *performance* (the enacting of agency, i.e., "participation") and the *encoding* (linguistic depiction of that action, i.e., "reification") (2004, p. 454). Agency is understood as an individual's capability to do things, to effect a change of events through action, which may or may not have intended consequences. This flow of action is constantly monitored or evaluated by individuals in interaction with others, yet only on a partial "practical" (Giddens, 1984) level of consciousness. Thus, the discursive construction of identities – the manner in which identity is enacted or performed (Butler, 1997) – is not always or necessarily intentional (see also Kroskrity, 2004). Agency is therefore best defined more loosely as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2001, p. 112) – it does not reside with the individual manifested as free will nor is it completely determined by external forces, for example, as an (intentional) form of resistance (Ahearn, 2010, p. 29). For this study, participants' acts of identification are understood as a form of negotiated action that is produced in interaction (with me as researcher) and shaped by the immediate (e.g., research setting) as well as the larger context (e.g., FSL education in Canada).

Agency as an integral dimension of practice means that it is also inextricably linked to power. While power is not inherent in action itself, it is exercised through the resources individuals use to socially produce and reproduce relations with one another (Giddens, 1979). Power thus brings into focus the question of how social transformation might occur. Sahlins (1981) has situated the potential for transformation in what he calls a cross-cultural "structure of conjuncture," a kind of "rich point" whereby newly encountered and conflicting experiences generate new resources which then reform existing practices, leading to potential transformation of the structures that shape these same practices (Ahearn, 2001, p. 110). Ortner (1989) locates

agency in the naturally asymmetrical distribution of power by arguing that hegemony or domination is always conflicted and full of tensions, which in turn, allows for spaces or “loose structures” in which transformation can occur, both linguistically and socioculturally. The asymmetric power relations produced in social action thus in themselves serve as an occasion for change, particularly with regard to the process of identity construction. In the present study the issue of power is made relevant in participants’ ways of orienting to a “native speaker” ideology as a means of constructing an identity as FSL teacher, given the asymmetric relation this construct implies in terms of “native-speaker” versus “non-native speaker” teacher identities and the tension this dichotomy produces. A potential for transformation may be seen here in terms of how participants conceive of the “native speaker” as a form of authenticity and how they relate to this authenticity in their identity work. In the following section I elaborate on conceptions of authenticity in L2 education and as a feature of prevailing language ideologies. I conclude this section by briefly outlining my understanding of language and culture as social action or “practice.”

Language and culture as social action

The notion of language as social action may be traced to Wittgenstein’s (1953/2001) conception of meaning as constituted in language use and as woven into the social action or practices of a particular *Lebenswelt* or “form of life.” Wittgenstein uses the notion of *Sprachspiele* (language games) to foreground the idea that “the *speaking* of a language is part of an activity” (p. 10e). Meaning is produced in using language and must be understood as varied, particular, and situated, and as always socially produced. Wittgenstein’s view of language and meaning as constituted in social human activity has been elaborated in other social theories of

language: in sociocultural theory with a conceptualization of language as mediating learning through interaction with expert others (Vygotsky, 1978), in functional linguistics which places meaning at the centre of language use and development (Halliday, 1971), and through the concept of *dialogism* (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) to highlight the socially contextualized use of language and embedded nature of language in interaction. Important here is that it is action, not thought, which underlies language, that it is in our daily practices “where understanding is structured and intelligibility...articulated” (Schatzki, 1996, p. 12). In other words, it is in our everyday activities – such as teaching or learning or talking about what we teach and learn – that we produce meaning about the world and us in it. Integral to this understanding of language as action is the conception of context as “a point of departure” for understanding “the different ‘language games’ that human beings engage in” (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992, p. 16). Language as a mode of action is based on the idea that meaning derives from the appropriate use of language in a certain *context of situation* (Malinowski, 1994/1923), which encompasses the wider non-linguistic context of human interaction (Austin, 1962; Goffman, 1974; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974) as well as the way in which individuals’ relations and identities are accomplished and maintained, both in everyday and institutional interaction (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Heritage, 1984; Sacks, 1992). Context as fundamental to a theorization of language as social action necessarily points to language in relation to culture, specifically the co-constitutiveness of the language-culture relationship, wherein culture is seen as constituted in language and at the same time constitutive of language. In this way, the intersection between language and culture can be seen as located in individuals’ “engagement in discursively mediated social practices” (Kasper & Omori, 2010, p. 458).

In the same way that language is conceptualized as a form of social practice with meaning fundamentally dependent on contexts of language use, culture also must be understood as social action. As part of a theoretical approach to language as social action, I draw on a conception of culture as an ensemble of “discursively mediated, context-sensitive and context-shaping” practices (Kasper & Omori, 2010, p. 458). This discursive-constructionist theorization of context takes the view that the social world is not based on fixed, universal, or ahistorical properties but rather, that it is produced through individuals’ social and discursive actions, and, epistemologically speaking, can be understood as different versions of topics that are discursively produced (p. 461). A social practice conceptualization of culture and language as theoretical framing for the present study thus provides not only an analytic approach but locates practice as an object of formal study within the context of FSL education – notably as these relate specifically to conceptions of authenticity.

Authenticity in L2 education

The notion of authenticity continues to permeate prevailing conceptions of language and culture, attesting to the interrelatedness of all three of these constructs, particularly in L2 learning and teaching. A central aim of the present study is to shed light on the problematic of authenticity as a constraining ideology in L2 education, yet also to highlight the productive impact a “process of authentication” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Coupland, 2003) affords L2 teachers as a means of negotiating or challenging such constraints. Authentication as a discursive process moves beyond essentialist conceptions of authenticity as a quality of language or culture and instead conceives of authenticity as “processes by which speakers make claims to realness” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 601). From this perspective, “authenticity does not exist prior to the

authenticating practices that create it” (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 410), and it is therefore important to distinguish *authenticity* (as ideology) from *authentication* (as social practice). In Chapter 2, authenticity was discussed with regards to L2 teacher education, professional development, and L2 teacher identity in association with the literature on “native/non-native speaker teachers.” In this section I concentrate on the concept of authenticity itself. I begin this section with an overview of how the concept has been defined, first broadly across a number of social science disciplines, and then specifically in L2 education within communicative language teaching (CLT). This involves a discussion of how authenticity has been taken up in terms of language learning and language use, pedagogical texts, and with regard to L2 teaching. I then consider authenticity as ideology, particularly in terms of language ideologies of standardization and its related features. I conclude with authenticity from a social practice perspective.

Defining authenticity

Authenticity has been variously defined in the social sciences. It originally evolved as a contrast to “sincerity,” an evolution that dates from the pre-modern era (Trilling, 1972). The modern preoccupation with authenticity emerged with the secularization and pluralization of society, which over time no longer offered individuals a sense of self, anchored in a hierarchized reality, a reality that had previously been based on a symmetrical relationship between “subjectively experienced and institutionally assigned identity” (Berger, 1973, p. 85). According to Trilling, individuals’ inability to find meaning in society led to a turn inward, a shift in focus from “sincere” representations of the self in society to a preoccupation with the “hidden motives of action,” that is, to “the ‘depths’ presumed to lie below the surfaces of observable social life” – the inner, mental self (p. 82).

From this basis, we find the concept defined today in a number of ways, including references to “authentic” as a revealed truth, as something genuine, original, or associated with the idea of exclusive authorship or unique creativity (Van Leeuwen, 2001). In anthropology the notion of authenticity has received substantial attention in research on tourism and historical reproduction (e.g., E. Cohen, 1988; Kelner, 2001; MacCannell, 1973). Bruner (1994), for example, outlines four distinct meanings of authenticity: a) *verisimilitude* or “true likeness”; b) *genuineness*, through historical accuracy; c) *originality*, in terms of being novel; d) *authority*, something which is “duly authorized, certified, or legally valid” (pp. 400-401). In applied linguistics, Kramsch (1993) has offered a similar list of definitions which includes meanings of authenticity pertaining to that which is authorized, real, trustworthy, or sincere, original or genuine. In sociolinguistics, specifically with regard to the notion of authentic language, Coupland (2003) has made a distinction between *establishment* and *vernacular* authenticities of language as two competing articulations of modernity, grounded in Lockian and Herderian philosophy respectively. Establishment authenticities typically emphasize linguistic purity and standardization, authoritarian/ exclusionary notions of authentic language, often with reference to nationhood. Vernacular authenticities foreground “real language on the ground” (p. 420) and are associated with the notion of community affiliation and consensus, as well as the idea that linguistic change and social complexity is inherently orderly. In a more recent theorization of authenticity, Coupland’s (2010) considers these tacit understandings not as inherent qualities but in terms of a value system that “anchor[s] personal, social and cultural identities” (p. 104). This system comprises four dimensions: a) ontology – “authentic things being felt to have a particular depth of reality”; b) historicity – “authentic things being perceived to be durable and sometimes timeless”; c) systemic coherence – “authenticity as a matter of 'making sense' and imposing

order”; and d) consensus – “authenticity resulting from some social process of authentication accepted by a group” (p. 104). It is these values that inform my participants’ identity construction through a process of authentication that is “played out in discourse” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 24).

Authenticity in L2 learning and teaching

As discussed in Chapter 2, in L2 education the concept of authenticity has gained attention with the growing interest in CLT (Widdowson, 1998) and an emphasis on L2 teachers’ use of authentic or “natural” classroom language (Cullen, 1994). This emphasis is overwhelmingly found in “culturally authentic” curricular resources (van Lier, 1996) typically recommended in teacher handbooks (e.g., Omaggio Hadley, 2001; Shrum & Glisan, 2009). Here authentic texts are defined in terms of “real” language, “real” speakers/writers, and a “real” audience (Morrow, 1977; cited in Gilmore, 2007, p. 98) – the idea being that only a linguistically and culturally authentic source can produce so-called “authentic communications” (see also Galloway, 1998). Although authenticity continues to be understood along modernist lines of thinking in L2 education, efforts to problematize the concept have led to a range of perspectives about “authentic” language learning and teaching – often, to move beyond the notion of authentic texts.

Thus, similar to reconceptualizations in other disciplines, the focus on authenticity as an inherent feature of a particular text has been rearticulated in L2 education as a process of validation or authentication (van Lier, 1996; Widdowson, 1990), something which is created by users of the language (Kramsch, 1993). Widdowson has long been arguing that authenticity is a function of the interaction between receivers and producers of (authentic) language, in other

words, authenticity “has to do with the appropriate response” (1979, p. 166). For Widdowson, the L2 classroom has the potential to provide an opportunity for language learners to “authenticate” meanings on their own terms by “localising” the language in what he calls “genuine” discourse (1998, p. 712). It is the context of this discourse that renders it authentic, to the extent that this involves “normal” language use rather than “the language-like behaviour of the learner” (1990, p.46). Other scholars have argued that the notion of “authenticity” is open to interpretation and primarily dependent on the way the immediate context is realized through language use in the classroom (Kramsch, 1993; Taylor, 1994; van Lier, 1996). Breen (1985), for example, identifies four kinds of authenticity: textual authenticity, the learner’s own interpretation of the text, its pedagogical purpose, and the social context of the classroom. While Widdowson (1998) views authentic language use as something which the learner must experience, for Breen it is the interpretation of authenticity that enables learners to interact with texts “in ways which are likely to be shared with fluent users of the language” (1985, p. 63). Breen places emphasis on the authentic *use* of a particular text, the how and the where of its application in the classroom. In this sense, authenticity lies not only in using language but also in the activity of language learning itself, that is, in communicating about “how best to learn to use another language” (p. 65). Consequently, instead of being conceptualized as merely a product or an “entextualized” unit of language (Badger & MacDonald, 2010), authenticity is now more often understood as a process which defines the nature of the tasks for which language is used. Van Lier (1996) has elaborated this definition by suggesting that authentication is “a personal process of engagement,” potentially different for every learner and not only constituted in the context in which language learning takes place. Rather, it is through “acts of authentication” that classroom setting, events, and language are validated as authentic by both teacher and students in

interaction with one another (p. 128). For van Lier, situated and purposeful use of language is central to the process of authentication, given that authenticity cannot exist without learner awareness (relating new knowledge to past experiences) and learner autonomy (taking responsibility for one's learning) (see also Kramsch et al., 2000).

Authenticity as ideology

Modernist conceptions of linguistic authenticity also constitute a central feature of language ideology (Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Briggs, 2007; Heller, 2006, 2011). Language ideologies are articulated beliefs about language that mediate the connection between larger social structures and the discursive practices within these structures (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). These beliefs are seen to represent rationalizations of perceived systematic language structure and use in relation to social groups (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Silverstein, 1979) with power as a central element (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). In this sense, ideology may be defined in relation to a particular social position (Woolard, 1998) with the idea that ideology “organizes and enables all cultural beliefs and practices as well as the power relations that result from these” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 379). Conceptions of authentic language as language ideology are especially salient in ideologies of standardization, which continue to permeate L2 education (Lippi-Green, 1997).

For example, authenticity in CLT intersects with the concept of standard language in that the latter is usually indirectly defined in relation to “authentic” language use, often with a clear orientation to “native speakerness” (Train, 2000; Widdowson, 1994). The link between authentic and standard language in the teaching of French has been characterized by Train (2000, 2007a) as a complex relationship between situated French language use and standardized French as a

pedagogical construct, the latter solidly entrenched in present-day L2 classroom discourse and materials. Train traces the historical construction of French as a *Pedagogic Hyperstandard* through a two-level process of recontextualization. The first level involves the selective appropriation and relocation of French speakers' discursive practices "from their original sites" into a discourse of "Native Standard French" (2003, p. 245). This relocation then continues through a second level of recontextualization on the periphery of national French speaking regions where these standardized practices are further rearticulated into a Pedagogic Hyperstandard discourse. The acquisition of the standardized language variety thus becomes associated with "natural language" – language that is acquired without conscious study or learning (i.e., as "native speakers") (cf. Krashen, 1982). In CLT this has led to a confusion between notions of *accurate* versus *appropriate* language use and "an overall institutional focus on standardness" (2000, p. 26) as epitomized in the codification of French in traditional texts such as *Le bon usage* (Grevisse, 1986), for example. According to Train:

As suggestive as the rhetoric of the communicative revolution may be, the myth of authenticity, nativeness, and "natural acquisition" attached to the foreign language construct tends to gloss over the fundamental standardness of language in a pedagogical context. (Train, 2000, p. 352)

At the same time, this results in a tension which sees mainstream standardized language in conflict with formal L2 learning since language learning is based on an "artificial" pedagogical standard that has been codified for the purpose of teaching (Train, 2000, p. 335; see also Badger & MacDonald, 2010; van Compernelle & Williams, 2012).

Language ideology in FSL

The underlying orientation to “authentic language” in L2 teaching makes relevant a number of “salient features of the standard-language construct” (Train, 2000, p. 27), which together form a complex of interrelated notions that are articulated in discourses of standardization. These discourses make evident related ideological (“native speaker”) conceptions about language learning and use. One such conception, highly prominent in the present study, is the discourse of the inauthentic classroom, summarized by van Lier as follows:

The fact that classroom language looks and sounds like classroom language is often taken as evidence of the artificiality of language lessons, and this in turn can then be used as an explanation for the lack of success of language instruction. 'Classroom language is unnatural' means in practice that language use in the classroom is different and distinguishable from language use elsewhere. In addition, it implies that language use is natural in all places, except in classrooms. To become more 'natural,' then, the classroom must try to be less like a classroom, and more like some other place. The people in the classroom must speak and write as if they were somewhere else. In the interests of authenticity, the classroom must become inauthentic, as a classroom. (van Lier, 1996, p. 121)

This discourse represents a salient component of FSL teaching and is made evident by the majority of my focal participants, in one case, as a principal means of negotiating an FSL teacher identity. Especially when contrasted with the immersion setting abroad, the FSL classroom in Canada is frequently described as an “artificial” learning context without access to “real” French.

Another ideology often offered in response to the “inauthenticity” of the L2 classroom, and also highly relevant in this study, is the notion of monoglossic bilingualism (García, 2009;

see also Roy & Galiev, 2011) and the monolingual classroom (Lippi-Green, 1997; see also Valdès, 1998). These ideologies, also discussed in terms of balanced bilingualism or additive/subtractive bilingualism, consider language as a codified unit referred to as a “container” view of language (Martin-Jones, 2007, p. 166). The idea is that the L2 learning context is best restricted to a focus on only one language – the target language – and therefore does not allow for the multilingual reality that L2 learners actually experience. This ties into the construction of the FSL classroom as a purely monolingual space, with linguistic purity a salient feature of this ideology, frequently expressed with a prominent focus on error correction (Lippi-Green, 1997) and characterizations of language use in terms of “interlanguage” and “fossilization” (Selinker, 1972; see also Bhatt, 2002). For the L2 learner, use of this monolingual standard is thereby relegated to a form of “practice” or “imitation” which in turn, intersects with notions of language ownership (Kramsch, 1996, 1997, 2012; Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994), ideologies of linguistic and cultural belonging, and the issue of who counts as a legitimate speaker. All of these features – the monolingual classroom, descriptions of balanced bilingualism, and an emphasis on “perfect imitation” of French – are displayed in the identity construction of my participants.

The bias toward a monoglossic ideology of bilingualism is a much-debated feature of the French immersion model in Canadian FSL education (e.g., Cummins, 2007; Martin-Jones, 2007; M. Swain, 1983). Its “bilingualism through monolingualism” approach is based on a principle of strict language-separation that is realized through the creation of distinct, monolingual learning spaces. An association with “authentic” language is evident here in that the monoglossic learning context of the FI model carries a prestige factor in FSL education, which manifests itself in comparisons with other FSL programs, notably in terms of who is qualified to teach in this

program. FI is internationally recognized as one of the most successful program models for second language learning, with enrolments still highly competitive, especially in British Columbia (Canadian Parents for French, 2008b). In this content-based approach, FI teachers are typically seen to have a high level of expertise in French, leading to the tacit understanding that the program represents the “next best thing” to a “native speaker” context. For some of my participants, the prestige of the program served as a significant authenticating resource in their construction of a particular identity as FSL teacher.

The privileging of a monolingual standard in association with “authentic language” ties into another ideological assumption which interprets the standard-language construct as a form of Eurocentrism. According to this belief, a language such as French is seen as anchored in the prestige of the European native-speaker community associated with the language (Train, 2000). In this sense, Eurocentrism is consistent with the authentic values delineated by Coupland (2010), notably historical tradition, cohesiveness, and social consensus, all of which are grounded in Herder’s (1967 [1877-1913]) notion of cultural continuity – the notion of oral vernacular tradition cultivated into an idealized, stable form (Bauman & Briggs, 2003; see also Irvine & Gal, 2000). Herder’s privileging of the vernacular as a means of revitalizing eighteenth century German literature and culture directly connects with present day ideological underpinnings of language standardization and the idealized “native speaker”:

This ideology of a monoglot and monologic standard has provided a charter not only for homogenizing national policies of language standardization and the regulation of public discourse, but for theoretical frameworks that normalize and often essentialize one society – one culture – one language conceptions of the relationships among language, culture, and society. (Bauman & Briggs, 2003, p. 195)

This Eurocentric orientation is prominently manifested both explicitly and tacitly by a number of participants in this study, either by way of a contrast between European French and the French in Canada or simply as the fundamental standard of superior language and culture. The idea of France as the locus of French language and culture renders this variety as exclusively representative of authentic “Frenchness,” in this sense providing an effective “authenticating” resource for my participants. An orientation to Europe or France also connects to ideologies of variation, specifically notions of language subordination (Lippi-Green, 1997) and language isolationism or purism (Bucholtz, 2003; Cameron, 1995). In Canada, this is particularly relevant with regard to the status of Canadian or Quebecois French vis-à-vis its origins in France (also discussed in Chapter 2). Heller (1999b) has referred to this as “the ambivalent relationship between the French in Canada and the French in France”:

[French speakers in France] may act as models, but are often also resented as imperialists almost as oppressive as the English in their contempt for French Canadians. They are also both the source of French Canadian identity, a glorious heritage, and traitors (since the Revolution) to the original cause which brought the French to Canada in the first place. This creates a tension between an acceptance of France as the origin of the value of the French language, and a desire to value what is distinctive about the Canadian variety of the language. The source of the value of French in Canada is both its origins and its distinctiveness. (Heller, 1999b, p. 151)

Heller has identified these tensions as part of a French Canadian linguistic ideology that are created through contradicting elements such as “fear of contamination by English, concern for the ‘quality’ of language, valuing of local forms as long as they are not ‘jargon’” (p. 151). In the FSL context, concerns about linguistic purity characteristic of minority contexts of French in

Canada to some extent reinforce a monolingual standard in the French language classroom in association with an “authentic” language ideal.

A final ideological assumption relevant to this study is the privileging of written language over spoken practices. The privileging of written over spoken language is a further feature of language standardization, one that has resulted in a prioritization of codified norms as “the final authority on correctness and even inclusion in the language” (Train, 2000, p. 29). In the FSL context, we see the codified language of dictionaries, verb conjugation and grammar books constituting a pedagogical hyper-standard, one that ultimately defines the L2 classroom in association with “inauthenticness.” Consequently, in the present study, we see this ideological preference for written language become inverted, with orality (not the written text) constructed as a means of authentication. In the “inauthentic” environment of the L2 classroom, L2 teaching requires a reversal of emphasis that shifts the focus on oral language as the most authentic expression and achievement of L2 learning. As alluded to earlier, this modernist conception of authentic language is embedded in Herder’s conception of culture as grounded in the oral vernacular literary tradition of a people (Bauman & Briggs, 2003, p. 191). As Briggs points out, the “nostalgic celebration of words constructed as organic forms intimately tied to their social milieu, from family to community to region to nation” have underscored the notion of the authentic as fundamentally reflected in human connections and social interaction (2007, p. 553). The “natural basis of sociality” found in and established through family and local community directly extends into present-day ideas about face-to-face communication and specifically underpins ideologies pertaining to authentic language learning:

Face-to-face communication became what Derrida (1974 [1967]) characterizes as a Western metaphysics of orality—it was construed as primordial, authentic, quintessentially human, and necessary. (Briggs, 2007, p. 553)

In French, the juxtaposition between written and oral language is exacerbated given that Standard Modern French, which is firmly entrenched in its written form, is becoming increasingly distinct from the evolving spoken language, or “New French” (Joseph, 1988). Despite the cultural stigmatization of spoken French in institutional/educational contexts, the colloquialness of oral French is viewed by the participants in this study as an authenticating antidote to the “inauthentic” setting of the FSL classroom. It is in this sense that my participants’ focus to oral language in their teaching functions as an authenticating mechanism through which to achieve approximation to an assumed authentic “native speaker” ideal. Oral language is constructed as synonymous with (communicative) language learning/teaching, characterized as fun and engaging. As such, it precludes grammar-focused drills characteristic of the “inauthentic” classroom and likens L2 acquisition to the L1 socialization typically experienced in the “mother tongue.” One might say that it is the participants’ experiences in an “authenticating” social milieu encountered on study abroad that, to some extent, reinforce this shift to oral language in the classroom.

In the present study, my participants’ experiences in what is considered to be an “authentic” language and culture setting not surprisingly foregrounds authenticity as a salient feature in their descriptions of the sojourn. As will be demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, participants’ conceptions and assumptions about authentic language use, learning, and teaching to varying extent highlight the ideologies outlined above. The ways in which language and language use are manifestly taken up with reference to “native speaker” ideologies construct

authenticity as a tangible product (Heller, 2003), predominantly as a measure of language expertise expressed in terms of confidence. Confidence here serves as discursive resource to navigate issues of language expertise and ongoing L2 development, two issues which sit uneasily with an identity as FSL teacher that is defined in terms of authentic (i.e., “native”) language. It is this essentialist conception of authenticity which informed my initial use of the concept in formulating the central research questions of the study. Choosing an analytic approach which considers “authenticity in performance” has allowed me to investigate authenticity as a process, to gain a sense of how my participants “do complex self-identification work that ends up being authenticating for them and possibly for audiences.” (Coupland, 2003, p. 428). In the next section I elaborate on my conception of identity, the role discourse plays in this conceptualization, and my approach to analysing identity. In the final section I discuss the relation between these two concepts, authenticity and identity, by briefly outlining my approach to authenticity as a process of identification based on Bucholtz & Hall (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Identity

Identity, as it relates to issues of language and culture, has been studied over the last several decades based on an ever-broadening range of conceptualizations and research topics (Duff, 2012) – from linguistic and learner identities and ethnically/culturally-defined group identities (J. Edwards, 1985, 2009; Tajfel, 1974) to social identities with an emphasis on power relations and discourse (e.g., Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; Block, 2007; Kramsch, 2009; Norton, 2000). Psychological and variationist perspectives call forth modernist notions of identity, the innate, authentic self of the Romantic literary periods as well as Freud’s focus on the individual mind in the field of psychoanalysis emerging at the turn of the last century (Benwell

& Stokoe, 2006). The 1960s and 70s saw an evolving emphasis on group identities in terms of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) which considered social identity in terms of socio-cognitive processes of membership. Also known as intergroup theory, it was heavily influenced by ethnolinguistic identity theory in the area of language maintenance (see also Clement, 1980; Giles & Johnson, 1987) which sought to explain language use based on ethnic group affiliation, similar to variationist approaches to identity in sociolinguistics. These conceptions of identity as naturalistic, mentalist, or collective all posit an essential self, an *a priori* categorization that serves to explain why people behave in a particular way, with essentialism based on the idea that the characteristics and behaviour of a socially defined group are determined by cultural and/or biological elements which are inherent to that group (Bucholtz, 2003).

Essentialist conceptions of identity contrast with a view of identity as interactionally mediated and socially constructed. Given my aim to highlight the constitutive role of discourse in identity work, I have chosen to adopt a “discursive-constructionist” (Kasper & Omori, 2010) perspective of identity. Within this theoretical frame, identity is viewed as taking shape and operating “in local discourse contexts of interaction” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 18), contexts which are conceived as “multi-scalar” in that they are locally emergent but also “infused with [globally available] information, resources, expectations and experiences” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 9). In other words, identities are attributes *of situations* rather than of individuals or groups (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 376). Thus, instead of a stable, pre-existing and context-independent social category which determines a person’s actions and participation, identity is understood as always situated and historical, as ideological, emergent, and partial, and as accomplished in interaction through the use of symbolic forms (including language) (cf.

Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Block, 2007; Butler, 1997; Duff, 2012; Kramsch, 2009; Norton, 2010; Wenger, 1998).

Types of identification: A conception of identity as a social process means that identity refers to both larger institutional and ideologically driven roles as well as local identities accomplished in everyday interactions and mutual engagement with members of shared communities of practice:

On the one hand, the interactional positions that social actors briefly occupy and then abandon as they respond to the contingencies of unfolding discourse may accumulate ideological associations with both large-scale and local categories of identity. On the other, these ideological associations, once forged, may shape who does what and how in interaction, though never in a deterministic fashion. (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 21)

From this perspective, even social or extra-situational categories – what Georgakopoulou (2007) has referred to as narrated “portable” identities such as Canadian, mother, professional musician, etc. – do not exist prior to having been “called into being” in specific interactions through semiotic practices (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 588). Identities are therefore seen to include various levels of identification: a) macrolevel demographic categories, b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions, and c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles – all of which may occur simultaneously in a single interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 592; see Zimmerman, 1998, for a similar conception of identity). For my participants this means that locally instantiated identities, such as respondent, or research participant, L2 learner or teacher, mother or music teacher, are considered as both drawing on and constructing the category of “FSL teacher.” A conception of context as multi-level or multi-scalar is particularly relevant for processes of identification in that macrolevel features can “be seen operating at the

most micro-level of an interactional process, as resources that participants can draw upon” as they construct identities within particular communicative events (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 10).

Identities in discourse(s): In the present study this multi-scalar perspective ties into the way in which larger social discourses (norms, expectations, codes, generalizations), both circulating in and shaping FSL contexts are referenced by my participants as a means of constructing, circumnavigating or authenticating an identity as FSL teacher. An analysis of FSL teachers’ discursive construction of identity is thus also an analysis of discourse, both in terms of what people do discursively with discourse as the medium for interaction (Potter, 2004) or as larger social forces or cultural narratives (Kramsch, 2011; Martín Rojo, 2001). As the analyses of focal participants identity construction in Chapter 6 show, in spite of displaying distinct processes of identification all participants displayed an orientation to common language ideologies by drawing on shared discourses of L2 teaching and learning. This begs the question as to how a shared orientation to the discursive generalizations and norms circulating in FSL education manifests itself in such different ways for each of the focal participants. In part, the answer lies in the way discourse is conceptualized here – infused not merely with a single ideology or a uniform set of beliefs, but as constituting a complex of ideas and practices:

...the same chunk of discourse may be simultaneously understandable for many people, yet receive very different interpretations by these people, depending on whether the work of interpretation is done in the same event as that of production, later, much later, by someone else than the original interlocutor, in a different contextual space, from a different historical position, from a different place in the world, and so forth.

(Blommaert, 2005, p. 175)

The idea that there are varying interpretations of discourse(s) also supports an understanding of identity as both emergent in specific contexts as well as continuous over time, given that “discourse always displays both continuity and discontinuity in meanings that are attached to it” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 175).

Analyzing identity: My focus on identity as a “relational” phenomenon takes into account the relationships enacted as part of the identification process and highlights the varying power relations between individuals. The notion of “relationality” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) in identity work makes clear that “identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors” (p. 23). Bucholtz and Hall have expanded this “principle of relationality” beyond the simple juxtaposition of identity relations in terms of similarity and difference to include two other overlapping, complementary relations – genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy. Given the relevance of participants’ own language learning trajectories in this study, the relational categories (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Tracy, 2002) of “native speaker teacher” versus “non-native speaker teacher” are therefore of particular interest, specifically with regard to how these identity categories are discursively and collaboratively enacted as (in)authentic and (il)legitimate within the context of FSL teaching.

An in-depth examination of this identity work must take into account the various semiotic processes that come into play, identified by Bucholtz and Hall (2004) as: a) practice – everyday social actions and activities, b) indexicality – indirect semiotic associations which form between linguistic structures and social categories over time, c) ideology – socio-cultural and political meanings about language and speakers, and d) performance – both as deliberate social display or mundane interaction. All four processes operate together to accomplish identity:

Ideology is at the level at which practice enters the field of representation. Indexicality mediates between ideology and practice, producing the former through the latter.

Performance is the highlighting of ideology through the foregrounding of practice.

(Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 381)

At the same time, Bucholtz & Hall (2004) point out that identity, conceptualized through these processes, highlights the manner in which ideologies and practices push into two different directions: ideologies are reified cultural notions about “how people of various social backgrounds should, must, or do speak and act whereas individuals’ linguistic and social practices are specific to social contexts and therefore “highly complex and strategic” (pp. 381-382). Analysis of identity conceived from this perspective, requires teasing out the workings of these processes of identification, specifically the tensions that arise through conflicting practices and ideologies and the way in which these tensions are reconciled in the construction of particular identities. For my participants such a tension is produced in the context of their professional development practices with regard to learning, specifically language learning. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, it is these practices which push against the ideological construction of the “FSL teacher” as defined by the reified notion of “native speakerness.”

Conclusion: Identity and authenticity

In the present study, authenticity plays a definitive role in FSL teacher identity construction. On the one hand, authenticity figures in essentialist terms, grounded in “native speaker” ideologies that impose constraints on what counts as legitimate membership as FSL teacher. From this perspective:

...the possibility of a ‘real’ or ‘genuine’ group member relies on the belief that what differentiates ‘real’ members from those who only pretend to authentic membership is that the former, by virtue of biology or culture or both, possess inherent and perhaps even inalienable characteristics criterial of membership. (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 400)

On the other hand, authenticity, as a resource, plays a crucial role for my participants in their construction of FSL teacher identities as a means of authenticating this professional identity. From this perspective, identity is not primordial but viewed as “the outcome of constantly negotiated social practices” (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 408). This reconceptualization, specifically intended to address the notion of “authentic speaker” as defined by Bucholtz here, relocates my participants as agentive members, engaged in linguistic and other symbolic practices. In this way, authenticity becomes an achievement (Bucholtz, 2003), which for my participants involves a process of authentication as a means of legitimating a position as FSL teacher. The relationship between authenticity, legitimacy, and authority has been theorized by Bucholtz and Hall (2004) in terms of a set of relations called *tactics of intersubjectivity* (see also Bucholtz, 2003; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, 2010). These tactics constitute a framework for examining identity in terms of the social relations that are created through semiotic processes such as practice, indexicality, ideology, and performance, outlined above. The primary objective of this framework is to establish why a particular identity is being constructed, that is, to understand the purpose for which a particular semiotic process is put to use (2004, p. 382). The relations or tactics relevant to the identity formations in this study are genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy, with a focus on authentication and authorization: authentication is put to use in identity work to generate a sense of genuineness while authorization serves to create legitimacy. As will be demonstrated in the analysis in Chapter 5, these tactics often intersect and thus tend to operate in

combination with one another in the sense that participants' orientation to "native speakerness" in regard to language expertise constitutes a tactic of authentication which serves to legitimate participants' incumbency as FSL teacher. In other words, the "authenticity effects" this tactic produces (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 408) are seen to bestow on participants the authority to act and speak as a legitimate teacher of French. The aim of this study, then, is to examine participants' conceptions and uses of "authenticity" to understand how authentication as a social process plays out in the discursive construction of FSL teacher as a legitimate professional identity.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

...individuals, including scholars, actively construct and constrain—rather than passively receive—interpretations that are both socially mediated and intertextually situated within a bounded universe of discourse.

(Ahearn, 2001, p. 112)

Introduction

This inquiry is a qualitative multiple case study conducted over a 12-month period with a primary focus on a small group of teacher participants. Qualitative research has been defined as “a situated activity that locates the observer in the world” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 2), which sees methods of investigation as constitutive of the ways in which we make sense of our actions and social lives (P. Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Hatch, 2002). In L2 education, empirical qualitative studies offer a suitable means for examining a wide range of issues (Duff, 2002; K. Richards, 2009), including those relevant to the present study: teacher professional development abroad (e.g., DuFon & Churchill, 2006; Jackson, 2008; Kinginger, 2004) and discourse analytic approaches to identity in L2 teaching (e.g., Clarke, 2008; Varghese et al., 2005).

In this chapter I discuss how the research methodology I have chosen constitutes a suitable way to approach a qualitative inquiry of FSL teacher professional identity from a discourse analytic perspective. In the following sections I briefly outline the relevance of a case study methodology for this study. I then discuss the research contexts and participants of both phases of this inquiry, Phase I comprising research conducted in France, and Phase II pertaining to the follow-up phase undertaken in British Columbia. From this I move to a discussion of data generation methods followed by data analysis. I conclude by addressing researcher position, confidentiality, and the rigour of the research process and findings.

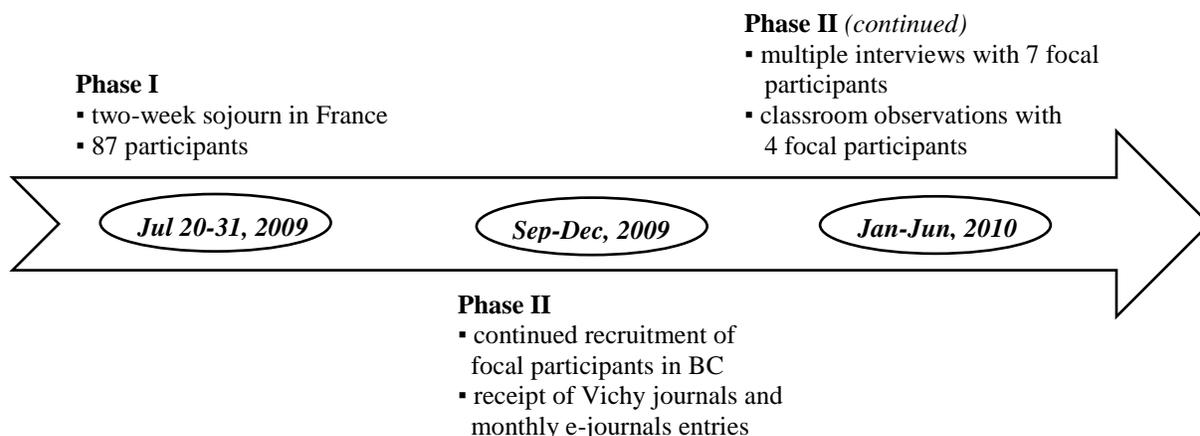
Case study

Case study is a particularistic descriptive research approach comprising a qualitative, interpretative research design and is commonly used in the social sciences to investigate bounded situated phenomena in their natural contexts (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2003; Hatch, 2002; Merriam, 2009). Owing to the need for more holistic and in-depth qualitative inquiry of FSL teacher development, specifically within an SA context, I have chosen to conduct a descriptive (Yin, 2011) multiple case study to extend the modest amount of existing research in this area. As a research approach, case study typically incorporates multiple data sources to allow for in-depth analysis (Duff, 2008; K. Richards, 2011; van Lier, 2005), and thus lends itself to an investigation of teachers' professional identity constructions as theorized in this study. The case selection I have made involves both intrinsic and instrumental interests (Stake, 1995). On the one hand, my interest in how individual teachers construct a particular professional identity centers on focal participants as separate intrinsic case studies (see Chapter 6). On the other hand, the larger cohort of BC teachers constitutes an instrumental case as a topic of interest, with the potential to offer further insight (Stake, 1995) about the language ideologies underpinning L2 teacher identity construction more generally and the role authenticity plays in the identity work of individual teachers. Instrumental case study on a particular topic allows the researcher to draw analytic generalizations to theory or a particular theoretical process (Duff, 2006), in this case FSL teacher identity construction. At the same time, the entire cohort of FSL teachers is not only considered as a topic but may itself be seen as representing a bounded case, specifically with respect to the production of the FSL teacher identity category (see Chapter 5).

Research context: Sites and participants

Data for this research project was generated in two phases, in both local and international sites, each involving differently configured groupings of participants. The timeline (Figure 4.1) below provides an overview of the research process. In this section I present a description of the two phases of the study with a focus on the research context, the participants, and the data sources involved. A discussion of how the different methods were used within the context of the study and with regard to the theoretical framework follows in the next section.

Figure 4.1 Timeline of the data generation process across both phases of the study.



Phase I of the research process

Research site: CAVILAM and professional development

During the first phase of the study I accompanied 87 FSL teachers to Vichy, France, to participate in a two-week professional development program at the *Centre d'Approches Vivantes des Langues et des Médias* (CAVILAM), an institute for French language studies and pedagogy. Funded by the BC Ministry of Education with support from district French coordinators, the SA program at CAVILAM was specifically designed for BC FSL teachers in core French (CF),

intensive French (IF), and French immersion (FI) under the coordination of the French Language Services Branch of the BC Teachers' Federation in conjunction with CAVILAM administrators (FSL programs are discussed in further detail below). The primary objective of the sojourn was to provide BC teachers with an orientation to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) and a specialized one- and two-week training course in proctoring, correcting, and implementing the *Diplôme d'études en langue française* (DELFL) – France's internationally recognized French language state exam, recently adapted to CEFR learning and assessment guidelines. In addition to the DELFL orientation/certification sessions, the program at CAVILAM also offered French language classes as well as teaching development with a focus on instructional strategies and curricular materials. All three content areas (language instruction, pedagogy workshops, and DELFL training) were delivered through classroom instruction, group workshops and open lectures (see Table 4.1 below for an overview of the CAVILAM program designed for the BC cohort).

The competitive application process for participation in the sojourn was undertaken in BC by French language coordinators in school districts across the province in collaboration with the British Columbia Teachers Federation (BCTF). The application process was open to all FSL teachers in CF, IF and FI programs in BC public schools. Teachers with a francophone background or "native-like fluency" in French were encouraged to apply for the full two-week DELFL certification while pedagogy workshops and language classes were available for those participants wishing to improve their teaching strategies or use of French. Selection for each program level was thus in part based on the applicant's level of French language expertise while other criteria included the number of available spaces, as well as a willingness to participate in future initiatives involving the prospective adaptation of the CEFR framework in French

Table 4.1 Overview of CAVILAM professional development program.

		Language Program (Perfectionnement linguistique) 7 participants	Pedagogy & DELF (Parcours thématiques) 25 participants	DELF Certification (Formation DELF) 55 participants	
WEEK 1	Mornings	Language classes according to CEFR levels A2, B1, B2, C1	Pedagogy Workshop (choice of weekly theme)	DELF Training	
	12:30	Lunch (held daily in the cafeteria at CAVILAM)			
	14:00 to 15:30	Conversation classes: CEFR levels A2, B1, B2, C1	Pedagogy Workshop (choice of weekly theme)	DELF Training	
	16:00 to 17:30	Tues/Thurs	DELF orientation	Séances 'Découverte': open lectures & workshops	
		Wed	Book fair: weekly presentation of CEFR curricular materials for purchase		
	Evenings	Week 1: Cultural Activities guided tour of Vichy • outdoor theatre • tastings of local wines and pastry excursion to village of Charroux • chateaux visits • cinema			
WEEKEND	Saturday	<i>Journée libre</i> (day off)			
	Sunday	Day trip through Auvergne region, including a visit to the basilica Notre-Dame d'Orcival, an excursion to the wine and cheese market in the town of Besse, and lunch at farmhouse in Saint Nectaire			
WEEK 2	Mornings	Language classes according to CEFR levels A2, B1, B2, C1	DELF training	DELF training	
	12:30	Lunch (held daily in the cafeteria at CAVILAM)			
	14:00 to 15:30	Conversation classes: CEFR levels A2, B1, B2, C1	DELF training	DELF training	
	16:00 to 17:30	Tues/Thurs	DELF orientation	Séances 'Découverte': open lectures & workshops	
		Wed	Book fair: weekly presentation of CEFR curricular materials for purchase		
	Evenings	Week 2: Cultural Activities outdoor festival and theatre • tastings of local wines and pastry excursion to the town of Riom cinema • volcano hike up the Puy de Dôme mayoral reception at city hall			

language curricula in BC (see Appendix A for the information brochure/application form). In view of my research interests in FSL education, I was introduced to the principal organizer of the program, Mr. Chelali, Assistant Director of French Programs and Services in BC, by my PhD supervisor Dr. Bournot-Trites and subsequently welcomed to the project as participant-

researcher. Aside from my doctoral research, I was to conduct a cursory program evaluation for the Ministry of Education and the Vancouver School Board.

Of the 87 teacher participants, 55 took part in the intensive two-week DELF-training program to become certified as proctor, examiner, or educator-trainer for the DELF exam in BC. The sessions were taught by an instructor from the *Centre international d'études pédagogiques* (CIEP), a branch of the French government's Ministry of Education that oversees implementation of the CEFR and DELF. Given the large number of participants from BC interested in the DELF-certification, the teachers participating in this program were divided into two groups with DELF-training sessions running simultaneously. In addition to learning about the exam itself, course content included an introduction to instructional strategies in support of the DELF implementation process, taught by three CAVILAM instructors.

Teacher participants who did not opt for the intensive two-week DELF-training were encouraged to undergo language assessment on the first day for placement in one of the other two programs offered at CAVILAM – pedagogy workshops or language development.¹¹ The teaching workshops were chosen by 25 teachers from BC who took part in the *parcours thématiques* during the first week of the sojourn, followed by a week of intensive DELF training, also specifically designed for the BC teachers. The five-day *Parcours*-program offered a wide variety of FSL instructional strategies and resources at different grade levels. These courses were also taken by other international students at CAVILAM and thus allowed the BC teachers to interact with French language teachers from other countries.

The 7 teacher participants in the language classes or *Perfectionnement linguistique* program attended morning classes and afternoon conversation workshops for the entire two-

¹¹ It should be noted that there was some flexibility for participants with a more advanced level of French to choose between the teaching workshops or language program. *Advanced* refers to participants demonstrating between a B2 and C1 level of French language proficiency on the placement test.

week period, also together with other CAVILAM students. Placement in the language classes was based on the results of the initial language assessment, which for the cohort ranged from levels A2 to C1 in accordance with the global proficiency guidelines of the CEFR. These guidelines are divided into six common reference levels which describe L2 users in terms of basic (A1/A2 - beginner/elementary), independent (B1/B2 - intermediate/upper intermediate) and proficient (C1/C2 - advanced/mastery). In addition to language classes, BC teachers in this group attended an introductory orientation to the CEFR and DELF with the CIEP instructor during two weekly afternoon sessions.

Outside the classroom and aside from the daily midday break, participants from all three groups had an opportunity to reconnect during the “discovery” lectures (*Séances «découverte»*) held on two afternoons each week, and by taking part in CAVILAM-organized cultural activities. Historical visits included excursions through Vichy and to neighbouring towns such as the medieval village of Charroux and the town of Riom, as well as a hike up the Puy de Dôme, one of the region’s most renowned volcanoes. In the evenings, activities ranged from outdoor theatre performances in the neighbouring town of Cusset or a movie on the CAVILAM campus to dinner with colleagues or the host family. The weekend excursion organized specifically for the BC teachers consisted of a bus trip through the Auvergne region with visits to the town of Orcival and its Roman Basilica, a midday culinary experience in a farmhouse outside the town of Saint Nectaire, and a late afternoon wine and cheese tasting at the town market of Besse. The local *programme culturel* exclusively organized for the BC teachers and sponsored by CAVILAM included two “tastings” of local pastry, cheese, and wines, a reception with the deputy mayor of Vichy at city hall, and a meeting with the Vice-Director of the CIEP and a representative of the French government’s Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs.

Accommodation for the teacher participants was arranged with local families residing in Vichy or the vicinity and provided further opportunity to engage with locals or other international teachers/students also enrolled in a summer program at CAVILAM. Lengthy evening dinners at the families' homes were frequently discussed among the teachers and for most participants a much-anticipated conclusion to each day.

Vichy cohort participants

Recruitment and data sources

In consideration of ethical concerns, recruitment of participants for the research study did *not* take place prior to the cohorts' departure for France so as not to interfere with the application process. Since the teachers' participation in the study abroad was entirely voluntary, it was important not to make their potential acceptance in the professional development project contingent on participation in a research study. A description of the research study was however included in the initial information brochure accompanying the application form (Appendix A), and sent out to district French language coordinators across the province in early April. Based on subsequent questions from applicants about the research, I drafted an additional statement to clarify the issue of participation in the study as it related to the sojourn (see Appendix B). In May, a supplementary brochure with information about the DELF and its potential implementation in BC was sent out to all accepted teachers participants by the organizing branch of the BCTF (see Appendix C).

In Vichy, the study's research objectives were presented to participants on the first morning of the sojourn, in French, with all information simultaneously projected on a slide presentation in English. Interested participants were asked to sign the forms according to three

possible levels of participation. Participation in the first level required completion of pre- and post-questionnaires on the first and last day of the program in France, primarily for the purpose of a program-evaluation report. The second level comprised more in-depth data generation, which in addition to the questionnaires also included keeping a journal throughout the 2-week sojourn and consenting to audio/video recordings of classroom interactions at CAVILAM. The third level pertained to the follow-up phase in BC and included, in addition to the first two levels, individual semi-structured interviews conducted between January and June 2010, a participant e-journal documenting teaching experiences over the course of the year, and an audio-/video-recorded classroom visit between January and June 2010.

During this first phase of the study, data generation thus involved pre- and post-questionnaires, journals, audio/video recordings of classroom sessions and extra-curricular activities, field notes, and one informal interview in lieu of a sojourn journal (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Data generated from BC teacher participants during Phase I of the study.

Phase I Data Sources (out of 87)	
<i>Procedure</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
pre-questionnaires	82
post- questionnaires	69
Vichy journals	19
unstructured interviews	1 (35min)
audio-recording	30 hours
video-recording	12 hours

Of the 87 participants all but one teacher consented to the first level of participation by completing either the pre- or the post-questionnaires, with 65 participants completing both questionnaires. For the second level, 37 journal booklets were initially handed out in Vichy with

19 ultimately returned, several prior to leaving Vichy and the remainder via mail during the fall of 2009. There were no objections from any of the BC teachers with regard to the audio/video recording of classroom time while in France. In addition to the BC cohort, CAVILAM instructors and other students enrolled in classes with the BC teachers were given an opportunity to consent to the audio-/video recording of the classroom interaction and my participation as researcher in the class. The 30 hours of audio-recordings include classroom interaction (24 hours) as well as outside class group activities, such as bus tours, speeches at special gatherings, lectures, meetings, and spontaneous group singing. The video-recordings were limited to the classroom. Although 46 participants had indicated potential interest in participating in the follow-up phase of the study, this number dwindled to a handful of participants upon subsequent requests (discussed in the next section).

Professional background of participants

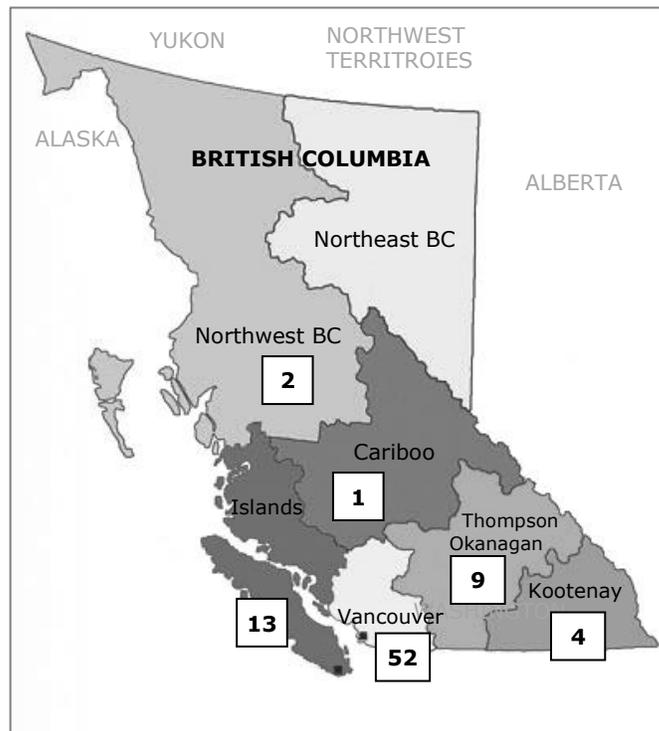
To give a sense of the composition of this group of teachers, I present relevant professional characteristics based on the background information generated through the pre-questionnaire. This also provides a context for the selection of the focal participants in terms of how they are situated within the larger professional community of FSL teachers in BC.

As can be expected with regard to school districts, the largest contingent (almost two thirds) of teachers participating in the sojourn originated from school districts located in the south-west corner of the province, the most densely populated region (Figure 4.2 below).

Proximity to this region is a direct indicator of the number of participants from other regions in the provinces, with coastal/island and interior districts better represented than northern and

eastern areas. In part this is due to the dissemination of information (or lack thereof) about the sojourn to school districts rural areas in the province.

Figure 4.2 Provincial representation of teachers participating in sojourn to France.



The types of FSL programming associated with the participants are shown in Table 4.3 below. Participants from secondary CF and early FI programs predominated, constituting two thirds of the entire group, while secondary FI teachers also constituted a notable part of the cohort.¹² These programs enroll students on a voluntary basis (after Grade 8 CF) and, given their status as “high level French” programing, require teachers with a relatively advanced level of French. Elementary CF (represented by 6 participants) falls into province-mandated additional language programing and is the most widely taught government supported L2 program in the

¹² Although most district coordinators did not indicate an affiliation with a specific FSL program it can be assumed that they have taught in at least one of these three programs (as indicated by one participant).

Table 4.3 Professional background of sojourn participants in terms of program, experience, and linguistic background. Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of L1 speakers of French as indicated by the participants on the pre-questionnaire.

		YEARS OF TEACHING						
		under 1 year	1-3 years	3-5 years	5 + years	10 + years	25 + years	
		82	2	3	10	11	37	19
TYPE OF PROGRAM	CF Elementary	6		1	1		3 (1)	1 (1)
	CF Secondary	25	2		1	3	10 (3)	9 (1)
	Early FI (K- Grade 7)	28		1 (1)	6	4 (1)	13 (3)	4 (1)
	FI Secondary (Grades 8-12)	12		1 (1)	1	3	3 (2)	4 (3)
	Late FI (Grade 6-7)	5			1		4 (1)	
	CF & FI Secondary	1					1 (1)	
	Intensive French	1					1	
	District Coordinator	4				1 (1)	2 (1)	1 (1)

province, due to the official status of French in Canada. Teachers in this program may be specialist or generalist teachers, the latter often with a very limited knowledge of the language (Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers, 2004; Carr, 2007b). It seems reasonable to assume that the DELF focus of the sojourn and the popularity of FI programs played a role with regard to the type of teachers that ultimately submitted an application for this PD sojourn abroad. Moreover, the criteria for participation and the French-only application process further points to a representation from predominantly “high-level” French programs.

With regard to the length of participants' teaching careers (Table 4.3), these range from 1 to over 25 years, with over two thirds of participants having taught for more than a decade (between 10 and 20 years), whereas a third has 25 or more years of experience. In terms of the relationship between career length and the type of French programming, not surprisingly the majority of teachers with more than 10 years of experience teach in "high level French" programs, more or less equally distributed across secondary CF and early FI. Among the 25 + group, half teach secondary CF. With regard to participants' linguistic background as indicated on the pre-questionnaire, the distribution of L2 French speakers constitutes 72 percent versus 28 percent L1 French speakers, indicated in Table 4.3 as bracketed numbers.

Phase II of the research process

Research site: FSL education in British Columbia

The second phase of this study involved a one-year follow-up inquiry with seven focal participants from the Vichy cohort, conducted at different sites across the province of British Columbia. In terms of the socio-historical and political elements of this setting, the research context represents a predominantly anglophone region in Western Canada where French, as one of the two official national languages, is a minority language vis-à-vis English, alongside a substantial number of other non-official languages. Despite increasing public acknowledgment of the benefits of a multilingual and plurilingual society, the place of FSL education in BC has been and remains a highly politicized issue, especially as regards its official status in Canada (Steffenhagen, 2011a, 2011b).

The learning of French in BC can be traced back over a century and a half, but it was not until the later part of the twentieth century that it was officially integrated as a subject into all

levels of schooling and institutionally funded (Carr, 2007b). Based on the recommendations of the 1960s Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the federal government passed the Official Languages Act in 1969 designating French and English as Canada's two official languages and establishing bilingual services in the central government and within federal courts. A year later, it launched the Bilingualism in Education Program (BEP), today the Official Languages in Education Program (OLEP), as partial funding for the provinces and a number of federal programs for the promotion of French and English as minority and second languages in Canada (Hayday, 2005). At the time, the government's central focus was on individuals' rights, which were seen to encompass language rights and, in this way, offer citizens equal access to government services in the official language of their choice. However, with education under provincial jurisdiction since Confederation (1876), many provincial governments, including BC, preferred an emphasis on multiculturalism and multilingualism and therefore initially adopted a hands-off approach to French language education. Eventually, however, the BC government granted francophone education leaders greater protection for minority-language education and at the same time promoted bilingualism among the anglophone population through FSL programming, which today includes core French, French immersion, and intensive French in British Columbia.¹³

Core French was recommended as a required school subject at the secondary level in BC in 1977, with a non-compulsory local option in elementary grades. By the mid-1990s, BC's *Language Education Policy* (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 1994) had shifted from French-specific requirements and called for a general mandatory second language option in

¹³ On occasion, use of the term *FSL* can be found with reference to only core French. This use is especially popular among teachers in BC, who often use the descriptor "FSL" to distinguish basic French programming from French immersion. Unfortunately this ambiguous use appears to now have also made its way into the research literature (e.g., Karsenti, Collin, Villeneuve, Dumouchel, & Roy, 2008; MacFarlane, 2005; Mady, 2008).

grades 5 to 8, which in most cases constituted CF due to existing programs and resources. As an introductory course, CF is typically taught as a 40-50 minute block twice a week in elementary, and often for three hours per week in Grade 8. The delivery of the program differs across districts, as well as from one school to the next depending on the school's timetable, semester format, and available resources (Carr, 2007b). The main emphasis of this program is on basic communication and cultural understandings, which may be further developed in secondary grades (Carr, 2007a).

French immersion (Lambert & Tucker, 1972) is an intensive content-based L2 program in which French is used as a medium of instruction for non-French speaking students (Cummins, 1998). Introduced in Canada in 1965 in the now famous St. Lambert school in a suburb of Montreal, it made its way to British Columbia in 1968 (Canadian Parents for French, 2008a) and has grown steadily in popularity (Canadian Heritage, 2008), in part due to an active research community (Cummins, 1983). In the mid-1990s, consistent with a renewed interest in second language education by the BC Ministry of Education, school districts sought to increase French language intensity in its FI program by extending FI instruction from 50 to 80 percent of the core academic curriculum through intermediate Grades 4 to 7 (Bournot-Trites & Reeder, 2001; Reeder, Buntain, & Takakuwa, 1999). FI continues to be described as a primary means of providing non-francophone students an opportunity to become bilingual (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 1996). As to the intensity of French language instruction, the BC Ministry of Education recommends that schools begin with 100 percent in kindergarten and primary grades, progressing to 80 percent in intermediate elementary with the introduction of English in Grade 4, decreasing to 50 percent in junior high school (Grades 8-10), and finally ending at approximately 25 percent of FI instruction in the senior Grades (11 & 12). Current curriculum

guidelines for early elementary, secondary, and late elementary FI date back to 1995, 1997 and 1999 respectively (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2011).

A third FSL program, intensive French, was introduced to BC in 2004. First piloted in Newfoundland and Labrador in 1998, it was conceived by Joan Netten and Claude Germain (2004) as a way to revitalize basic French programming (MacFarlane, 2005). IF is modeled after Quebec's *classes d'accueil*, that province's intensive French language program and equivalent to FI (Netten & Germain, 2004). As a program option, IF is situated somewhere between CF and FI in that it offers Grade 5 and 6 students the opportunity to learn French in an immersion setting for a half year, followed by an English language curriculum during the second half, with Math delivered in English throughout the entire school year. In BC, this is followed-up with an enriched French language program in Grade 7 with up to five hours of French per week (Carr, 2008, p. 788).

Within the province of BC, there are seven separate research sites, each of which is associated with one of the focal participants discussed in the next section. Five of the participants I met in their respective schools to conduct multiple interviews and, in the case of four of these participants, also classroom observations. The other two participants met with me for an interview outside of their place of work.

Focal participants

Recruitment and data sources

In this study, it was not my aim to look for representativeness of focal participants within the larger cohort; rather, I was interested in focal participants' individual displays of professional identity construction, specifically conceptions of authenticity. Selection of participants was therefore based on intensity or variation sampling (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990), to

provide for information-rich cases from multiple data sources and an opportunity for in-depth analysis. In other words, the emphasis was on variability in an effort to understand how different participants identified as “FSL teacher” account for similar experiences in different ways (Wood & Kroger, 2000). In fact, the identity category to which participants in this study have been recruited is itself an element “of the research arguments that are being pursued” (Potter & Hepburn, 2012, p. 6). This category as well as related categories of L2 learner, “non-native speaker teacher,” FSL professional, research participant, and so on, figure explicitly and implicitly in questionnaire, journal, and interview prompts and are made relevant by focal participants in several ways. While fully recognizing that my own orientation to these categories as a researcher has an influence on their salience in participants’ accounts, my primary focus is on how these categories are discursively produced and how they function as discursive resources in the construction of participants’ identities.

During the fall of 2009, those who had submitted a journal and consented to participate in the third option were contacted by e-mail for further participation in the study. The fall school term tends to be a particularly stressful and busy time for teachers, a period during which teachers have to adapt to new workloads, schedules, classes, etc. With only three confirmed participants by the end of the term, another request was sent in late December, 2009. The timing appeared to be right this time. By early 2010 nine participants had officially agreed to continue with the study, of which seven ultimately participated as focal participants (see Table 4.4 below for an overview of data sources).

All seven participants had completed pre- and post-questionnaires and a journal in France. Although each had also consented to participate in Phase II of the study, the specifics of

Table 4.4 Data sources of focal participants.

Phase II Data Sources		
<i>Participant</i>	<i>Data Source</i>	<i>Time Frame</i>
Christa	◦ pre- and post-questionnaire	July, 2009
	◦ Vichy notebook journal (5 entries)	
	◦ 1 semi-structured interview face-to-face (1 h audio & video)	January 2010
Janet	◦ pre- and post-questionnaire	July, 2009
	◦ Vichy notebook journal (10 entries)	
	◦ monthly e-journal (1 entry as part of e-mail correspondence)	Nov 2009
	◦ 1 semi-structured interview face-to-face (1 h of audio & video)	February 2010
	◦ 1 “debriefing” interviews (40 min audio)	
	◦ classroom observation of a Grade 5/6 FI class conducted over 2 days (total: 7 h audio)	May, 2010
Karin	◦ pre- and post-questionnaire	July, 2009
	◦ Vichy notebook journal (3 entries)	
	◦ 1 semi-structured interview face-to-face (1.25 h of audio, 1h video)	January, 2010
	◦ 2 “debriefing” interviews (1.5 h audio)	
	◦ classroom observation of a Grade 2 FI class conducted over 2 days (total: 4.5 hours of audio & video)	May, 2010
Helen	◦ pre- and post-questionnaire	July, 2009
	◦ Vichy notebook journal (5 entries)	
	◦ monthly e-journal (9 entries)	Sep09 - Jun10
	◦ 1 semi-structured interview by telephone (1.3 h audio)	January, 2010
	◦ 5 “debriefing” interviews (2.5 h audio)	
	◦ classroom observation conducted over 4 days: 6 classes of one CF Grade 9 and 5 classes of one CF Grade 10 (total: 9.25 h audio & video)	April, 2010
Carolyn	◦ pre- and post-questionnaire	July, 2009
	◦ Vichy e-journal (8 entries)	
	◦ 1 semi-structured interview by telephone (1.3 hours of audio)	February 2010
	◦ 1 “debriefing” interview (45 min audio)	
	◦ classroom observation of 2 CF Grade 9 classes and 1 CF Grade 10 class (total: 4 h audio & video)	June, 2010
Tamara	◦ pre- and post-questionnaire	July, 2009
	◦ Vichy notebook journal (6 entries)	
	◦ 1 semi-structured interview face-to-face (1.5 h audio)	January, 2010
	◦ web-hosted slide-show (97 photos w/ captions)	
Sara	◦ pre- and post-questionnaire	July, 2009
	◦ 1 semi-structured interview face-to-face (1.5 h audio)	February, 2010
	◦ 1 follow-up semi-structured interview face-to-face (1 h audio & video)	May 2010

that participation were worked out on an individual basis through email contact and at the time of the first interview based on both the teachers’ and my own schedule. During this second phase of

the study, data generation comprised at least one semi-structured interview with every participant, with five participants agreeing to a second interview. Except for one participant, who regularly submitted monthly e-journal reports, others submitted occasional, brief accounts as part of ongoing email correspondence.

Classroom visits with audio and video recordings were negotiated during the first interview. Once a participant had agreed to classroom observation, consent was obtained from the school district and the school principal, always in collaboration with the research participant. As soon as I had access to the classroom, each teacher participant was sent the parent/student consent and assent forms for completion by parents and students. Although the largest portion of the data from focal participants was produced during the sojourn in France and the subsequent school year 2009/2010, in November 2010 I requested focal participants' permission to use as data any e-mail correspondence generated throughout the research process.

Participants' professional backgrounds

In this section I briefly sketch the working contexts of the focal participants (see Table 4.5 below for a summary). This sketch is not meant to draw up particular case studies but to provide an overview of the composition of this group of participants in terms of educational and professional background. Furthermore, the information included in this table is contingent on the following: a) I decided not to include information that might potentially lead to an identification of the focal participants, given that many in the FSL community were participants or are connected with someone who participated in the sojourn; b) the participant-relevant discourse analytic approach taken here means that any information about the participant is based on what has been provided by the participant herself and interpreted as constituting discourse, that is, as

contributing to the construction of a particular identity. I have therefore not introduced other social categories aside from the FSL teacher category, which is made directly relevant in this study's research questions.

Table 4.5 Professional background and teaching context of focal participants

FOCAL PARTICIPANTS EDUCATIONAL & PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND							
	CHRISTA	JANET	KARIN	HELEN	CAROLYN	TAMARA	SARA
<i>French</i>	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2	L2
<i>currently teaching</i>	FI primary & intermediate	FI intermediate	FI primary	CF & FI secondary	CF secondary	CF intermediate	CF secondary
<i>years of teaching</i>	28 years	9 years	16 years	1 year	28 years	24 years	10 years
<i>workload</i>	full-time	full-time	full-time	full-time	full-time	full-time	full-time
<i>education</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ CF ➢ BSc in Biology ➢ Teacher Ed in FI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ FI ➢ BA: Psych & French ➢ Teacher Ed: FSL 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Basic French ➢ BA: French ➢ M.Mus ➢ Teacher Ed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Basic French ➢ BA: Theatre & French ➢ Teacher Ed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ CF ➢ B.Ed ➢ Teacher Ed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ French school ➢ B.Mus ➢ Teacher Ed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ CF ➢ BA(Hons) in French ➢ MA in French Lit ➢ Teacher Ed: L2
<i>time in French-speaking region</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ bi-yearly 2-wk visits to Quebec 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ 3 weeks in Quebec ➢ several visits to France & Quebec 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ 3 sojourns between 1-6 weeks in length 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ 1yr & 4wk study in France; ➢ family vacations to France 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ 3 months in Quebec ➢ several SA trips w/ students to France 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ 23 years in Quebec; ➢ short Paris visit many years ago 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ 2 weeks as chaperone to students in France
<i>CAVILAM program</i>	Parcours	Parcours	Parcours	Parcours	Parcours	DELF	DELF

All of the focal participants were female teachers, not surprising given that the 87 participants included only eight male teachers, three of whom took part as members of the organizing committee. Gender is not something that I focused on specifically in my investigation. As an identity category it is made relevant indirectly by several participants

through the category “mother,” predominantly with a focus on its signification as parent rather than in terms of an orientation to gender (see Chapter 6).

Another attributable characteristic common to all the participants was the L2 acquisition of French, either as a second or third language. All learned French through the public school system through a variety of programming options including basic French, French immersion, or at a francophone school. At the post-secondary level almost all the participants studied a subject other than or alongside French and not every participant concentrated on FSL teaching in their teacher education programs. Thus, while the data analysis in Chapter 5 is based on data generated by the cohort as a whole and therefore includes both L1 and L2 speakers of French, analysis of the identity construction of the focal participants centered specifically on so-called “non-native” teacher speakers. Also of interest is that for every one of these participants English was the dominant language, either acquired as an L1 or in conjunction with a heritage language – specifically as concerns Tamara, Carolyn, Karin, and possibly also Sara.

In regard to the participants’ teaching careers, all held full-time positions and, at the time of the study, represented a wide range in terms of career length: one novice teacher (Helen), three “old-timers” with more than 25 years of public school FSL teaching (Tamara, Christa, and Carolyn) and the remaining three with a decade or more of FSL teaching experience (Karin, Janet, and Sara). The types of programs represented also constitute a substantial range, with CF secondary most prominent, followed by primary and intermediate FI, and one CF elementary teacher. Finally, all participants had travelled abroad to a French-speaking region either within or outside of Canada, most often for the purpose of study or travel, but also as teachers on student exchanges. Participants’ accounts of these trips and the role they played within their professional lives speak to understandings of authenticity as well as the formation of FSL teacher identities.

Data

This section outlines the different methods of data generation used in the study, including the purpose and procedure of each method. Data generated by participants are seen to represent one possible perspective or version of events, with multiple methods affording multiple instances of data production and therefore potential consideration of alternative versions (Wood & Kroger, 2000). My approach to data production relies on a *social practice* orientation (Talmy, 2010b), grounded in discussions about the use of interviews in social science research (e.g. Briggs, 2007; Potter & Hepburn, 2005), specifically in regards to the explicit theorization of the status and data of qualitative research interviews (Deschambault, 2011; Roulston, 2010). A similar perspective has also been proposed for autobiographical narrative research (Pavlenko, 2007) and the use of questionnaires for qualitative inquiry (Wernicke, in progress). Consequently, in this study, data production is understood as “participation in social practices” and as such constitutes a “collaborative achievement” between participants and researchers (Talmy, 2011).

The choice of methods is based on the position that the “ability of method to act as the bridge from questions to reasonable answers” (Freebody, 2004, p. 68) requires an explicitly outlined and coherent methodological framework in order to justify the validation (Mishler, 1990) or trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of qualitative inquiry. Given the reflexive nature of social research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) it is important to consider the inherently different methods and the type of data they afford. As noted by Atkinson and Coffey (2003), while different research methods present different means of understanding the world, the resulting data from these methods all represent social actions which can be talked about (see also Speer, 2002):

Social life is performed and narrated, and we need to recognize the performative qualities

of social life and talk. In doing so, we shall not find it necessary to juxtapose talk and events as if they occupied different spheres of meaning.... By acknowledging that accounts, recollections, and experiences are enacted, we can start to avoid the strict dualism between “what people do” and “what people say.” (P. Atkinson, Coffey, & Delamont, 2003, pp. 110, 119)

This means that participants’ descriptions and accounts from interviews, questionnaires, journals, and email correspondence are taken to be co-constructed narrative texts demonstrating enacted teacher identity (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Pavlenko, 2007). At the same time, each data set constitutes a distinct form of social action by comprising a particular type of textual representation (P. Atkinson & Coffey, 2003). Recognition of the particular affordances or qualities of each text is important because one may yield corroborative or conflicting findings when placed next to the findings from another data source. The recognition that each method provides different affordances to explore the perspectives of a particular social reality also means that these “different points of view cannot be merged into a single, ‘true’ and ‘certain’ representation of the object” (Silverman, 2006, p. 291). Each method and its corresponding analytic strategy is of value on its own, which means that triangulation is theoretically incompatible with the social practice and discourse analytic approach taken here (P. Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Silverman, 2000; Talmy, 2011; cf. Talmy & K. Richards, 2011, pp. 3-4). As noted:

Triangulation is inconsistent with the principles of discourse analysis in that it assumes that different versions (from different methods, etc.) can be taken as a route to something behind them, and further, that there is one correct version; it fails to recognize sufficiently

that observations are affected not only by theory but also by conventional methodological imperatives. (Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 176)

The manner in which triangulation in terms of multiple methods and data sources does contribute to the present study is by augmenting the variety of data and consequently providing for a more multidimensional understanding of language teacher identity construction. Instead of being used as a method of validation, triangulation can be seen as “a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth” to the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5). It is with this ontological and epistemological stance in mind that I discuss the various methods used for data generation of this study.

Questionnaires

As one of the most common research instruments in applied linguistics research (Brown, 2009; Brown & Rodgers, 2002; Chaudron, 2000; Dörnyei, 2003) I have used questionnaires in this study for professional and educational background information about the participants and to gain an overview of the research topic. With virtually no literature specifically focused on teachers on study abroad, a large-scale survey such as this one served as a useful starting point for further data and subsequent analysis by offering a “bigger picture” of the participants’ take on the PD initiative. Surveys represent a common design feature in case study research because they allow the researcher to establish the representativeness of the cases presented with individual cases offering an in-depth description of the phenomenon being investigated (Duff, 2008). The questionnaires for this study were designed with both closed and open-ended response items. Closed response items were included to produce background information as well as evaluative feedback about the CAVILAM program. Open response items allowed participants

to elaborate on biographical data and offer brief accounts or descriptions related to the PD sojourn. The 41-item pre-questionnaire and the 48-item post-questionnaire were created in collaboration with CAVILAM administrators in order to provide for a general program evaluation in addition to generating research data for the multiple case study (see Appendix D). Questions from a variety of CAVILAM evaluation forms were integrated into the questionnaire design in an effort to cover all research and assessment objectives, and thus avoid the need for multiple questionnaire forms at the end of the program. The pre-questionnaires attended to participants' professional status and experience, pre-service education, self-assessment of language expertise in French, and familiarity with study abroad programs. Topics addressed in the predominantly open-ended questions of the post-questionnaire focused on participants' study abroad experiences as they related to the course content and instruction at CAVILAM, extra-curricular activities, accommodation, and the PD initiative in general.

Journals

Journal data were generated in this study as professional narrative (e.g. Bailey & Nunan, 1996; Golombek & Johnson, 2004; Pavlenko, 2003a; Tsui, 2007) to gain in-depth descriptions of participants' study abroad experiences to understand how the participants related these experiences to teaching practices and identities as FSL teachers. In research Phase I, participants were provided with a notebook on the first day of the sojourn which included a list of prompts for possible journal entries, including a) unexpected experiences, b) new knowledge, c) progression of the sojourn, and d) impact of the sojourn on professional practice (see Appendix E). Given my focus on particular aspects of the SA sojourn and the number of participants in the cohort, my thoughts were also on subsequent data management and analysis.

Participants were encouraged to write entries according to their own schedule (e.g. on a daily, weekly, or one-time basis) in hardcopy or electronic format, in French or English. Teachers who had consented to participate in the follow-up research phase were encouraged to write entries in an e-journal on a weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly basis. An e-journal template in Word document format was initially sent out to participants, pre-formatted with six prompts in the form of questions about a) the types of activities, resources, artifacts used in class, b) reflections about a particular lesson, c) interactions with students and colleagues, d) the impact of the sojourn on daily professional activities and relations, e) successes and, f) challenges (Appendix E). Only one focal participant submitted a journal entry regularly. As noted above, email-embedded journal-like reports were counted as participants email correspondence.

Interviews

Interviews are a favoured method of inquiry in applied linguistics and education research (P. Atkinson & Silverman, 1997; Briggs, 1986; Talmy, 2010b), certainly in studies investigating teacher identity (K. Richards, 2009), and as such figure prominently in this study. My use of interviews draws on a social practice approach which conceives of the interview as locally and collaboratively constructed (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004; Talmy, 2010b). From this perspective, interviewees and interviewer(s) are considered co-participants in the construction of the data and meanings are seen as developing out of the interaction of the interview itself (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), with the interviewer as “neither neutral nor indifferently supportive” (Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 72). This means that, in the present study, so-called “interviewer bias” or “contaminated data” are not viewed as problems, but merely as a different kind of research practice associated with a certain theoretical conception of interviews (Roulston, 2011; Talmy,

2010b). From a social practice perspective, the role of the researcher is viewed as a valuable analytic resource in interpreting the data (see also Miller, 2011).

In the second research phase, semi-structured interviews were conducted on a one-time basis with two of the focal participants while the remaining teachers participated in interviews on multiple occasions, often in conjunction with the classroom observation. Initial interviews were conducted and recorded in a face-to-face, telephone, or email format. All additional interviewing occurred face-to-face. In designing the protocol for the initial interview (see Appendix F) I drew on questionnaire and journal data generated during the sojourn in France, with subsequent interviews conducted as a direct follow-up to classroom observations and/or as a means of examining in more detail issues made relevant during the first interview. Despite a set protocol, questioning in the first interview was in part guided by the interaction, at times requiring adjustment of the order of the questions. Interview questions for subsequent interviews or debriefing sessions were designed as follow-up to previously collected data.

Online interviews were organized through e-mail correspondence and therefore required a more formal approach to procedural aspects. Prior to my sending any interview questions over email, the participant was sent a list of guidelines about the process of the interview (James & Busher, 2009), allowing for clarification of time-lines and the addressing of concerns or questions from the participant (see Appendix F). Subsequent to the participant agreeing to the interview procedure, I sent the first two questions listed on the interview protocol. Based on an approximate turn-around period of three days for each set of questions, the entire interview was scheduled over a total of 6-8 weeks. Each participant response was followed-up with one or two questions pertaining directly to the response (as necessary) in addition to the next set of questions from the interview protocol. In order to establish an on-going interaction between

interviewer and interviewee, both of us composed each subsequent question or comment directly into the “reply” window of each e-mail, thereby creating a running transcript of the entire interview. Despite the laborious nature of this process the temptation to simply work through all the questions at once, the ability to follow-up on responses and to focus on only two or three questions at a time contributes immensely to collaborative and interactive character of the interview.

Participant observation

Another common source of information-rich data in case study research is participant observation (Hatch, 2002; Yin, 2009). My central purpose for using this method was to gain an understanding of the study abroad setting and of participants’ professional development activities while in Vichy, given the small amount of research involving teacher PD in a study abroad context. This involved sitting in on different classes, workshops, and lectures; attending extra-curricular events with the participants inside and outside of Vichy; and being part of participants’ daily visits in classroom, cafeteria, library, computer lab, the outdoor terrace or the much-visited café down the street from CAVILAM. In BC, my interest centered on participants’ particular teaching contexts and their instructional practices in those environments. This involved visiting multiple classes of four different focal participants, usually over several days, to observe teacher-student interaction during a particular lesson. My level of participation was moderate on these occasions (Spradley, 1980) and mostly entailed being seated on the side of the classroom and attending to the video/audio recording equipment. Identity work accomplished in classrooms as well as in interview interaction foregrounded certain identity categories or particular tensions between different identity roles.

Audio and video recording

Audio/video recording represents an important supplementary method of data production. As noted by Gubrium and Holstein (2009), determining how the internal organization of accounts relates to their social context “requires an understanding of what people do with words to create and structure meaning” (p. 25). Arriving at this understanding is most effectively accomplished with audio or video recorded, transcribed data. In the present study, audio recordings constituted the main source of interview data.

Field notes

The product of participant observation as a method of data collection usually involves a considerable amount of field notes. In France, daily events and activities were documented in chronological order. During the follow-up phase, field notes were taken during each classroom visit, providing further context of the class activities I observed (Hatch, 2002) alongside audio- and/or video-recordings. Given the focus on L2 teacher identity in this study, particular attention was paid to the setting (classroom set-up and decor), teacher-student interaction, participants’ mobilization of certain identity categories, teaching practices, orientations to language ideologies, conceptions of language learning and language use, participants’ use of French, and types of teaching materials in the classroom.

Documents

During both phases a variety of documents were collected as a means of contextualizing participants’ accounts with further background information. In France these comprised CAVILAM literature made available to students by the institution, including booklets, and

calendars with information about the language centre, the city of Vichy, accommodations, cultural activities, touristic pamphlets, newsletters, and schedules of classes and workshops. Specifically associated with the BC teachers are documents with programmatic information for the cohort, in-class handouts, and correspondence with CAVILAM regarding arrival procedures and host families. In BC, documents included handouts and copies of classroom materials distributed to students and/or used by focal participants during observed classroom sessions. Photos were also taken prior to or after the classroom observations, generally of both the interior and exterior of the school and classroom.

With regard to language preference for all data generation methods used here, it is important to note that, given that the research topic and context involve bilingual/multilingual interaction with research participants, data generation procedures were designed and carried out with as much flexibility as possible to allow for collaborative negotiation of language choice /alternation during each research activity.

Data analysis

Data analysis for this study was a continuous activity which began at the outset of the first research interaction, recursively shaped the subsequent phases of the research process, and proceeded in an iterative manner throughout the writing of the thesis. Analysis considers not only the content of participants' accounts as responses to research questions, but also how these narratives have been generated, and how both analysis and findings are to be represented for the reader. In this section, I briefly discuss management and analysis of the data generated for this study. Rather than outlining specific approaches to data analysis at this point, I introduce

fundamental features of a general analytic approach, and leave discussion about specific analysis of the data for Chapters 5 and 6.

My approach to focal participants' data and insights into individual FSL identity constructions constitutes an iterative analytic trajectory. I began with initial readings and compilation of journal and questionnaire accounts. Hand-written responses were recontextualized (Briggs, 2003) into a text document, taking into account line and paragraph breaks and the graphic organization of the text. This was followed up with an initial rough transcription of each interview and coding of questionnaire responses, journal accounts, and email correspondence. Open-ended questionnaire responses were examined for thematically salient patterns across participant accounts. Responses to one question item were subsequently analysed from a discourse-analytic perspective, the results of which are presented in Chapter 5. Analyses represented in Chapter 6 were based on more detailed transcriptions of each interview, with specific focus on excerpts particularly relevant to participants' particular identity construction. While initial transcriptions merely served to summarize interview content, later transcriptions focused on relevant interactional detail such as pauses, intonation, overlapping utterances, and laughter particles. Final interview transcripts and other data items were assembled into individual hermeneutic units for each focal participant, with each unit subjected to further analysis with consideration of the temporal elements characterizing the generation of each data set. Analysis of salient themes and discursive constructions of identity, both of self and other, brought to light explicit and implicit orientations to prevalent assumptions and beliefs about second language learning and teaching.

As outlined in the previous chapter, a central question the present study addresses is the relationship between larger social structures and locally produced categories, positionings and

roles taken up by the participants in the course of constructing a professional identity as FSL teacher. The question of how identity is produced requires a methodological approach that demonstrates how ground-level analysis of the participants' talk-in-interaction may be connected with a consideration of larger social contextual factors. In so doing, I draw on the larger tradition of discursive psychology (D. Edwards & Potter, 1992, 2005; Potter & Wetherell, 1987) in my approach to confidence and attend to identity construction based on participant-relevant analysis of talk (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Drew, 2006; Heritage, 2005; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) – specifically membership categorization analysis (MCA) (Baker, 2004; Hester & Eglin, 1997; Sacks, 1972) and positioning analysis (PA) (Bamberg, 1997, 2004b; Talbot, Bibace, Bokhur, & Bamberg, 1996). A discursive psychology approach and MCA are elaborated in Chapter 5 while PA is laid out in Chapter 6.

The concept of indexicality (e.g., Ochs & Taylor, 1992; Silverstein, 2003) provides another important analytic resource for understanding how identity is constituted through the relations that emerge in interaction. Indexicality involves a number of processes which indirectly associate language or linguistic forms with social phenomena, such as identities. These indexical processes include:

- (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels;
- (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position;
- (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and
- (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups. (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 21)

These indexical processes make relevant ideological structures, the beliefs and values related to what is being talked about – which in this study pertains to learning, teaching and using French

as a second language. Indexicality is thus crucial to the way in which language is used to construct identity positions by highlighting the connection between discursive practices and identity formation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010). It is these linguistic resources employed by the participants in their identity work that I will focus on in the analyses represented in subsequent chapters.

Transcription

Reflexive awareness about the generation and use of recorded data must extend to equally reflexive transcription practices (Bucholtz, 2000). A conception of “transcription as theory” (Ochs, 1979) means that “[h]ow we transcribe doesn’t just reflect our theories of language, it also shapes them” (Du Bois, 1991, p. 71). It is the researcher who decides what parts and elements of the data will be transcribed, which aspects will be excluded from the transcription, and how the information will be displayed in the transcript. Transcription must therefore be recognized as an interpretative component of data analysis (Bucholtz, 2000). For example, the decision to transcribe a particular strip of discourse speaks to the significance the recording has for the analyst, which in turn implies that the excerpt is being interpreted from a particular point of view. At the same time, the transcript is a representation of an instance of talk and therefore involves decisions as to how conversational elements (style, non-verbal actions, multilingual talk, interlocutor relationships, etc.) are represented in the transcript. The distinction between these two processes often gets obscured since “decisions of interpretation often involve decisions of representation and vice versa” (Bucholtz, 2000, p. 1441).

Given the substantial amount of both audio and video recordings collected for the present study, I decided to begin with a loose transcription, alternating between transcribing certain

accounts verbatim and summarizing others. As patterns or significant incidents of identity work became evident, I re-transcribed each interview more closely based on Jeffersonian transcription conventions (Jefferson, 2004; see also ten Have, 2007), attending to discursive detail that I determined was relevant for my analysis (Bucholtz, 2000) (see Appendix G for transcription conventions used in this study). Discursive elements such as pronoun choices, hesitations, code-switching, pauses, stress, intonation, and the sequential organization of the text were paramount in my interpretation of what was being said. With regard to representation, providing a detail-rich transcription of the data means that my role in the interactions is fully represented. Participants' accounts were analyzed in their original language (Pavlenko, 2007) and accompanied by an English translation when represented in the discussion for analysis, keeping in mind that translation itself constitutes a level of interpretation and analysis (Nikander, 2008).

With regard to the orthographic representation of pronunciation I draw on Bucholtz' (2007) perspective that transcribing is "a socioculturally embedded linguistic and metalinguistic practice" and that representational differences in transcription are a product of the situatedness of the task rather than a sign of inconsistency or error on the part of the analyst (p. 785). Such an approach recognizes the dynamics at play as data are "entextualized" or extracted from one social setting and recontextualized into a range of other settings (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Briggs, 2003), particularly as concerns researcher reflexivity. Consequently, transcriptions provided in subsequent chapters represent a particular version of social interaction, the interpretation and representation of which is shaped by my own background, linguistic and otherwise, as well as the research agenda itself. Speech which was heard to vary from what is typically referred to as standard language was only transcribed as "marked" if it was seen to

function as a discursive resource for the speaker. Phonetic transcription of pronunciation is based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) (Pullum & Ladusaw, 1996).

Finally, in line with an ethical approach to audio-recorded data (K. Richards, 2003), access to transcripts was made available to focal participants. One participant expressed an interest in receiving a transcript of our interview interactions and was sent copies electronically. There has been no follow-up communication from the participant.

Researcher position

The concept of reflexivity acknowledges that doing research “involves participating in the social world ...and reflecting on the products of that participation” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 15). My theorization of the data as collaboratively constructed in interaction with my participants means that my role as researcher informs both the data generation process as well as the analysis of the present study. As discussed earlier, the action of recruiting participants for this study assigns these participants a particular identity, for example, FSL teacher on professional development abroad. Given that I have a role in this interaction, the categorization of the teachers also produces a categorization of me, as researcher and other potentially related identities such fellow L2 teacher, L2 user of French, teacher educator, sojourn participant, and so on (Potter & Hepburn, 2012). This means that my role as researcher in itself constitutes a significant analytic resource for the interpretation of the data and that this interpretation must take into account not only *who* produces the data but also *for whom* those data are produced. It is in this sense that my experiences, actions, and roles have to be acknowledged as informing the research process. The discussion and analysis in Chapter 5 offer an elaboration of this.

Confidentiality

Keith Richards has made the point that language education researchers should be very aware of “how small and interconnected [their] world can seem” and recognize that the rich detail of case study must be reconciled with the ethical considerations of doing research (2011, p. 210). In this study, data have been modified to the extent that participants’ confidentiality is safeguarded and their identity protected. Steps taken to ensure confidentiality in the representation of the data include omitting or altering certain characteristics about the participants as well as the omission of direct names of institutions or educational jurisdictions in British Columbia. It also includes avoiding the use of certain data excerpts for analysis which have the potential to identify a particular participant.

Quality and rigor

In this study, the notion of “quality” (Roulston, 2010) is not taken as an assurance that findings represent a particular “truth” but, rather, that I have engaged in the research process in an ethical, informed, and rigorous manner to ensure that the findings presented are based on claims which are sufficiently warranted in the eyes of my participants and the readers of this study. This involves ensuring that the research and analytic process were undertaken and documented in an orderly and clear manner, that the grounding of claims has been demonstrated by the researcher, and that the argument being made is coherent and plausible.

An effective means of demonstrating rigor is through discourse analysis “which can work to generate, warrant, and elaborate...claims in demonstrable and data-near terms” (Talmy, 2010a, p. 131). Analyzing data as discourse usually involves making different claims about the same topic or experience where these different versions are “worked up by each participant differently

to achieve different or similar functions” in that setting (Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 76). In this study rigour is sought through an emphasis on varied, rich data through triangulation as discussed earlier in terms of multiple methods, and by privileging participants’ perspectives. In constructionist research this includes foregrounding the co-constructed nature of the data and researcher reflexivity by way of detailed transcriptions and contextualized representation of extracts in the discussion of research findings (Roulston, 2010). Coherence, as an analytic criterion, speaks in part to the “search for particularity” (Stake, 2000) typically associated with case studies and the idea that the case in itself is of foremost interest in both its peculiarity *and* ordinariness” (p.437). Plausibility, conversely, looks to outside work to justify findings, often by referring to “prior claims made in the literature” (p. 174). In the present study this criterion becomes relevant with regard to participants’ understanding of confidence, treated here as a discursive resource in identity construction, a perspective not commonly found in relevant literature thus far but with potential relevance to other SA studies potentially pointing to similar findings.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the design of the study as a qualitative multiple case study, described the research sites and participants of both research phases, and discussed methods for data generation as well as my general approach to data analysis. I have concluded this discussion with a brief consideration of my position as researcher, the issue of confidentiality, and the quality of the research process and findings. In the next two chapters I embark on the analysis of the data – a large-scale examination of questionnaire responses generated by the entire cohort, followed by case analyses of the identity work of the seven focal participants in this study.

CHAPTER 5: AUTHENTICITY IN FSL

Role, or what one is supposed to do, and investments, or what one believes and thinks, are often at odds. The two are in dialogic relation and it is this tension that makes for the 'lived experiences' and the social practices of teachers.

(Britzman, 1994, p. 59)

Introduction

In this chapter I attend to the first research question I have proposed for this study: *How are experiences and knowledge from abroad represented by the teacher participants as authentic resources in constructing an identity as FSL teacher?*

To answer this question, I consider how my participants oriented to authenticity based on an analysis of their responses to a single questionnaire item. My focus is on participants' characterizations of their sojourn experiences in terms of confidence in relation to language expertise, which is articulated in their responses with a clear orientation to the language ideology of the "native speaker." The purpose of this chapter's analysis, then, is to demonstrate how participants' orientation to authenticity in terms of "native speakerness" ultimately informs the production of an FSL teacher category. As noted earlier, the notion of *authentic resources* in the research question is taken from linguistic anthropology (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) to refer to discursive strategies or means of authenticating participants' membership in the identity category of FSL teacher.

The primary data source for this chapter comprises 63 written responses to a questionnaire I administered at the conclusion of the two-week study abroad in Vichy, France. Typically questionnaire research does not take into account how participants' responses are designed for the questions they are aiming to answer (Brown, 2001, 2009). In this study, however, I do just that. This approach to construing questionnaire data as "recipient designed" (Sacks et al., 1974)

provides a novel understanding of questionnaire data as participation in social practice (cf. Talmy, 2010b). It also provides insight on the identity work involved in questionnaire research (e.g., in terms of identity categories), specifically, for this study, contributing to an understanding of second language teacher identity construction.

I begin the analysis with a discussion of the open-ended question prompt, which came from the post-questionnaire I administered at the conclusion of the Vichy sojourn:

29) Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?

As noted above, a central feature of my analysis is the recipient design of the 63 responses participants provided to this question, that is, the way in which these answers were manifestly shaped by and formulated with an orientation to the question, how it was asked, and who asked it. Such a perspective on questionnaire data entails considering them as a form of situated social action, a co-construction that is jointly accomplished by researcher (as author/asker of the questionnaire item) and research participant (as answerer). This conceptualization also balances the analytic focus between *what* the content of the answer is, and *how* it has been formulated (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Talmy, 2010b).

My discussion of the question prompt briefly considers confidence in relation to the research literature and then attends to the assumptions embedded in the questionnaire prompt and the general uptake of these by the participants as manifested in their responses. This allows me to demonstrate my approach to the participants' interpretation of confidence and FSL teacher identity in light of their displayed orientation to these assumptions within the context of this research activity. Next I briefly introduce membership categorization analysis (MCA) and then

represent my analysis based on a selection of 22 questionnaire responses.¹⁴ The focus is on the way confidence functions as an indexical resource of language expertise with a manifest orientation to a “native speaker” standard. Following the analysis, I discuss the production of the “FSL teacher” category with a review of participants’ interpretations of the question prompt based on their descriptions of the sojourn’s impact on their level of confidence as “French language teachers.” This includes a consideration of participants’ overwhelming orientation to language expertise and what this means in terms of legitimacy as FSL teacher, as well as the implications that the production of this category of “FSL teacher” has for especially “non-native speaker teachers” in the FSL professional community.

The question

It is important to note that the questionnaire data that I analyse in this chapter were all responding to a particular question, one which, among the entire set of questions, most clearly addressed the construction of FSL teacher identity (see Appendix D.2 for post-questionnaire items). This is because the question “Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?” (see Figure 5.1 below) failed to specify how exactly confidence

Figure 5.1 Questionnaire item #29 of the post-questionnaire.

<p>29) Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
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¹⁴ The responses analysed in this chapter were chosen because of their representativeness of the entire data set. Responses not represented here either include similar types of accounts or are too brief to offer further insight into the discursive action being performed.

was to be understood in relation to practices relevant to French language teaching. In this sense, prompt #29 constituted a pivotal site for teacher identity construction in that it presented my participants with several options in taking up the identity category of “French language teacher.” Specifically, having gained more confidence as a result of the sojourn could be interpreted as pertaining to *teaching* French or to *learning* French, or a combination of both.

Another reason for choosing this particular questionnaire item is that narratives from participants’ travel journals, completed during the same time frame as the questionnaires, demonstrated noticeable attention being given to the issue of confidence. As a substantial literature in conversation analysis attests (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Sacks et al., 1974), questions uniquely shape both the content and design of their answers. This is as true of questionnaires as it is of talk. Clearly, the question in item #29 itself introduces the notion of confidence and associates it to program participation and, by extension, French language development. In other words, I as author of the question have contributed to the “emergence” of confidence as a salient theme in the data. My interest in confidence derives from relevant research literature on second language (L2) teaching, where those studies that reference confidence typically do so in terms of language expertise. This is especially the case in studies examining teachers who are socially identified as “non-native speaker teachers” (e.g., Braine, 2010; Golombek & Johnson, 2004; Kamhi-Stein, 2000; Pavlenko, 2003b). For this reason, I will briefly consider the construct of confidence in this literature before moving on to the analysis of the question itself.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the development of language skills is viewed as a primary concern of the “NNST,” with teachers’ confidence “mostly dependent on his or her degree of language competence” (Murdoch, 1994, p. 258). Language development has been treated as a

priority component of L2 language teacher education with the view that language competence directly leads to professional confidence and thus, good teaching (see also Berry, 1990; Cullen, 1994; Lange, 1990). Salvatori (2007) has taken up this emphasis on L2 teachers' language development in his study with "non-native teachers of FSL" by focusing on L2 teachers' general lack of comfort and confidence in their French proficiency, describing it as "the elephant in the living room." Salvatori found that participants were reluctant to "admit to others their insecurities about their language proficiency" (pp. 163-4), an apprehension that he associated with teachers' hesitation to improve their language through interaction with native and expert speakers. This ultimately resulted in a lost opportunity to elevate their level of confidence as FSL teachers (see also Seidlhofer, 1999). In my own study, this apprehension around language expertise manifested itself in the form of a tension in participants' accounts about being (or not being) confident as a teacher of French (see below).

Confidence, long studied as a personality trait, usually in connection with individuals' judgements about their ability to perform certain tasks (Blais, Thompson, & Baranski, 2005; Trow, 1923), is also associated with metacognitive processes related to learning (Kleitman & Stankov, 2007). In SLA, self-confidence is understood in relation to successful language development (Gardner, Tremblay, & Masgoret, 1997), combining lack of anxiety with sufficient communicative competence (MacIntyre et al., 1998). Being confident as an L2 user is attributed to successful interaction and positive L2 experiences with expert or "native speakers," while increased expertise in L2 is seen to result from greater confidence as L2 user (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), 1999; Shrum & Glisan, 2009). Accordingly, confidence has mostly figured as an unquestioned indicator of language expertise, defined in terms of an "inner sense of control" (Kanno & Stuart, 2011, p. 11) or as a fear of being judged

(Salvatori, 2007), that is, as direct expressions of participants' mental attitudes and affective characteristics.

In my own study, participants also viewed confidence and language expertise as closely connected, which is why I decided to focus on this question prompt in my analysis. However, confidence as it relates to language expertise and L2 teachers was, in this study, considered from a discursive constructionist perspective (Potter & Hepburn, 2008), one in which what is conventionally taken to be a "psychological" phenomenon, was viewed as social action rather than the true revelation of an actual inner mental state (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). I approached references to confidence as a discursive resource which participants used to mediate the tension produced in their orienting to language expertise. The benefit of taking such a perspective is that the resources participants employed to make sense of the question prompt are the same resources that I, as analyst, then used to "make out what actions and activities [were] being produced" (Hester & Eglin, 1992, p. 250). And these resources are key to interpreting the way in which participants' affirmations or negations of "being more confident," notably in relation to self-perceived language expertise, served as a means of accomplishing a particular teacher identity.

Assumptions: Recipient design and preference

An important aspect of interpreting participants' responses as recipient designed is that the question must be taken into account in order to understand how participants' responses align with the research task set out by the researcher. A significant analytic feature of the questionnaire prompt is that it incorporates some of the well-established assumptions about study abroad alluded to above and in Chapter 2: the idea that an increase in confidence indicates successful language learning, which in turn can be interpreted as an expected result of study abroad.

Participants' orientation to these assumptions in their responses is made relevant through the procedures they used to construct their answers in response to the question. For the analysis here this involves a consideration of *preference organization*, the affiliative function of a response. This in turn, relates to *recipient design*, the way in which an interaction is "constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 727). From this perspective, a response to a questionnaire may be conceived as an interaction between researcher and research participant, and the data as collaboratively produced (Drew, 2006). Although the responses analysed here do not represent "talk" per se, we can say that the action of offering an answer to the question prompt indicates that an interaction between me and my research participants has taken place. Understanding this research activity in terms of an action sequence (Seedhouse, 2004) allows us to interpret the question-prompt as the initiating action insofar as it actually receives an answer, while the answers can be taken to represent the responsive action (Wilkinson & Kitinger, 2008). The overall organization of my participants' responses thus serves as an analytic device, referred to as preference (Sacks, 1972, 1992). The notion of preference is based on the idea that when several courses of action are possible in a conversational event, one particular responsive action is typically expected or "preferred." The preference structure manifests itself in a type of response and also in the manner in which this response is produced in the interaction (J. M. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). Generally, preferred responses are articulated directly with little hesitation, whereas a dispreferred response is usually delayed, indirect and often accompanied by an excuse or justification of some kind (Sacks et al., 1974; Sue Wilkinson & Kitinger, 2008). In order to establish what counted as a preferred response in my data, I examined participants' orientation to the questionnaire prompt, in this case a polar (i.e., yes/no) question, by considering

the type of action that was being accomplished in their responses. I found that a yes-answer constituted a *preferred response* because it aligned with the expectation that study abroad leads to successful language learning (i.e., language development) as well as with the idea that increased confidence is directly linked to improved language expertise. A no-answer, by contrast, represented a *dispreferred response* because it failed to align with expected language development as an outcome of study abroad. The distribution of preferred versus dispreferred responses from my participants is represented in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 Distribution of responses based on preference structure. Preferred responses include an explicit, direct *yes*-answer with or without an account. All remaining answers are categorized as dispreferred responses.

		affirmative	negative
Language	(5)	5	-
Pedagogy	(24)	17	7
DELFL	(34)	21	13
Total	(63)	43	20

The frequency of affirmative answers accounted for more than two thirds of the total number of responses and thus clearly pointed to respondents' orientation to the prompt-embedded assumptions about confidence as indexing language development as an expected outcome of study abroad. The majority of these answers included a direct "yes" or exclamatory upgrades such as "most certainly" and "absolument," with only two yes-answers constituting mitigated responses (Caffi, 1999), "yes, somewhat" and "sure." In contrast, most of the negative responses involved mediated or indirect *no*-answers, in almost every instance accompanied by an account. There were five explicit *no*-responses; only one of these was offered without an account. The others were accompanied by accounts which served to soften or mitigate the *no*-

answer, suggesting that the respondents were well aware that an affirmative answer was preferred in response to the prompt, as in the following example:

29) Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?

Response 1¹⁵

not exactly. Somewhat – but I have also felt very aware of my inadequacies.

The lack of commitment to a clear “no” is accomplished through hedging and a qualification.

The respondent’s concluding reference to “inadequacies” can be taken as a justification for why s/he was not able to provide an affirmative answer to the question prompt.

Given this preference organization, I was therefore able to analyze affirmative responses as displaying participants’ alignment with the research activity and with me as researcher.

Asking participants to provide an answer on a research questionnaire involves a categorization of the recipient of that answer, in this case of me, as researcher (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). At the same time, it also involves a categorization of those completing the questionnaire, notably as research participants (in responding to the question) and as FSL teachers on study abroad (in that the design of the question is relevant to their professional participation in the sojourn). So while the question prompt was designed with the participants’ categorization in mind (Potter & Hepburn, 2012), participants’ responses were also interpreted as designed specifically for a particular audience. In other words, the preference organization evident in the responses allowed me to assume that my participants designed their responses in such a way that these would “fit” me, as a recipient of those responses (ten Have, 2007). Consequently, I approached the answers that participants provided for me as constituting individual instances of identity construction

¹⁵ Response extracts are numbered consecutively from 1 to 22 to facilitate referencing throughout the analysis. The numbers are not attributable to specific participants or participants’ responses as answered on the questionnaire forms.

which I have analyzed in terms of membership categorization (MCA), which I briefly describe next, before moving into the analysis of participants questionnaire answers.

MCA

MCA (Sacks, 1972, 1992) investigates how people produce, use, and interpret (i.e., hear or read) descriptions, claims and activities in particular ways. It is a way of analysing how people “make sense” of the world (Hester & Eglin, 1992) by considering how descriptions are occasioned and recognized in connection with people and events (Baker, 2000) – the way that talking about teaching might allow us to recognize someone as a teacher or how a reference to one’s inadequacies in French may project an identity as L2 learner.

There are three main “sense-making” resources in MCA. *Membership categories* usually refer to a person, place, or activity (Baker, 2000) and are used to understand descriptions of what people do and think. Talk about FSL teaching, for example, may include descriptions such as explaining communicative language teaching, why grammatical accuracy should be emphasized in the classroom, or a preferred means of assessing students’ L2 French proficiency, all activities that are bound to and thus produce the membership category of “FSL teacher.” In this sense, membership categories are inference-rich – they constitute “common-sense knowledge... about what people are like, how they behave, etc.” (Schegloff, 2007, p. 469). This common-sense knowledge is contained in a second “sense-making” resource, *category-bound activities* or *predicates*. These are the qualities, attitudes, or activities that attach to membership categories to varying degrees. Talk that includes a description about teaching grammatical concepts allows us to associate this activity with the membership category “FSL teacher.” Explaining the distinction between the *passé composé* and the *imparfait* tenses in French to a group of students, for

example, consequently enables us to recognize the person offering this explanation as an incumbent of the membership category of “FSL teacher.”

In my analysis, the various activities, attitudes, and attributes described by my participants’ in the questionnaire responses (e.g., finding teaching resources, learning new expressions, being more confident, etc.) provide insight into how the teachers’ interpret the identity category of “French language teacher” in the questionnaire prompt (Baker, 2004). The ability to recognize a particular category in association with a category-bound activity engages a third analytic resource, *membership categorization devices* (MCD’s). These are locally produced inferential frameworks that allow the hearer or reader to interpret a particular category in terms of other, related categories. The term “FSL language education” serves as a categorization device that might include “FSL teacher” but possibly also “FSL student.”

Based on this analytic approach, I have considered participants’ responses as individual displays of membership categorization work. As such, each response provides insight into the kind of “French language teacher” identity the participant was constructing in accounting for increased confidence. In the next section, I consider participants’ responses as addressing the issue of confidence with a focus on the production of the category of FSL teacher.

The Analysis

The main purpose of the analysis is to demonstrate how the tension in the production of the “FSL teacher” category manifests itself, how it gets negotiated, and how this negotiation indexes an orientation to authenticity in terms of “native speakerness.” The analysis below examines 22 responses which are seen as representative of the entire data set. Responses not

analyzed here either include similar types of accounts or are too brief to be interpreted for further insight into the discursive action being performed.

Constructing “French language learner”

I begin the analysis by examining six affirmative questionnaire responses which can be heard as occasioning the membership category of “French language learner.” The responses are represented below, preceded by the questionnaire prompt. Each response represents a separate answer from a single respondent. The responses are examined without identification of the respondents, in line with a large-scale approach to questionnaire data (Brown, 2001).

29) Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?

Response 2

- 1 Yes! Having the opportunity to learn about France. I never knew much before. I want to continue
2 my French learning online and possibly in Québec.

Response 3

- 3 Absolument! Aussi, j'ai réalisé que j'ai beaucoup à apprendre et à pratiquer. Ma famille d'accueil est
4 là comme ressource aussi. (*Absolutely! Also, I realized that I have a lot to learn and to practice. My*
5 *host family is also there as a resource.*)

Response 4

- 6 Yes, my vocabulary and knowledge has expanded.

Response 5

- 7 Bien sûr, aussi. Pour moi, j'ai jamais suivi un cours formel en étudiant la langue française, donc
8 c'était assez important pour moi de voir mes succès! ☺ (*Of course, also. In my case, I have never*
9 *taken a formal course in studying the French language so it was rather important for me to see my*
10 *success!*)

Response 6

- 11 Yes. I enriched my vocab. It was wonderful to discuss, with adults, so many subjects in context.
12 Chez nous (*back home*), French happens in such an artificial environment.

Response 7

- 13 yes - my host “mom” felt I had a pretty good command of the language and I took that as a
14 compliment. And I could keep up with the teachers, etc.

In these data extracts,¹⁶ several activities and attributes are discernible, which together bind to and construct a category that can be glossed as “French language learner.” These activities and attributes include explicit mention of French language learning (lines 1, 2, 3), as well as activities that evidently derive from it: studying (line 7), practicing (line 3), vocabulary development (lines 6-11), as well as learning about France (line 1) and general knowledge expansion (line 6). These are all contrasted with a state of having been less knowledgeable in L2 French before the sojourn (lines 1, 6). Further contributing to the production of this category are resources for learning French also mentioned in the responses. These include people and places, other teachers or adult speakers of French (lines 3, 11, 13, 14) as well as virtual spaces and actual francophone regions (line 2). For the most part, these language learning resources characterize successful L2 learning in terms of access to “authentic” language – either through people who are “from France” (e.g., the host family) or in terms of spaces that are populated by francophones or expert users of the language (e.g., Quebec, French websites). At the same time, these resources can validate or authenticate (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) someone as a French speaker when this validation is provided by other, “native” French speakers (e.g. response 7).

Similar to responses 2-7 above, the next five negative questionnaire responses can also be heard as occasioning the membership category of “French language learner”:

29) Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?

Response 8

- 1 No - I think it's probably the same but it has made me more interested in engaging in French
- 2 activities when I return home - reading in FR for pleasure, looking @ French websites, etc.

¹⁶ All extracts represent complete responses as provided on the questionnaires to the questionnaire prompt #29. Responses in French were analysed and only subsequently translated by the researcher for the purpose of representation. Ambiguities in the meaning of French responses were discussed with the research co-supervisor Dr. Bournot-Trites, an expert user of French and resident of BC for several decades, and therefore well versed in various local regional and social varieties.

Response 9

- 3 Je dois toujours maîtriser la langue et la prononciation mais j'ai encore 3 semaines ici - on verra...
4 (*I have yet to master the language and the pronunciation but I still have 3 weeks here - we'll see...*)

Response 10

- 5 pas autant que je l'aurais voulu. J'ai toujours mes soucis avec la langue. (*not as much as I would have*
6 *liked. I still have worries/problems with the language.*)

Response 11

- 7 quite frankly the first week I wondered if I knew any French at all because words/expressions that
8 we use in Canada were not accepted by the Europeans. My confidence will return when I am back in
9 my own environment.

Response 12

- 10 pas forcément - un peu en vocabulaire (*not necessarily – a little vocabulary*)

As in the affirmative responses, these extracts make evident a number of activities/attributes that are attached to and produce the category “French language learner.” In these responses the activity of language learning is less explicitly expressed. Category predicates tend to suggest that learning has or has not taken place (lines 10, 5), or might potentially still occur (line 3).

Activities that suggest potential or ongoing language learning include being interested in engaging with the language (line 1), not knowing French or still mastering the language or an element of it (e.g., pronunciation, vocabulary) (lines 3, 7, 10), or having problems with the language (line 5). Here again, mention of or inferences to French language learning resources further contribute to the production of “French language learner” and also make evident an orientation to “authentic” language. Reading and online materials constitute a means of using French “for pleasure” (line 2), in other words as a “real/native” French speaker would. Time spent in France (line 3) is presented as constituting a condition for successful language learning (and therefore as potentially leading to an increase in confidence). Not only is the duration of contact with authentic language signaled here, we also see an orientation to the assumed benefits of study abroad, that linguistic immersion in a French-dominant setting necessarily provides for successful learning of “authentic” French. In response 11, authenticity is made relevant with

regard to different language varieties of French, European versus Canadian French. The “European French speaker” is constructed here as the more authentic and therefore authoritative member of this contrastive pair by being associated with the activity of “not accepting the French spoken in Canada,” in other words, by invalidating the “Canadian French speaker.”

An important element in interpreting these negative responses is that, unlike the *yes*-answers, the *no*-answers are all mitigated, either indirectly stated or entirely omitted. Responses 9 and 11 offer no answer at all, only an account for not having increased confidence. Responses 8, 10, and 12 do include a *no*-answer, however all of these are mitigated: response 8 with an explanation that the respondent’s level of confidence is “probably the same” (line 1), responses 10 and 12 with qualifiers (“not *as much as*” and “not *necessarily*”). In each instance, the hedging in these responses indicates that the respondents have oriented to the question prompt as one for which the preferred response is an affirmative one, again making relevant the assumption that confidence implies successful learning as an expected outcome of study abroad. In response 8, for example, the initial *no*-answer is accounted for with the explanation that the respondent’s confidence is the same. The contrastive conjunction “but” (line 1) that follows this account shifts the attention on the positive outcome of the sojourn – an increased interest in French – thereby turning this into an affiliative response despite the initial dispreferred *no*-answer. In response 10, the same expectation is displayed with the assertion of “having wanted to” learn more French (i.e., having done so would have warranted an answer about increased confidence as a result of being on study abroad).

Both sets of responses discussed this far (responses 2-12) contain or suggest an affirmative or negative answer about increased confidence, accompanied by an explanation which accounts for this increase or lack thereof. Each of these accounts demonstrates an

orientation to language learning or language development that is seen as most successful when derived from informal access to “authentic” French language. The participants who provided such responses thus interpreted “being more confident as French language teacher” by foregrounding an identity as French language learner with a clear orientation to language expertise. Responses occasioning a learner identity constitute fully half of all accounted-for answers. The most significant feature of these responses is that at no time do they include the suggestion that language expertise is in any way related to an identity as FSL teacher. Despite the explicit reference to “French language teacher” in the prompt itself, there is no demonstrable orientation to predicates that might potentially imply the French language teacher category. The only exception to this is a response from a participant who appears to have merely repeated the prompt as part of an affirmative answer, likely in order to comply with the request for an account implied with the three empty lines underneath the prompt, even though polar questions such as #29 do not usually lend themselves to open-ended responses.

29) Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?

Response 13

Yes, participating has increased & improved my French language and confidence as a French language teacher.

In this slightly elaborated restatement of the questionnaire prompt, response 13 not only reproduces the assumption that study abroad leads to increased confidence as French language teacher as constructed in the question, it also specifically associates an increase in confidence with improved French language expertise as an expected outcome of studying abroad. The focus in this account is on how confidence is interpreted rather than what an identity as “French language teacher” means to this participant. (One other, similar exception is discussed below with reference to response 22).

Constructing “French language teacher”

Another, much smaller set of responses comprises category-bound activities that attach to and therefore occasion a membership category that I gloss here as “French language teacher.” Unlike the responses above, which demonstrate participants’ orientation to only one membership category, the remainder of accounted-for responses make evident references to category predicates that can be heard as occasioning, to varying extents and always with some uneasiness, both French language teacher and French language learner membership categories. In most of these responses “French language teacher” is produced, while the category of learner remains simply implied. Two of the responses, 18 and 19, include category bound activities that produce both categories, but ultimately incumbency is only claimed in one.

29) Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?

Response 14

- 1 Yes – I reaffirmed what I am already doing as well as adding to my repertoire of activities.

Response 15

- 2 J'ai toujours eu confiance, mais maintenant j'ai encore plus d'idées! (*I've always had confidence, but*
3 *now I have even more ideas!*)

Response 16

- 4 Pas pour les évaluations DELF, mais oui pour mon approche communicative et actionnelle que
5 j'emploie déjà. (*Not for the DELF assessment, but yes for my communicative and task-based*
6 *approach which I already use.*)

Response 17

- 7 no. just improved my resources

Response 18

- 8 yes. Although already confident my French language skills have been further refined. I have more
9 confidence that I am teaching useful, if not essential skills and attitudes.

Response 19

- 10 yes! and no - no because I want to improve my French fluency a lot more than it is - even if I don't
11 end up using it in the class.

The category-predicates in these responses refer to general teaching activities, including improving one’s resources (line 7) and adding new ideas and activities to an already existing

repertoire of instructional resources (lines 1, 2). Other category predicates specifically refer to teaching content such as “useful/essential skills and attitudes” (line 9), as well as the teaching environment (line 11). Finally, language teaching is specifically described with reference to using communicative and task-based approaches and L2 assessment (lines 4-5).

A salient characteristic of each of these responses is that the categorization work makes evident a tension. Note that every response is mitigated in some way, and although most contain affirmative answers, none of these are articulated in a straightforward manner. The key element here is confidence, which these respondents clearly associated with successful (language) learning or improved language expertise. While in responses 14 and 16 “reaffirming” one’s practices (line 1) or learning to evaluate French exams (line 4) makes reference to learning more generally without specific orientation to language expertise, in responses 18 and 19 refining French language skills (line 8) and improving French fluency (line 10) clearly does pertain to language development.

Confidence is the pivot in creating the tension here because orienting to confidence makes relevant category predicates associated with language learning and language expertise, which do not necessarily occasion the production of the “French language teacher” category in a straightforward manner. This is evident in almost every one of the responses, with confidence characterized as always/already existing rather than having been established as a result of the sojourn. In response 15, for example, increased confidence is acknowledged with a clear *yes* and then qualified as merely having been “reaffirmed” (line 1). In response 16 the participant acknowledges a lack of confidence regarding the assessment procedures of the DELF exam but then indicates (being confident about) already using the current teaching methodologies introduced to the teachers at CAVILAM – (line 4-5). In response 17, which offers a direct *no-*

answer, the accompanying account includes a reference to merely “improved” teaching resources, where the activity of “improving” (as opposed to acquiring for the first time) similarly works to produce a membership category of already confident/successful French language teacher. In other words, the activity of having increased one’s confidence is taken as indicative of successful (language) learning and is therefore downplayed as a category attribute in the construction of the French language teacher category. At the same time, and perhaps precisely for that reason, all the accounts work to establish respondents’ incumbency as competent FSL teachers (with one exception in response 19, discussed below).

Consequently, the tension around language learning/language expertise in conjunction with the production of a teacher identity raises the following question: does the activity of continued language learning not normatively bind to an identity as FSL teacher? In responses 15 and 17, for example, participants’ minimization and denial of increased confidence may very well point to learning as conflictual with teaching. Responses 18 and 19 contain accounts with explicit references to language learning in connection with a categorization as French language teacher and thus offer the clearest illustration of the tension between learner and teacher identities. I therefore sketch this categorization work in more detail below to underscore the point that ongoing language development is not necessarily an unproblematic criterion of legitimate membership in the category of French language teacher. Both of these responses include category predicates associated with French language teacher and French language learner, but only one of these identity categories is successfully recruited.

In response 18 from above:

- 8 yes. Although already confident my French language skills have been further refined. I have more
- 9 confidence that I am teaching useful, if not essential skills and attitudes.

the participant answers the prompt with a clear *yes*, then qualifies this answer by claiming to be “already confident” while simultaneously attributing the increase in confidence to having further “refined” French language skills (line 8). Both the reference to *pre-existing confidence* and the notion of *refinement* accomplish the qualifying action here. The action implies a connection between confidence and language expertise in the following manner: if confidence is indicative of language expertise then the claim that confidence “already exists” implies that language expertise also already exists, and therefore only requires “refining.” Mediating increased confidence in this first half of the account thus serves to downplay the significance of language expertise in the categorization occasioned here, namely French language teacher. In the latter half of the account, the participant also asserts “hav[ing] more confidence,” this time in relation to teaching valuable “skills and attitudes.” Here increased confidence is related only to the activity of teaching and therefore operative in producing the category of French language teacher. Note that this time, confidence is not mitigated. The respondent’s incumbency is thus successfully established in the French language teacher category, with the implied categorization as French language learner never fully engaged. Overall, response 18 makes relevant a production of FSL teacher in which language expertise, as attribute of this category, is seen as a pre-existing condition. Consequently, any reference to language development appears to conflict with or at least generate a sense of uneasiness with regard to a claim for membership in the teacher category. The categorization work in this response clearly points to the commonly held assumption that “native speakers” unquestionably make for expert language teachers (Moussu & Llurda, 2008) – a significant insight in view of the fact that three quarters of the FSL teachers in this study have learned French as an additional language.

Response 19, as represented above:

10 yes! and no - no because I want to improve my French fluency a lot more than it is - even if I don't
11 end up using it in the class

also makes relevant an orientation to both learner and teacher. In this case, however, the response accomplishes a categorization that ultimately constructs French language learner. The participant first answers the prompt with a clear *yes*, immediately follows this up with an equally clear *no* and then offers an explanation to account for the *no*-answer. In this explanation for the *no*-*answer* the respondent indicates “wanting to improve her/his French fluency a lot more,” then concludes this account by adding “even if I don’t end up using it in class” (line 10). In the first part of this response, the connection between confidence and language expertise is evident in the respondent’s account for the *no*-answer. Expressing a desire for improved fluency in French demonstrates that the respondent sees confidence as referring to language expertise, in her/his case a lack thereof. The primary orientation here is to the category of “French language learner” with the category predicate of improving fluency in French recognizably associated with language learning and thus occasioning the respondent’s membership in this category. The last part of the account includes a category predicate which suggests incumbency in the French language teacher category – “using [French] in the class.” This activity is only offered as a hypothetical event, however, and formulated in the negative – “even if I *don’t*...” (line 11). The activity of “improving French fluency” is thus foregrounded and becomes the focus of the entire response. The resultant categorization work therefore establishes incumbency for the respondent in the category “French language learner” and leaves the “French language teacher” category merely implied. The implication here also is that the different category predicates made relevant in the account somehow stand in conflict with one another – the idea that “wanting to improve

one's French" (as a French language learner) has little to do with "using French in the class" (as a French language teacher).

In sum, the categorization work above shows the two membership categories "French language learner" and "French language teacher" in some degree of conflict with one another. Most of the responses in this last set demonstrate uneasiness in participants' responses as these work to negotiate the activity of language learning as a predicate of the teacher category. In those instances where both categories are explicitly recruited, only one category is successfully accomplished while the other remains simply implied. On the one hand, the "French language learner" is successfully constructed with category predicates about language learning/expertise, with a clear orientation to authentic French and "native" French speakers, yet without mention of teaching (responses 2-12, 19). On the other hand, a successful production of "French language teacher" involves predicates related to language instruction – resources, new ideas and strategies, assessment, methods, and so on (responses 14-18), whereby the issue of language development indexed through increased confidence is variously avoided or carefully negotiated in these accounts.

Constructing "Francophone"

The tension produced in participants' categorization work appears to hinge on their interpretation of confidence as indicative of language expertise, as is evident in the responses with predicates related to ongoing language development. This orientation to language expertise is already made relevant in the questionnaire prompt itself with a direct reference to confidence, in association with the well-established assumption that language learning is an expected benefit of study abroad. In this sense, the prompt itself places the interpretative focus on category-

predicates that are associated with successful (language) learning. An orientation to learning (whether in terms of teaching or language expertise) can therefore be expected in these responses. The crucial element in all this is that the issue of confidence must be attended to in the response from an ascribed incumbency as FSL teacher. In other words, in order to accomplish “good research participants” an affiliative response must be provided which must in some way address confidence and its association with (language) learning. The final three responses demonstrate yet another means of how participants have attempted to negotiate the tension around confidence as indicator of language expertise, one which affords the most explicit display to authenticity in producing an identity as FSL teacher. This time, instead of “French language learner” or “French language teacher,” the participants explicitly self-ascribe to the category of “French native speaker” / “Francophone” and thereby construct an identity as FSL teacher that is undeniably associated with authentic or natural language expertise. In so doing, two versions of the FSL teacher identity category are produced: FSL teachers who are “native speakers” of French versus FSL teachers who are “non-native speakers” of French – a categorization frequently found in “native/non-native” ESL/EFL teacher research (Llurda, 2005; Maum, 2002; Moussu & Llurda, 2008). In a sense, the three responses represent deviant cases (Schegloff, 1968) in that they depart from the normatively expected response to the question prompt as established in responses 2-19 above while the respondents’ orientation to this departure reinforces the established pattern (Heritage, 1988). In other words, the production of the francophone category in the three responses makes the most explicit case for an interpretation of confidence as indexing (non-native) language expertise and in this way validates this interpretation as the normative pattern (ten Have, 2007):

29) Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?

Response 20

- 1 No, but it has increased my cultural knowledge. I am a francophone.

Response 21

- 2 n/a as I am a native speaker

Response 22

- 3 No, but I am happy to have observed the interests of non-native teachers speaking French together.
4 Also, their interests to improve their speaking / written French language to be a better teacher

To begin, not one of the three responses includes a direct affirmative answer to the question prompt. Responses 20 and 22 include a clear no-answer whereas response 21 indicates that the question is “not applicable” to the respondent. All of these initial answers represent dispreferred responses. The accounts offered in support of these answers, include category predicates that recruit these respondents as incumbents of the membership category “francophone”/“native speaker.” In responses 20 and 22, the respondents explicitly self-ascribe to this category with the statement “I am a francophone” (line 1) / “I am a native speaker” (line 2). In response 22 the respondent also makes a claim to membership in the “native speaker” category, but in this case implicitly, by recruiting the related category of “non-native teacher” and ascribing this category to other participants.

In all three cases, this categorization work makes evident respondents’ orientation to confidence in terms of language expertise. In response 20, the respondent indicates that any learning that may have taken place pertains only to cultural knowledge (as opposed to *linguistic* knowledge) therefore indexing that language learning is not normatively associated with the category “Francophone.” Since language learning is not of relevance here, the issue of confidence also becomes non-applicable and is implicitly treated as such. In response 21, the explicit indicator “n/a” (not applicable) followed by the explanation “as I’m a native speaker” accomplishes the same thing. In the end, both responses make evident respondents’ interpretation

of confidence as normatively linked to language expertise – response 20 with an explicit differentiation between cultural and linguistic knowledge as a justification for a *no*-answer, response 21 through explicit recruiting of the “native speaker” category. Both of these responses index the production of two distinct versions of “French language teacher,” directly implied in response 22. This last response opens with a clear *no*-answer and is followed by an account that describes the positive impact of the sojourn, not for the respondent her-/himself but for other teacher participants. The respondent clearly sees confidence as referring to language expertise, only in this case the associated activities of speaking French (line 3) and showing interest in improving French language expertise to “be a better teacher” (line 4) do not apply to the respondent per se. Instead, these category descriptors recruit *other* teacher participants as incumbents of the category of “non-native teachers” (line 3), which in turn implies a second, relational membership category: “native French teacher.” In other words, by constructing his colleagues as incumbents of the “non-native teacher” category, the respondent indexes his own incumbency in the related category of “native teacher.” This latter categorization is reinforced with predicates that characterize the respondent as a non-participant in the language-learning activities that s/he associates with the “non-native teachers,” merely *observing others* “improv[e] their...French” and “speaking French together” (with one another as a distinct group). The result is a contrastive relational pair, “non-native speaker teacher” / “native speaker teacher,” produced with contrasting category predicates. While language development contributes to “better teaching” for non-native teachers, the activity of language learning is irrelevant for those who are *not* incumbents of this membership category.¹⁷

¹⁷ As an aside I should briefly note that this particular response represents the second exception alluded to above with reference to response 13. The account in response 22 directly links French language development with being “a better teacher” (line 4) and thus offers an example of an account in which L2 learning and L2 teaching are presented as unproblematic. Similar to response 13, however, the participant does not have a stake in this claim because s/he

In sum, responses 20-22 clearly establish category-predicates associated with language learning and language expertise as non-applicable to “French language teachers” who can claim incumbency as “native speakers” of French. The implication here is that the category attribute of “native speakerness” obviates any further authentication/ legitimation of the FSL teacher category, given that the “native speaker” represents the ultimate standard of “authenticity,” i.e., “legitimate language” (Bourdieu, 1977a). It then follows that French language teachers, whose responses indirectly self-attribute the quality of “non-nativeness” with an orientation to language expertise and ongoing language development (as in the majority of the responses considered in the analysis above), must initiate a process of authentication/legitimation oriented towards the idealized “native speaker.” In the responses above, this process manifested itself in two ways: a) respondents constructed an identity as competent/successful/interested *French language learner* with access to “authentic” / “native speaker” French or, b) respondents accounted for incumbency as *French language teacher* based on pre-existing language expertise, which precludes language learning as a significant feature of this professional identity category.

Crucial to the authenticating process then, is the notion of confidence in connection with a prevailing, structuralist conception of language expertise. As observed by Bourdieu, “competence in the restricted sense of linguistics becomes the condition and sign of competence in the sense of the right to speech, the right to power through speech” (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 649). For the participants in this study, legitimacy as FSL teacher is based on the ability to “be confident as a French language teacher” in terms of self-perceived language expertise. Legitimacy, in turn, confers authority, the authority to speak as a competent teacher of French. For my participants, then, both legitimacy and authority are grounded in the authenticity of the

does not actually engage with the issue of language learning as an incumbent of the French language teacher category, but merely observes the language learning of others.

“native speaker,” that is to say, being legitimate means being affiliated with genuine or “real” French language and culture, typically defined in terms of normative or standardized notions of “Frenchness.” In other words, teachers’ legitimacy hinges predominantly on their ability to demonstrate “authenticness”¹⁸ when speaking French. For the “non-native speaker teacher” of French, this strictly linguistic/nativist conception of competence cannot confer legitimate language, i.e. the language of authority as teacher, and for that reason, the teacher’s authority must be legitimated or “authenticated” in some other way. It is in this sense that the sojourn afforded teacher participants *authenticating resources* with which to discursively construct proximity to a “native speaker” ideal, not so much in the form of newly acquired knowledge but by providing a means of demonstrating competent FSL teacher, which in the questionnaire responses was accomplished with assertions of increased confidence.

Implications

“Authentic” language expertise

My analysis of participants’ responses resulted in the following three findings: First, it demonstrated that language expertise was a primary way that participants took up the association of confidence and French language teacher in the question prompt. Respondents’ orienting to confidence as an index of language expertise meant that in accounting for confidence they were overwhelmingly addressing the issue of language expertise in constructing an identity as “French language teacher.” My use of the concept of “language expertise” draws on current sociolinguistic conceptions of language and foregrounds the notion of *developed* language competency. Knowledge about and of language is seen as a *learned* instead of *innate* ability and

¹⁸ I use the term *authenticness* to denote a more tangible form of authenticity, one that highlights the sense of authoritativeness associated with authenticity (Authenticness, Oxford English Dictionary, 2013)

as necessarily involving an understanding of the social contexts in which language is used (Hymes, 1971). The notion of expertise places emphasis on *what* an individual knows instead of *who* they are in relation to the language they use, for example as “native” versus “non-native” speakers (Rampton, 1990). Significant here is that the participants in this study largely took up language expertise in terms of “who” they are (or are not) as French speakers. In their responses, participants interpreted “French language teacher” in a way which indexed “native” language expertise as the defining criterion of FSL teacher identity. A nativist conception of language sees the “native speaker” as ultimate standard of linguistic legitimacy, based on notions of birthright, inherited and stable language competence, and typically defined in terms of ethnic or national affiliation (Rampton, 1990). This restricted conceptualization of language expertise thus constituted the locus of identity construction for my participants. As discussed below, it also underpinned the tension evident in participants’ membership categorization displays, owing to the fact that an identity as L2 learner of French does not easily align with an identity of FSL teacher that is predicated on “native speaker” language expertise, especially for those teacher participants whose investment in FSL teaching is dependent on continued language development in French – i.e., those who identify as “non-native speaker teachers.”

The “learner” versus “teacher”

Second, in constructing this identity based on language expertise, participants’ responses recruited the identity categories of either “French language learner” or “French language teacher,” in noticeably different ways. In my analysis of the questionnaire responses the operative membership category was “French language teacher,” introduced in the question prompt. In this sense, the questionnaire item afforded a crucial instance of identity construction

in that it presented my participants with several options in taking up the identity category of “French language teacher.” While the reference to confidence in the question, “Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?” cast the participants from the very outset as “learners” it did not explicitly specify “of what.” Having gained more confidence as French language teacher as a result of the sojourn can be interpreted as pertaining to *teaching* French or to *learning* French, or a combination of both. My central question was therefore: how was the category of “French language teacher” recognized or interpreted by the participants? That is to say, what activities and attributes were described in the questionnaire responses and what membership categories did these activities and predicates occasion. In their responses to the questionnaire prompt, the teachers offered various explanations about why or why not they were more confident as a result of the sojourn to France, as a means of accounting for their ascribed membership in the category of “French language teacher.” As might be expected, these explanations included descriptions about L2 teaching, language learning, and being on professional development which produced or implied a number of membership categories; the two most frequently occasioned ones being “French language learner” and “French language teacher.” The category bound activities associated with each of these two membership categories are listed in Table 5.2 below. I should note that, although the two categories are most salient from a participant-relevant perspective, the labels “French language learner” and “French language teacher” represent etic categories which I have applied as analytic terms to demonstrate how the categories function in the construction of the larger category of “FSL teacher.” As such, “French language learner” and “French language teacher” can be taken as universal categories (ten Have, 2007) because they do not represent my participants’ particular, local versions of “teacher” or “learner” but rather constitute external analytic

Table 5.2 Summary of membership categories of “French language learner” and “French language teacher” and the predicates that occasion these categories.

Category	Category predicates	
	(yes-responses)	(no-responses)
French language learner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ to continue French learning ◦ not knowing much before ◦ learning and practicing French ◦ vocabulary & general knowledge ◦ being student ◦ taking a formal language course ◦ relying on host family as resource ◦ keeping up with teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ having problems with French ◦ mastering French / pronunciation ◦ being interested in French ◦ reading French for pleasure ◦ knowing the right kind of French ◦ improving vocabulary
French language teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ adding to repertoire of activities ◦ having more ideas ◦ having improved resources ◦ communicative and task-based approach ◦ having language expertise ◦ increasing cultural knowledge 	

categories that I used to explain the categorisation work accomplished by my participants in their responses.

As the analysis above has demonstrated, the “French language learner” category was produced in a more or less straightforward manner with category predicates related to learning, and without any orientation to a teacher identity. The “French language teacher” category, conversely, while primarily occasioned with predicates related to teaching, involved accounts with references to also (language) learning. The interplay between these category predicates, relating to both teaching and (language) learning, signaled a tension in participants’ construction of an FSL teacher identity. This tension was produced as participants attempted to construct their incumbency in the membership category of “FSL teacher” while, at the same time, accounting for successful professional development in Vichy which required addressing language development (or at least some form of learning) as a positive outcome of study abroad. The result of this negotiation made evident a clear orientation to an “FSL teacher” category that is

grounded in an ideology of the “native speaker.” The most explicit orientation to this ideology was illustrated in the three deviant responses which overtly recruited the “native speaker” category.

The production of “FSL teacher”

The third finding of my analysis then, concerns how participants’ membership categorization work contributed to the discursive production of an institutional identity category of “FSL teacher.” Identity here is not “simply a collection of broad social categories” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 20) but one that involves locally produced identity categories in relation to larger level identity formations. The production of FSL teacher is therefore seen as constituting an “institutionally articulated” identity category (Talmy, 2008, p. 626) that was produced “through the temporary roles and orientations assumed by participants” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 20), which in this study included various instantiations of “French language learner,” “French language teacher,” and also “Francophone.” In constructing these identities, participants drew on well-established discourses operating within FSL (L2) education, many of which articulate notions of authenticity in terms of language ideologies related to language standardization. Participants’ locally constructed positionings thus made relevant ideological orientations to “native speaker” or “non-native speaker teacher” which ultimately contributed to the formation of a broader identity category of “FSL teacher.”

Finally, the reason for participants’ negotiation of the tension in constructing an identity as FSL teacher is to achieve the kind of legitimacy that is associated with “native speaker” language expertise. Bourdieu (1977a) sees legitimacy as a fundamental feature of linguistic competence, rejecting its strict definition in terms of grammaticalness and proposing instead an

understanding of language competence as linguistic capital. For Bourdieu, language competence as linguistic capital constitutes “the right to speech, i.e., to the legitimate language...the language of authority” (p. 648). Crucial to this understanding of language competence is that the right to speak and to be heard lies not only in language itself but in the social conditions in which it is produced. It is the social conditions establishing a communicative event which confer legitimacy on speech and speaker and thus define competence. In view of my analysis of participants’ orientations to language expertise it was therefore important to not only consider language competence with a focus on the relations of power governing this particular group of speakers but also the conditions which contribute to the formation of this group of “FSL teachers” in the first place, the various positions or categories that are created out of the relations of power. In other words, it required attending to the larger discourses and ideological assumptions informing the locally produced identity categories contributing to the production of the “FSL teacher” category.

Novel insights from a novel approach

An important implication of the production of the “FSL teacher” category in association with a “native speaker” standard is that it aligns uneasily with observations made in the literature regarding L2 teacher identity, specifically research addressing the so-called “non-native speaker teacher” or “NNST” as discussed in Chapter 2. In many of these studies, references to an L2 learner identity in association with an L2 teacher identity are offered in a taken-for-granted manner, with language development ranked as a priority for “non-native speaker teachers” as a means of addressing their marginalization. Tension and anxiety are attributed to teachers’ self-expressed apprehension about their language expertise (e.g., Kamhi-Stein, 1999), the process of

transitioning from L2 learner to L2 teacher (e.g., K. A. Johnson, 2003), or to general concerns regarding their status as “non-native speaker teachers” (e.g., Brinton, 2004). And despite the recognition that the identities of “NNS” or “NS” teachers are not fixed and their construction always socially situated (Morita, 2004) what language expertise means or how confidence comes into the equation is seldom considered.

A possible exception are two recent studies about in-service L2 teachers on professional development abroad (Allen, 2010; Plews et al., 2010), also reviewed in Chapter 2, which do signal potential alignment with the findings of my own study. In Allen’s study, post-sojourn comments from her teacher participants resemble the responses provided by my own participants, including references to “new cultural knowledge,” increased confidence, and “already” using the resources and strategies they “had learned to enhance their instruction.” Interestingly, as noted by the author, only three participants acknowledged “improved language skills” (pp. 99-100). Plews et al. (2010) similarly noted that in their study about two Mexican EFL teachers in Western Canada “particularly the goal of (English) language proficiency is conspicuous by its absence from the narrative” (p. 16). In both of these studies, the data were subjected to a thematic analysis and are therefore not altogether comparable to my own analysis. As noted above, a crucial element in comparing my own data with other research is that the methodological approach commonly taken in the other studies considers participants’ data as self-reports based on content or thematic analysis. The focus in my own analysis, however, was less on propositional content than on discourse – on texts and talk as “the central way of studying mind, social processes, organizations, and events as they are continually made live in human affairs” (Potter & Hepburn, 2008). While a content or thematic analysis of participants’ responses to the question “Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a

French language teacher?” potentially offers knowledge about what the participants indicated they “felt” confident about, it does not allow how “being confident” is utilized by respondents in the process of constructing an identity as teacher.

With that in mind, it is significant that in Allen’s study “none of the teachers made *direct reference to increased proficiency*” (p. 99, my emphasis) in responding to her question about how the study abroad program impacted their classroom practices and professional lives. Given the competitiveness of the application process for these teachers (e.g., having to demonstrate spoken and written L2 language use) and the considerable focus on L2 development during the sojourn with participants “pledg[ing] (in writing) to speak only French during the institute” (p. 97), one might expect language expertise to be explicitly addressed in the data. Likewise, the narratives of the two English teachers from Mexico (Plews et al., 2010) could well be expected to include comments about gains in language proficiency given that the sojourn included homestay experiences and extensive interaction with English-speaking educators and students. And yet, in view of the findings of my own analysis it is perhaps not surprising that the participants in these two studies did not overwhelmingly comment on their language expertise, given that the researchers’ questions were addressed to the participants as teachers, i.e., as expert speakers of French or English, not as language learners. If “native-like” language expertise is normatively associated with an L2 teacher identity category then “*direct reference to language proficiency*” would constitute accountable phenomena (Drew, 1998) and thus not be readily offered.

In sum, the discourse analytic perspective I have taken has produced a representation of L2 teacher identity as constructed out of participants’ accounts that have been interpreted as situated, recipient-designed (inter)actions between researcher (questioner) and research

participants (respondents). The larger research context of the sojourn becomes relevant in the analysis of the data in terms of participants ascribed categorization as “FSL *teacher* on PD abroad.” The fact that the research participants are speaking as “teachers” plays a crucial role in understanding what is being said and why. It allows us to interpret participants’ responses as “designed to accomplish a *specific* action...in a *specific* context” (Stokoe, 2010, p. 60). For the BC teachers, participating in this sojourn was associated with certain professional obligations and responsibilities as FSL teacher. Not only were participants expected to return to Canada as certified examiners/trainers and share this new knowledge with administrators and colleagues in the home context, (see Appendix A), participation in the sojourn was constructed as something which had to be earned by demonstrating an acceptable, at the very least, functional level of French language expertise (based on personal conversations with organizers of the project and documented in my field notes). For this reason, participants’ answers about “being” or “not being confident” accounted for both their ascribed identity categorization of FSL teacher as well as their competency as successful participants in teacher professional development abroad.

Conclusion

Although much of current research does acknowledge the problematic nature of the “native speaker,” in many ways the construct remains unchallenged as the default standard for language proficiency (e.g., Faez, 2011; Salvatori, 2007). The concern then is, to what extent and in what manner do constructions of a professional identity as FSL teacher inform L2 teacher education, both in terms of the teaching context of practicing L2 teachers and the socialization of novice teachers into the L2 teacher profession? The analysis presented above makes visible the extent to which authenticity articulated as “native speakerness” operates as an almost naturalized feature of L2 teacher identity, its function and meaning as an idealized standard simply

subsumed in participants' understandings of L2 learning and teaching. The pivotal discursive mechanism in this naturalization of language expertise is confidence. As Berry (1990) proposed some time ago, L2 teachers' anxiety regarding their "proficiency is quite possibly more a problem of perception than of fact," suggesting that it is "their confidence rather than their proficiency that needs bolstering" (p. 99). In the present study, "confidence" is the mediating resource, and to some extent works to obscure the indexical process that grounds language expertise in "native speaker" ideologies, thereby obfuscating potential occasions in which practices and conceptions regarding L2 language expertise and legitimate language might be re-articulated.

The re-articulation of an identity as FSL teacher constitutes the object of analysis in the next chapter. The focal analyses in Chapter 6 attend to the different ways participants have sought to construct an identity as legitimate FSL teacher through distinct processes of "authentication," that is, by claiming an "authentic" or "genuine" self as a user of French. In this sense, Chapter 5 has set the groundwork for the analysis of focal participants' authenticating trajectories of identification. It has done so in two ways: first, by pointing to an interpretation of language expertise in terms of authenticity as grounded in a "native speaker" ideology, which operates as a defining feature of FSL teacher identity; second, by pointing to the underlying tension produced in the construction of this identity category, which in turn appears to be the impetus for participants' engagement in the various processes of authentication. Thus, returning to the first research question, *participants representations of their experiences and knowledge abroad* constitute *authenticating resources* in the form of strategies or means of authenticating/legitimizing incumbency in the FSL teacher category, accomplished with varying assertions about increased confidence as "French language teacher."

CHAPTER 6: AUTHENTICITY EFFECTS

...competence is about being positioned, not about general or open-ended potential.

(Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005, p. 211)

Introduction

Hall has defined identities as “points of temporary attachment to subject positions” constructed out of discursive practices - a “narrativization of the self” through which the individual is granted rights associated with a particular identity (1993, pp. 4, 6). As Davies and Harré point out, it is not that individuals find themselves “inevitably caught in the subject position that the particular narrative and the related discursive practices might seem to dictate” – rather, they “locate themselves in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines” (B. Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 48). The question is: how are these positionings produced in day-to-day social interactions within the dynamic complex of larger discourses that allow us to make meaning (by way) of the stories we tell.

This chapter centers on how professional L2 teacher identity is discursively produced in terms of such narrated positionings based on participants’ orientations to prevalent language ideologies. It thus addresses the second and third research questions of this study: 2) *How do participants claim or use authenticity to construct their identities as FSL teachers in terms of professional development abroad and within their local professional contexts?* and 3) *What role does authenticity play in the larger discourses operating in FSL education, specifically as regards the tension around language expertise and L2 development as a teacher of French?* On the one hand, my interest was in how authenticity was made relevant in participants’ accounts about learning and teaching French and the role that this construct played in legitimating an identity as FSL teacher. On the other hand, I was interested in the connection between

participants' actions and descriptions and the larger discourses at work within the professional domain of FSL teaching in BC and Canada, based on the idea that "participants' orientations to this or that identity – their own and others – is a crucial link between interaction on concrete occasions and encompassing social orders" (Zimmerman, 1998, p. 88).

As demonstrated in Chapter 5, the notion of FSL teacher identity remains grounded in a "native speaker" ideology in which authentic language is the fundamental criterion of a legitimate identity as FSL teacher. Teacher identity has been described as a site of struggle "when it is positioned as if it were already present and stable" (Britzman, 1994, p. 70). For the participants in this study, stability takes the form of authentic (i.e., native) language expertise as an ever-present and stable feature of FSL teacher identity. Stability as authenticity is understood in terms of an "identifiable origin that confers a natural and therefore unquestioned authority" (Kramsch, 2012, p. 3). Yet such stability conflicts with current approaches to teacher learning (Freeman & Johnson, 1998; Wright, 2010) and with the expectation of continued language development for those who cannot claim incumbency in the "native speaker" identity category (Mahboob, 2010b). As the analysis in Chapter 5 has shown, participants' investment in ongoing French language development as a professional activity did not easily bind to the category of "FSL teacher," despite the widely-held perception that improving language expertise is fundamental to especially "non-native speaker teachers" professional practices. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, given the "native speaker" as ultimate standard of authenticity, focal participants' identity construction centered primarily on establishing legitimacy as FSL teacher in relation to or based on "native speakerness." In other words, focal participants' identity displays point to an overriding preoccupation with language expertise – both previous and ongoing – to the detriment of issues relating to L2 methodology, pedagogy, or curriculum

(K. E. Johnson, 2009b). We therefore see all seven participants, as “non-native” speakers of French, working up an identity as FSL teacher through some other process of authentication, a process that entails making a claim for an authentic or “real” self as a way of demonstrating authority as legitimate user and teacher of French. This process of authentication is a direct response to the tension manifested in the production of the category of “FSL teacher” as a result of participants’ orientation to language expertise and ongoing language development as FSL teachers. In this sense, the tension represents a pivotal site of identity formation for my participants in that prevailing assumptions about language learning and expertise based on a “native speaker” ideology are seen to conflict with everyday FSL professional practices. It is in this way that the study contributes to a greater understanding of the deeply seated privileging of the “native speaker” in L2 education (Mahboob, 2010b) and to some extent challenges suggestions that today “the NS has lost much of its aura” (Kramsch, 2012, p. 15).

In the following section I introduce my approach to analysing narrative as a process of identity construction and briefly outline how I have chosen to represent the analysis of each focal participant in this chapter. Each of these seven analyses is presented as a separate section. The final section of this chapter provides a summary and conclusion to the analyses.

Analytic approach: Positioning analysis

Narrative

My approach to an analysis of focal participants’ identity construction involves a consideration of participants’ account in terms of narrative. Instead of relying on a traditional Labovian (1972) conception of narrative which sees stories as cohesive, decontextualized units of finished text that are reflective of the narrator’s inner life, I have adopted a view of narrative

as “interactional achievement” (e.g., Ochs & Capps, 2001; Pavlenko, 2007). From this perspective, participants “construct narratives in such a way as to take into account interactional and inferential features associated with prevailing [cultural beliefs and values]” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 174). Stories are thus seen as not “simply conveyed, but...given shape in the course of social interaction” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 17). Consequently, not only the content but also the activity of storytelling is considered in analysis. A “small stories” approach offers an especially fitting analytic perspective in this regard (Bamberg, 2004a, 2004b; Georgakopoulou, 2006, 2007). Narrative is understood as an interactional discursive resource, a rhetorical tool people use to make claims about themselves and, in the process, display situated, contextualized identities (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). According to Bamberg (2004a), narratives provide a means for the storyteller to “work one’s way through challenging circumstances” (p. 221). From this perspective, the stories and narrated identities produced by the teacher participants in this study may be seen as a way of “working through” the tension created in reconciling their professional practices as so-called “non-native speaker teachers” with an identity category of FSL teacher embedded in a “native speaker” ideology.

An approach to storytelling conceived as “narrative-in-interaction” (Georgakopoulou, 2007) also aligns well with Bucholtz & Hall’s (2010) conception of identity as emergent and interactionally accomplished. From a narrative-in-interaction perspective narrative is seen a) as an embedded unit, “enmeshed” in peoples’ day-to-day activity, b) as sequentially managed in that stories or tellings “unfold” moment-by-moment, c) as emergent, given that stories do not predate their telling but emerge collaboratively “as the outcome of negotiation by interlocutors,” and d) as situated and locally occasioned (Georgakopoulou, 2007, pp. 4-5). In this sense, the stories my participants have produced in journals, interviews, and emails are not so much a

product of their experiences as a *process* of identification as FSL teachers. The central element of an interactional approach to narrative is not the textual form they take but the interactional work they accomplish for my participants – “what narrative does in specific sites” (p. 39; see also Pavlenko, 2007).

The element of temporality in narrative and the situatedness of identity construction point to the seeming contradiction “between identities that appear to remain constant and identities that are re-constituted in discourse” (Menard-Warwick, 2005, p. 266). A small stories approach to narrative takes into account both the context-bound ways in which identity is constructed as well the “relative coherence and continuity” of this identity work across contexts (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 60). Individual instances of identity display are not only understood in terms of the immediate local context in which they occur but are seen as connected to other previous or future performances (Butler, 1999). Moreover, the various identity positions participants take up are tied to social practices as the product of prevailing discourses, which in turn provide “the content of...subjectivity” and thereby give a sense of constancy (Widdicombe, 1998, p. 200).

In this study, participants’ widely differing sojourn experiences, teaching environments, and professional backgrounds, and the diverse range of research activities and settings have produced extremely rich and varied narratives. All the more noteworthy, then, are the recurring displays of identity of individual focal participants across multiple instances of data generation, both in terms of process and substance. Consistency was not only demonstrated in what was said, but with respect to the discursive resources and strategies each participant employed and the larger discourses that were brought into play. In order to account for this consistency I have conceptualized each participant’s identity construction as an “interactional trajectory” (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 72) of narrated experiences, events, and projections. For most focal

participants, this research trajectory began with the completion of the pre-questionnaire and ended with an interview or a final email reflection. The extracts represented in the analyses below are therefore only examples of a participant's identity work and constitute only parts of an identification process that was sequentially produced across multiple settings and on multiple occasions. In sum, understanding participants' accounts as "interconnected tellings" (Georgakopoulou, 2007) takes into account the continuity of identity construction as a *process* while avoiding the idea that identity itself is a consistent phenomenon.

Positioning analysis

The analytic approach I use to demonstrate how this process of identity construction plays itself out in terms of discursively produced positionings is based on positioning analysis (PA) (Bamberg, 1997, 2004a, 2004b). This analytic approach draws on a discursive psychology orientation (D. Edwards & Potter, 1992, 2005; Potter, 1996) as well as ethnography and discourse analysis in aligning with a social constructionist perspective. In positioning analysis, Bamberg takes up Davies and Harré's (1990) concept of positioning outlined above and reconceptualises this process as involving actively constructed discursive resources which contribute to the production of larger discourses, as opposed to merely drawing on available, ready-made discourses (see also Korobov, 2010). According to Bamberg, positioning involves "constructing a self as a character in the story world and entering this construction as a claim for the self" – a definition which foregrounds an agentic understanding of "the subject as 'positioning itself'" (2004b, pp. 223-224). Analysis of positioning as discursive action comprises a discourse analytic approach which Bamberg has outlined as constituting three levels. The first level of analysis focuses on the positioning of characters within the content of the story and lays

out the narrator's role in the described scenario of events. In the present study, this might pertain to a participant writing about a museum visit in France and include a description of her interaction with other visitors and the curator at the museum. The second level pertains to the interactional setting, the act of narration. Here the narrator-audience relationship is foregrounded in that the analysis centers on how the narrator positions her-/himself in relation to the audience. At this level of analysis my interest is in the way the participant presents herself as experienced traveller or the way her successful use of French serves to project a bilingual identity, for example. The third level considers positioning in relation to larger discourses and asks where the claims that the narrator is making have their social origins? At this level, the participants' storytelling actions (what is being said and how) is interpreted in view of particular language ideologies that are oriented to or made relevant in the narrative. According to Bamberg, the first two levels of positioning shed light on the narrator's constructed identity in relation to the third level, as either "complicit with and/or countering dominant discourses" (2004a, p. 225). In this sense, the notion of agency is foregrounded as a key element of Bamberg's analytic approach, given that the narrator is actively engaged in the narration process (1997). It is this kind of display of agency which is made evident in the focal participants' identity constructions as they orient to, re-articulate, or subvert notions of authenticity in order to legitimize an identity as FSL teacher.

Analysis: Representing processes of authentication

The primary objective of the analytic work in this chapter is to demonstrate the various processes of authentication that are employed by the seven focal participants in constructing an identity as FSL teacher. Given that this study is a multiple-case inquiry, I have represented the

different cases as “trajectories of identification,” wherein different discursive actions produce various positionings which can be seen as contributing to a process of authentication for each focal participant. While my focus is on the specific discursive strategies and narrated positionings the teachers recruit as authenticating devices to legitimize a professional identity, each case offers a coherent overview of a participant’s orientation to these authenticating resources and the resultant production of an identity as FSL teacher.

I introduce each case analysis with a brief summary of the participant’s identity work and then outline my representation of the analysis. My introduction of each participant may include aspects of participants’ background information presented earlier in Chapter 4 (see Table 4.5). In line with a participant-relevant analysis, I present only those aspects which were referred to by the participants themselves as a contributing component of the identities being constructed. Furthermore, certain background information may have been modified or left out in order to protect participants’ confidentiality. Furthermore, my introduction includes identifying each teacher with respect to her specific FSL program, either as core French or French immersion teacher. In the remainder of the analysis I opt for the label that is made relevant by the participant herself. This may be “French immersion teacher” as opposed to the more general “FSL teacher” or may involve a slightly different label such as “French teacher.” I continue to use “FSL teacher” when referring to the production of the larger identity category, inclusive of all FSL programming.

The common thread across all seven cases is the issue of language expertise. While the orientation to this issue is manifested differently by each participant the tension it produces (implicitly or overtly) constitutes a useful analytic starting point as the locus of identity construction. I therefore begin each case by sketching how the participant made relevant (or not)

the issue of language expertise, which allows me to frame the ensuing identity work based on the participant's self-acknowledged competence in French. In the remainder of the analysis I concentrate on key instances of identification achieved via authenticating devices to construct a position of authority as FSL teacher. As indicated in the description for each extract represented below, the excerpts represented here are taken from the full range of data generated with each participant, including interviews, journals, questionnaire responses, as well as email correspondence (Janet, Karin, Tamara), monthly e-reports (Helen), and classroom observation (Janet) (see Appendix G for transcription conventions).

Christa

At the time this study was conducted Christa had been a French immersion teacher for almost three decades. She addresses the issue of language expertise by directly characterizing herself as an L2 speaker of French who has picked up the language over time, worked “really hard” over the years, but whose French is “certainly not perfect” (interview/11:29). Throughout the trajectory of narratives she generated with me, two main positioning strategies became evident as authenticating resources for Christa. The first involves a recurring orientation to her position as administrator, usually without direct reference to her role as vice principal. Foregrounding an administrator identity allowed Christa to move beyond or away from a position as FSL teacher, and thereby circumvent the tension that is produced in having to reconcile continued language development and teacher identity. This administrator identity is recruited in narratives about her PD experiences at CAVILAM and in her characterization of her professional activities in her own school. A second authenticating resource is evident in her numerous and detailed travel stories, which work to construct a position for Christa as expert

speaker of French in her role as sojourner in a French-speaking environment. This authentication process is made evident in her travel accounts, one of which shows the expert speaker identity intersecting with her administrative positioning. Before demonstrating how these two strategies come into play, I briefly discuss how the issue of language expertise is made relevant in Christa's "becoming-teacher" narrative.

Language expertise: "Less than perfect French"

Language expertise is overtly addressed by Christa at various instances throughout our research interaction during which she both implicitly and overtly acknowledges her identity as L2 speaker of French. For example, in the pre-questionnaire (item#34) (see Appendix D.1.) she ranked "immersion in the French language" as the most beneficial aspect of the Vichy sojourn and mentions language development as the main impetus for her yearly travels to francophone regions (interview/5:45). In her journal she addresses the issue of language expertise by directly accounting for her decision to change from the DELF certification to the teaching workshop, noting "...although I could keep up without difficulty, I think I'm going to change [programs]" (Vichy journal/2nd entry). What makes this account significant is that it indexes some uneasiness on her part in opting out of a training program that had been advertised specifically for "native-like or native" speakers of French (see Appendix A). Insisting that her expertise in French played no role in the program change actually signals her awareness that this decision might in fact be taken as such and would therefore represent a somewhat problematic move on her part, given that her ascribed identity as FSL teacher presumes language expertise to be a non-issue. During our interview, Christa explicitly foregrounded language expertise as the deciding factor in her obtaining a position as FSL teacher. The following interview extract contains a story about the

events which led to her becoming a French immersion teacher, which Christa had described just prior to this excerpt as “one of those serendipitous things” (interview/3:59):

Extract Christa 1 (interview/4:27–5:10)

- 1 C: my f- my high school principal hired me as a science teacher at ((name of school))
2 M: uhuh
3 C: and I did 8,9,10 science there (.) got laid off (.) and then I interviewed or I-I-um (.) put in an
4 application for a science teacher in ((name of school district))
5 M: mhm
6 C: they froze all their positions
7 M: oh go-
8 C: but I got a call from the district principal for French immersion
9 M: mhm
10 C: who for some reason- they had given me- him (.) my resume
11 M: oh okay=
12 C: =and he'd said on this thing (.) I see that you speak some French and I said yes and he said well
13 I'd like to hire you as a Grade three French immersion [teacher
14 M: [mhm
15 C: .hh an' I(h) sai(h)d (.) you know I really don't think my French is good enough for that and he
16 said it's only grade 3
17 M: heh heh [heh]
18 C: [°heh°] so I had a- a very very steep learning curve...

In this narrative, the events leading up to her securing a teaching position in French immersion include being hired and laid off as a science teacher (lines 1-3), attempting unsuccessfully to obtain another teaching position in this subject area (lines 3-6), and finally receiving a call from a district principal who proposes that Christa teach Grade 3 French immersion. In other words, the dismal employment situation for science teachers at the time and her ability to “speak some French” (line 12) left Christa with only one option: to work as a FI teacher. The overall effect of this narrative is a stake inoculation for Christa in her position as FSL teacher, that is, it allows her to ward off any potential questions about her holding such a position since this would undermine her teacher identity (Potter, 1996). In telling this story, Christa repeatedly mentioned her explicit interest in teaching science, then presented herself as someone who is concerned that her French may not be “good enough” (line 15), ultimately attributing the decision to take on a

position as FSL teacher to someone else, in this case, the district principal. The narrative thus works to absolve her of any responsibility in claiming incumbency in the identity category of FSL teacher – a category predicated on assumed language expertise, the lack of which Christa must account for as L2 learner of French.

I have chosen this particular extract as an example of how Christa oriented to her self-perceived language expertise for several reasons. On the one hand it demonstrated Christa's overt preoccupation with language expertise in her role as FSL teacher and speaks to the prominence of language expertise as defining this identity category. On the other, the so-called "serendipitous" manner of becoming an FSL teacher was a recurring theme with most of the other focal participants. While Christa provided the most elaborate example of these "becoming-teacher" narratives, a similar version was offered by Tamara who attributed her first FSL teaching position to a recommendation from the school principal and as therefore not counting as a "a real decision" (interview/3:22). Both Janet and Carolyn made reference to their knowledge of French as representing a significant advantage in securing a teaching job at a time when these were difficult to obtain. For Karin, her knowledge of French afforded a way of accommodating her role as mother in a way that her previous career as a professional musician could not. Meanwhile Helen described herself as fortunate to get an FSL position as a first-time teacher, despite her having specialized in elementary education as opposed to French language education specifically. In each case, knowledge of French was foregrounded as the deciding factor in securing a position as FSL teacher, while at the same time, this language expertise was presented as having been authorized by a third party (school principal, hiring committee, etc.). In the end, these "becoming-teacher" narratives constitute an action which seeks to justify a position as FSL

teacher as L2 speaker of French, and consequently again indexes an orientation to the category of “FSL teacher” as premised on assumed “native speaker” expertise.

Christa’s overt positioning as L2 speaker of French combined with an explicitly stated need for ongoing language development meant that an identity as legitimate FSL teacher had to be accounted for, that is authenticated by some other means. For Christa, projecting authenticity or “realness” in French, involved two distinct but overlapping resources: a foregrounding of her administrator position and constructing an identity as expert/bilingual speaker in the context of her travels abroad. I first demonstrate her implicit orientation to an administrator position, then provide an example of a story in which she takes up an identity as equal conversationalist in an authentic French-speaking setting, and conclude with an example in which these two types of positioning overlap.

Administrator

Christa’s identity displays as administrator are for the most part implicit positionings that she takes up in relation to her colleagues, both in her school environment at home and while in Vichy. Although she made no direct reference to her position as vice principal until our interview conducted six months after the sojourn, an orientation to this identity was already evident in the questionnaires responses generated in France, represented in extract 2 below:

Extract Christa 2 (post-questionnaire/items #20, #24, #26-#27)

20) Are there aspects on which instructors should focus more attention in future sessions?

- 1 I did not feel that the instructors had been briefed on the immersion system + thus our somewhat
- 2 specific reality. There was very little information / materials appropriate to young children.

24) When it comes to implementing this new linguistic, cultural, and pedagogical knowledge and the accompanying resources (websites, artifacts, memories, stories), will you be collaborating with your colleagues by sharing what you have acquired?

- 3 yes – through staff meetings + possibly through les ateliers + perhaps through our
- 4 website (district website domain name).

26) Do you think that what you have learned allows you to better motivate your students?

5 I am refreshed and re-motivated; it will be passed on to my students, my school and hopefully the
6 district.

27) Does this program help you to allow you to present a new image of French to your students? If yes, how so?

7 I participated in a number of excellent "les faire parler" activities during the 1st week. DELF gave a
8 good overview of where we want to head to be on par with le monde français. It also provided some
9 great teaching strategies.

One means of accomplishing a positioning as “administrator” in these responses involves consistent references to larger institutional units. In each of the above responses the focus extends beyond a position as individual teacher to larger populations – the school or the district (lines 5-6), French immersion programming (line 1), even “le monde français” (*the French-speaking world*) (line 8). In response #24, the sharing of new knowledge is directly located to at a higher institutional level, at staff meetings (line 3) and through the district website (line 4), thereby indexing not only the larger group of colleagues but also the administrative responsibility she holds in relation to this group of teachers. Furthermore, plural participant deictics (Wortham, 1996) serve to index a more distant interactional relationship with colleagues in keeping with an administrative position. For example, personal and possessive pronouns – “where *we* want to head...,” *our* specific reality,” “*our* website” or references without such specification – “the district” and “through staff meetings” all work to position her as someone who has a vested interest in matters beyond her own classroom, who sees the impact of the PD sojourn to France as extending to the larger educational context of FSL programs in BC. This consistent use of “we” and “our” points to a production format in which Christa takes on a position as someone who can speak for others (Goffman, 1981). Blommaert (2010) refers to these shifts between different participation frames as “scalar processes.” In Christa’s case, this “upscaling” involved a semiotic transformation from a personal and situated context to an impersonal, more general one,

ultimately resulting in a redefinition of her situation by way of a change in positioning in terms of authority and responsibility as administrator rather than as teacher. Her responses about new knowledge acquired in Vichy and the potential impact of this knowledge on her professional practices clearly demonstrated this impersonal more general perspective.

These institutional-level references were also evident in the journal content, particularly in connection with instructional methods, district-wide programming, and implementation of the DELF in BC:

Extract Christa 3 (journal)

(2nd entry):

1 We would appear to be as “cutting edge” as CAVILAM. Cutting edge seems to be encouraging l'oral
2 + then moving to reading + writing. Most FSL teachers in the rest of the world are generally either in
3 a private org such as "Alliance Française" or are part of a high school/university system. By
4 necessity, they see the students a few times a week for 45 min - 1hr. The teaching strategies of
5 SMART learn + Power of 10 would work well in those sessions. This is basically what CAVILAM
6 is encouraging - song, rhythm...full engagement.

(Final entry):

7 DELF is a standardized system for assessing French language competency of non-francophones. BC
8 is interested in instituting the system possibly with the intention of replacing the gr12 French/
9 FRIMM test with B2. B2 is required for entrance of any foreigner into a European/French
10 university. At this point, I would probably pass the oral but my written would need work. Many of
11 the French language coordinators from the (name of region) are here. They will lead the discussion
12 for next steps. It is a well-thought-out program going from A1-C2....In France, the program is
13 supported thru the Ministry of Education + Foreign Affairs....I am concerned about follow-up on this
14 plan. There are 2 BCTF people but no evidence of the provincial Ministry of Education. Hopefully
15 someone who is still employed by the Ministry has done due diligence and will move the plan
16 forward.

In the first entry, Christa's discussed teaching strategies encountered in Vichy without any reference to her own teaching. Rather, the focus is on how these compare to instructional practices of “FSL teachers in the rest of the world” (line 2) and the district-wide programs implemented in BC such as “Smart learn + Power of 10” (line 5), which according to Christa, are already aligned with the methodological approach demonstrated at CAVILAM. Here again, first person plural “we” (line 1) and third person references such as “Most FSL teachers” (line 2)

contribute to the more impersonal tone of this particular entry. As a whole, the account functions primarily as an evaluative description of L2 education approaches, with comparisons to her context made only at the higher district level. At the same time, we might say that a characterization of the Canadian immersion model as “cutting edge” (line 1) engages prevalent discourses about bilingual education research and practice in Canada and draws on the prestige factor of this particular model to highlight a position that goes beyond classroom teacher.

In the second extract, Christa provides a description of the DELF exam, again in very general terms. The only personal reference is made with regard to how she would fare in the exam as L2 learner of French herself – “I would probably pass the oral but my written would need work” (line 10). There is no mention of how the common reference levels might apply to her students in BC. The focus is again at a higher level, the program-level of grade 12 FI (line 9) and at the provincial level (line 7-8). Mention of district coordinators (line 11), the BC Teachers’ Federation (line 14), and numerous references to the Ministry of Education (lines 13-15) index her familiarity with these administrative bodies and their representatives, again affording her a positioning which foregrounds an identity as administrator rather than as teacher. And although other participants also raised the issue of applicability of the DELF to the BC context, Christa’s expressed concerns about how the education ministry “will move the plan forward” (lines 15-16) functions as a performative feature to demonstrate the stake she holds as school administrator in the nature of the implementation process of the DELF in her local context.

The matter-of-fact tone and consistent shift from an individual-teacher position to one defined by her administrative role continued throughout her narrative trajectory. In her accounts, Christa repeatedly indexed a “bystander” position (Goffman, 1981) associated with a supervisory role. In the end, the administrative position as FSL professional offered the safer identity

category for Christa by allowing her to foreground communicative obligations within the larger context of the school and thereby avoid any direct orientation to the issue of language expertise in terms of teaching French.

Expert speaker as tourist

A second authenticating resource for Christa, which alternates and at times overlaps with a positioning as administrator, involves the construction of an identity as expert French speaker, this time in stories detailing her travels abroad. These travel narratives include extensive descriptions about the places she has visited and the touristic excursions, activities, and culinary experiences she has encountered, not just during the Vichy sojourn but throughout her travels over the years. The narration of these experiences – her meticulous attention to historical detail and elaborate depictions of her interactions with local residents and tourism officials – portrays not only a sense of being well travelled through her encounters with authentic speakers and places but also of her ability to comprehend a wide range of complex subject matter in French.

Travel experiences have commonly been viewed as a “modern quest for authenticity” in providing an authentic connection to a historical past (Kelner, 2001, p. 2; MacCannell, 1973) with authenticity understood in terms of genuineness established through historical accuracy (Bruner, 1994). This connection to the “real” is accomplished by Christa with a focus on historical detail, as demonstrated in the following extract:

Extract Christa 4 (Vichy journal/3rd entry)

1 Tonight a few of us paid to visit le Château Busset à la chandelle. Busset was originally built in the
2 1200's by St. Louis (a king) I think after he returned from the Crusades. Le petit guide de Busset qui
3 cherchait une femme (*The little guide who was looking for a wife*), was excellent, he explained his
4 architecture terms + gave us a wonderful tour. The Chateau had been in Bourbon hand from 1400's
5 to 1900's. Every chateau in France was required to have a room for the king + this room had actually
6 been stayed in by one but I forget which one. The nobility apparently slept sitting up because their
7 meals were so extravagant + their wine drinking so profuse that they risked dying on their own

8 vomit. If that didn't get them they were often assassinated or poisoned. This particular branch of the
9 Bourbons was illegitimate as shown by their family crest.

The above travel narrative describes an excursion to a castle near Vichy in the Auvergne region in which Christa participated with several other teachers from the cohort. This rather elaborate travel account stands in noticeable contrast to her earlier matter-of-fact tone and brevity of her sentences. The narrative opens with some facts about the castle's origins (line 1-2) and then focuses on the dining habits of the Bourbon nobility who resided there for many centuries (lines 4-9). In the journal margin next to this entry Christa had written "Busset is particularly known for its unique ceilings" and underneath it had included a rough sketch of a crest with the following short explanation: "trait rouge indicated illegitimate branch." Also noteworthy is her reference (in French) to the "le petit guide" (*the little guide*) with personal details about his being in search of a wife (lines 2-4) and having "explained his architecture terms." All these details, including the codeswitch to French, cast her as an engaged tourist, able to extensively interact (in French) with a local expert on French history.

More recently, touristic engagement in authentic culture and language has been associated with the acquisition of worldly knowledge in connection with a cosmopolitan identity (Bruner, 1994; Guilherme, 2002). This notion of cosmopolitanism is often grounded in humanitarian initiatives (M. B. Swain, 2009) with emphasis on developing multilingual and intercultural competencies (Guilherme, 2007; see also Kumaravadivelu, 2008) – elements evident in Christa's travel narratives and which, in some instances, are seen to overlap with her administrative identity. An example of this is found in extract 4 below, in which Christa relates an encounter with local dignitaries at a reception organized for the BC teachers at Vichy's *hôtel de ville* (*city hall*):

Extract Christa 5 (Vichy journal/final entry)

1 Thursday the Hôtel de Ville + the France-Canada association hosted a reception for us. I got to wear
2 my “little black dress” bought specifically for France. The architecture was wonderful. They served
3 us kir made from champagne + blackberry “crème.” Lots of speeches by dignitaries. We spoke with
4 several of the association members while sipping kir. I also spoke to M. (*Mr.*) ((name)) about his
5 reference to what his ministry is instituting in their former colonies around students who have
6 completed primary school + aren't planning to continue to secondary but are not well-enough
7 educated to improve their lot in life. The program would work well with the ((name)) project but
8 they don't operate in Sierra Leone. He said that he will send me a summary of the program.

Christa provides the day and location of the event and then mentions the dress she wore (lines 1-2), an indication as to the formality of this occasion. This is followed by comments about the architectural beauty of the old administrative building and the traditional serving of kir at official receptions such as this one (lines 2-3). The remainder of the narrative offers a description of her interaction with attending dignitaries, in which Christa positions herself as equal conversationalist relative to various “association members” and ministry representatives (lines 4-5). All these elements of the story – wardrobe, location, aperitif, her interaction with others – underline the official tenor of this particular event and work to foreground Christa’s professional identity as administrator. She is demonstrably at ease in both this setting and in her discussions with these high-ranking officials – “sipping kir” (line 4) and following up with questions about France’s education initiative in former colonies, even being promised a follow-up in the form of “a summary of the program” (lines 5-8). In relating this interaction, Christa makes relevant her knowledge about a similar project operating in Sierra Leone (possibly even signaling her own affiliation with this program), all of which reinforces her positioning as an equal conversation partner, not only in terms of her knowledge about such programs but as a display of intercultural competence stemming from her travel experiences and the responsibilities associated with her administrative position.

Constructing a position as equal conversation partner in interaction with local residents or officials is a salient feature in almost every one of Christa's travel stories. Another example is found in the following narrative from our interview about her daily interaction with her Vichy host Madame M:

Extract Christa 6 (interview/41:47–42:15)

- 1 C: Madame M had um (.) she's had a very difficult life and (.) her daughter had committed
 2 sui[cide an']so this is a granddaughter that she has been [raising and the
 3 M: [oh god] [o:::h (.) I see
 4 C: granddaughter I think is about eighteen now, and had just moved out with her boyfriend (.) so
 5 grandma was not- (.) she's not delighted with this
 6 M: no I g-heh [heh]
 7 C: [and] (.) she's not- but she's trying hard to- she doesn't want to lose her doesn't want to
 8 alienate her (.) um (.) and the boyfriend was a bit of a bump on a log at this particular dinner (.)
 9 and they g- the granddaughter was just very young and she's- elle taquinait t'sais
 10 (she was teasing y'know)
 11 M: mhm mhm
 12 C: so it was very funny but it was- heh heh you know [she was-
 13 M: [bu- but] Madame M was there as well it
 14 was the four of you then. okay
 15 C: and so Madame M was trying- I can't remember what it was particularly that she was trying to
 16 get this granddaughter to do she's trying' keep her in school she's tryin' to keep her moving and
 17 .hh she's trying very gently an- an' this kid just kept (.) making these- (.) they were funny but
 18 they were real putdown- grandma putdowns
 19 M: oh
 20 C: so (.) it was very interesting because- this girl's a little bit younger than my daughter
 21 M: so she- she likes to sort of- the people that she has um residing with her- uh was it at her place?
 22 C: mhm
 23 M: oh okay and then the granddaughter=
 24 C: =and the granddaughter had been living there up until very recently and obviously played a big
 25 role in the dynamics of- of having the students because often she was very close to the same age
 26 as the students
 27 M: right of course
 28 C: but I was (.) so much older than her that Madame M and I had a- a really nice relationship
 29 M: yeah exactly
 30 C: plus I spoke- because I- of my level of French- I don't think she got very many students that
 31 stayed with her who she could actually converse with
 32 M: oh I see [yeah]
 33 C: [so we-] yeah we had lovely conversations about the state of the medical system in
 34 France and the- you know all the various things it was v- I really enjoyed her
 35 M: yeah...

The extract begins with Christa's description of the host's family dynamic and Mme M's relationship with her granddaughter. The main theme of this narrative is the "really nice

relationship” (line 28) Christa had with her Vichy host, while the focal point is a dinner interaction that she participated in with the host, the host’s granddaughter and the granddaughter’s new boyfriend. Prior to relating the particulars of the dinner Christa provides some details about her host’s family history – the suicide of Mme M’s daughter and Mme M’s challenges with having to raise a teenage granddaughter (lines 2-5). An important function of this narrative is to produce a positioning for Christa as equal conversation partner. On the level of the story’s content we see Christa in the role of someone who is privy to the details of Mme M’s personal life, a sanctioned listener (Zimmerman, 1998) as trustworthy and sympathetic confidante to her host. This display of empathy is achieved with details about Mme M’s concerns about the granddaughter’s new relationship with the boyfriend (line 8) and her fear of “alienating” the granddaughter (lines 10-11), signaling a sensitive awareness on Christa’s part about the nuanced dynamic between granddaughter and grandmother. Bringing into play her identity as parent with reference to her own daughter in recounting the story for me (line 28) allows Christa to emphasize her alignment with Mme M as someone who is able to understand the difficulties of raising an adolescent.

The story’s interactional features further reinforce a positioning which indexes expert French speaker. First, her level of French casts her as someone her host “could actually converse with” (line 31) as compared to other CAVILAM student residing with Mme M. Second, retelling of intimate details and complex family relations during our interview constitutes an action which indexes a level of expertise in French. Christa’s references to the nuances of humour displayed during the dinner conversation, the granddaughter’s teasing and the boyfriend’s “grandma putdowns” (line 18) work up an identity as someone who is able to grasp the subtle elements of this intergenerational family interaction. Her code-switch to French, “elle taquinait t’sais” (line

9), reproduced with an informal, conversational register, underscores a key discursive device in performing expert speaker of French, projecting an identity approximating a “native speaker” of French.

In almost all her travel narratives Christa positions herself as successful French/bilingual conversationalist in authentic interactions with other speakers of French. In a story about a visit to Quebec she describes evading a potentially hostile encounter with anti-anglophone Quebecers due to her ability to converse in French and translate for her English-speaking travel partner. In another story, Christa relates her interaction with a monolingual francophone, a museum archivist with whom she enthusiastically engaged in a complicated discussion about Quebec’s nautical history. In relating her travel narratives with such detail she demonstrates, on the one hand, a thorough comprehension of the elaborate historical details that were communicated about medieval French villages and châteaux on these visits. On the other hand, her explicit orientation to the communicative event itself with references to “three-way translation” (interview/35:03) and a discussion about “big battles...rip tides and whirl pools” allows her to project an identity of someone who is able to manage difficult nautical and geological terminology and who can manoeuvre a politically charged situation in French. Indexing a high level of French expertise is a central authentication effect of these narratives in affording her a position as ratified participant in a “native speaker” milieu.

Overall, the identities Christa recruited through her participation in this study – administrator and cosmopolitan tourist – can be seen as a means of sidestepping a position as FSL teacher, certainly in view of her overt acknowledgement of ongoing language development and an L2 speaker status in French. At the same time, the discursively constructed positionings Christa has taken up in her narratives work to authenticate an identity as FSL educator by

accomplishing a sense of authority vis-à-vis knowledge of and about French language and culture. In the next section, we see a similar direct orientation to L2 expertise in French but with a more overt positioning as L2 learner, in part as a means of authenticating an identity as legitimate FSL teacher to demonstrate knowledge about language learning.

Janet

An almost palpable illustration of the tension outlined in Chapter 5 is evident in Janet's identity displays. At the time of the sojourn to Vichy, Janet had been teaching French immersion for almost a decade. A product of BC's French immersion program herself, she had continued studying French literature at the post-secondary level, had specialized in FSL during her teacher education and spent some time in Quebec through one of the government funded bursary exchange programs. In her interactions with me Janet clearly demonstrated the L2 learner/teacher tension in terms of language expertise, fluctuating between an identity as L2 learner/non-expert speaker of French and FSL teacher. She was explicit about the challenges she faced in both of these positions and, in trying to reconcile her professional identity with her self-perceived difficulties in French, clearly oriented to language expertise as the fundamental criterion of effective teaching. This also meant that evidence of effective teaching was to be found in students' successful use of French. The authenticating resource central to Janet's identity work was her orientation to an ideology of standardization – correct usage of French as well as a standardized means of teaching this correct usage to students. This resulted in her constructing an identity that ultimately rendered her position as L2 teacher of French as inauthentic, and at the same time, as distinct from a personal linguistic identity as authentic speaker of French.

In sketching Janet's trajectory of identification, I first provide an example of her attempts to reconcile her self-perceived struggles in French with a position as FSL teacher. I then demonstrate the pivotal role her emphasis on grammar and standardized language played as a process of authentication, and conclude by demonstrating how this identity work become grounded in an "inauthentic classroom" discourse.

Language expertise: "Ok, I was testing"

Janet's visible negotiation of an L2 learner/teacher identity was a salient feature of her identity displays with the issue of language expertise at the basis of this negotiation. The topic of language expertise was typically addressed with reference to grammar, often in discussions about her students' lack of grammatical knowledge and their struggles to speak and write the language correctly. In her account about teaching French, the use of poems, puppets, or dialogues were presented as useful strategies for teaching grammar and as a means of encouraging her students to produce grammatically accurate sentences. For example, she described her renewed interest in oral language as "adapt[ing her] French grammar program to include more oral" (Vichy journal/8th entry). Similarly, her idea to introduce more oral language activities through texts also involved "throw[ing] in a grammar identification activity" (3rd entry). This emphasis on language form often led her to include references about her own experiences as L2 learner of French, in each instance demonstrating some form of negotiation of the tension between her interest in developing her use of French and her identity as L2 teacher. An example of this type of negotiation was made evident in an exchange from our first interview, which followed from a discussion about her intention to focus more on oral language with her students as a result of her

sojourn experiences. Of interest in this exchange is the way in which she shifts between a positioning as L2 learner of French to her (ascribed) role as teacher:

Extract Janet 1 (interview#1/17:27-18:00)

- 1 J: and so I think just hearing myself, and even since coming back I'm a lot more aware of my oral
2 French and grammar
3 M: mhm
4 J: .hh and I always tell my kids (.) I'm n- I'm not perfect and that's a big thing is I'm not perfect
5 they're not perfect so every once in a while I do make a mistake and they go .HHHHH
6 MADAME YOU SAID THIS and I'm like (.) ↓yes (.) I made a mistake (.) what should it be?
7 and they'll tell me but it's amazing that they know that it's [wrong (.) you know]
8 M: [yeah yeah yeah yeah]
9 J: like for them to go YOU JUST SAID- (.) is really cool too
10 M: [uhuh]
11 J: [and] so every once in a while I do throw in mistakes to see if they catch it on purpose or I'll
12 write something on the board to see if they [catch it]
13 M: [uhuh]
14 J: and it's really cute some of the kids are like °Madame I just wanna let you know°
15 M: heh heh heh
16 J: I'm like (.) ok I was testing

Central to this bit of discourse is Janet's characterization of herself as “not [being] perfect” in French (line 4), presented here as part of a small story about how she interacts with her students. The story features Janet acknowledging to her students that she also makes mistakes in French (line 5). Aligning with her students in this way indexes a parallel identity as French learner, her repeated admission about “making mistakes” clearly indicating an orientation to her level of language expertise. This concern about her level of French is perhaps also evident in that, unlike Christa, Janet does not codeswitch in her telling of this interaction with her students. Midway through this story, there is a shift in participation status for Janet from French language learner to teacher as she initiates the commonly used IRF (initiation-response-feedback) pattern (Mehan, 1979) as an index of her positioning as teacher. By reframing her acknowledgement “I made a mistake” with the question “what should it be?” (line 6) the interaction is recontextualized as an instructional event, one in which she as teacher is testing her students' about their knowledge of

incorrect French. The question “what should it be?” normatively elicits an answer from the students to which Janet, as teacher, then responds with some form of evaluative feedback. Her change in footing (Goffman, 1981) from learner to teacher involves a shift from an alignment with her students, “I’m not perfect, they’re not perfect” (lines 4-5) to a position as teacher who “throw[s] in mistakes” (line 11) as an instructional strategy to “test” (line 16) the students’ knowledge of grammar. What is initially described as a mistake on her part becomes a teaching strategy that is orchestrated “on purpose” (line 11). We thus see her negotiating the sensitive issue of language expertise as the discussion moves from the sojourn context of professional development (i.e., teacher learning) to the FSL classroom in which (language) learning is not an activity normally associated with a teacher identity. The shift in footing provides a clear example of Janet’s attempt to negotiate the L2 learner/L2 teacher tension.

Standards of language and teaching

In part, this tension is a product of what appears to be Janet’s conception of language expertise as grounded in ideologies of standardization (Train, 2000, 2007a). Such ideologies incorporate a view of linguistic behaviour as either right or wrong in relation to an ideal standard and make ideological claims for the “validity of certain ‘authentic’, ‘legitimate’, and/or ‘authoritative’ views of language and its speakers” (Train, 2007a, p. 242). For Janet, this orientation to a French language standard also was an important resource for legitimizing her position as teacher. Being an effective teacher means teaching grammar in order to address the “many mistakes” (interview/39:12) her students make, and this instruction requires recourse to standardized language as well as a standard curriculum that corresponds to L2 learners’ expected acquisition of grammatical concepts (Doughty & Long, 2003). Her orientation to an ideology of

standardization was evident in the following extract comprising excerpts from an email update in which Janet foregrounded a teacher identity as she addresses her student's "lack of knowledge" of French grammar:

Extract Janet 2 (email update 2010)

1 ...I've been struggling at times with their lack of knowledge and I keep reminding myself why there
2 is "teach" in teacher. So consequently I'm doing lots of teaching to bring them along and hopefully
3 make a difference in their ability to write a sentence that is somewhere near grammatically
4 correct....The most challenging thing is how it's a part of their everyday speech and it's sooooo
5 wrong....I even have 2 students who find it extremely difficult to speak to me in French – wow and
6 in grade 5. "teach" is my mantra. I just wish there was more of a standardization of what grammar
7 concepts are taught at each grade level outlined for elementary FL...

In the few lines represented here Janet explicitly orients to her role as teacher as providing a solution for dealing with her students' mistakes, "reminding [her]self why there is 'teach' in teacher" and suggesting that the only way to manage their difficulties is to do "lots of teaching" (lines 1-2). Although these references to teaching are not directly explained, teaching appears to involve standardized curriculum guidelines for teaching grammar concepts at appropriate grade levels, a resource not available and therefore merely wishful thinking in her part. Teaching is conceived here with a clear focus on grammar, with her students' "ability to write a sentence" predicated strictly on grammatical correctness (lines 3-4), while the successful teaching of grammatical concepts is viewed as aligning with a standardized progression of L2 acquisition.

Janet's orientation to an ideology of standardization is also demonstrated in her frequent references to dictionaries and verb conjugation guides as important resources for both her and her students, resources which constitute an authority in terms of "correct" usage of French. Not only does using a dictionary and verb book allow her "to verify" her use of French "as a way to curb [her] doubts" (post-questionnaire/item#41), these resources also figure as a fundamental

component of her instructional practices. In our first interview, for example, Janet makes reference to dictionary use as playing a principal role in her teaching:

Extract Janet 3 (interview#1/14:28-56)

- 1 J: so (.) I want my kids to be able to actually engage- I want them to be able to speak with other
2 teachers in the [school]
3 M: [yeah]
4 J: with other people in the community
5 M: mhm
6 J: and not feel like (.) they're::'s- held back by their grammar or their vocabulary like there's some
7 kids that every second word at the beginning of the year is English and you're like no that's- th-
8 word French? here's this dictionary I say dictionary is your best friend .hh and so for them it's
9 taking the dictionary and making it part of who they are and helping them...

Enabling her students “to speak with other teachers... and with other people in the community” (lines 2, 4) is predicated on students’ consistent use of a dictionary, that is, it requires “making it part of who they are” (line 9). The dictionary is presented here as a language learner’s most trustworthy resource (i.e., “best friend” – line 9) with the potential to help students remedy their difficulties with the language and to speak French fluently without recourse to English.

The function of these language resources as authenticating artifacts representative of an FSL standard was also evident in her classroom interactions with students. During my two observations of her teaching, both the students and Janet herself actively used dictionaries and verb conjugation reference books throughout the course of each class, together and individually. A particularly noteworthy instance occurred at the start of the second classroom observation with Janet announcing to the class, “On va commencer avec la grammaire” (*We will begin with grammar*). Having organized the students into six lines facing the white board, she placed herself in the centre of the room behind the students, verb book held open in her hands, and proceeded to call out verb infinitives and pronouns which the students were required to write on the board, one letter per student. As the conjugated verbs materialized on the board Janet continued to hold the

verb book in both hands and glance at it, seemingly to verify the accuracy of each conjugation. Given her ability to assess the correctness of the verbs without such consultation, her demonstrable use of the book at that moment was particularly striking. One might say that the book in her hands constituted not a language learning/teaching resource per se but a physical embodiment of authority, visibly held up and deferred to by Janet as a way to authenticate her legitimacy in her role as FSL teacher (field notes, May 28, 2010).

The inauthentic classroom

Standardized language, as constructed by Janet in her narratives, essentially meant grammatically correct usage of French in the classroom. The effect of an orientation to language in terms of a pedagogical hyperstandard (Train, 2000) is that the way the language is used in the classroom becomes strictly associated with the institutional setting of the school, a setting Janet distinguished from her personal use of French, outside of work. Consequently, “talking about everyday events” with friends required “different vocabulary” and constituted an interaction which contrasted with her use of French as teacher, namely having “information” to talk about a particular “subject” to her students (interview#1/16:52). In this way, personal use of French is seen as more authentic than the decontextualized, institutional use of French in the classroom, which in Janet’s case is repeatedly characterized as problematic (i.e., incorrect). At the same time, Janet acknowledged that she really only uses French in her school environment – “work is my French place” (interview#1/54:51) – suggesting that she associates speaking French primarily with an identity as FSL teacher. The effect of using strictly grammatical French, often incorrectly, only in a classroom is that the classroom setting is then rendered “inauthentic” and, in the process, her professional identity as FSL teacher is also inauthentic, i.e., delegitimized. Her final email communication with me offers a concise recap of this dilemma and of her

frustrations at not being able to resolve it. The extract below is a response to my last email in which I had shared findings with focal participants and had requested some feedback specifically in regards to the tension between L2 learner and L2 teacher identities. I include below part of my initial email in addition to Janet's response:

Extract Janet 4 (email update 2011)

M:One element of being a French language teacher is that there seems to be a tension between having been (or still being) a learner of French as an additional language and being a teacher of that language now....This tension comes up for all of the participants which I have interviewed, which is why it stands out, though in each case it plays itself out differently.

1. Do you see or are you ever aware of a tension like this in your professional life?
2. Is so, how do you deal with this tension? Do you try to resolve it in some way, and if so, how?

1 J: When I'm questioning something, I often refer back to reference books I have, a dictionary
2 (paper and online), ask a colleague....really it's often a way to confirm what I already know but
3 to reduce the doubt. The greatest challenge is that working with students all day long who are
4 constantly wrongly conjugating verbs and speaking with grammatical uniqueness (incorrect
5 grammar) that it ends up infiltrating your brain and causing the erosion of your language skills.
6 With so little opportunity to dialogue in French in a meaningful way, there is no opportunity to
7 revive your speech abilities to their capabilities. ...The opportunity to be in a French
8 environment in Vichy did just that. Helped to re-establish my baseline speech that is eroded in
9 the classroom every day. Because immersion experiences are so few and far between, I must
10 rely instead on my reference books, the internet, dictionaries, and the occasional colleague to
11 assist me when I struggle with something...

In many respects, this account constitutes a summary of the professional identity Janet has constructed as participant in this study. She begins by alluding to her reliance on reference materials as well as (native speaker) colleagues as “a way to confirm” her language expertise and “reduce the doubt” (lines 1-3). She then mentions the challenges she faces in the classroom and the impact of her students' incorrect use of French with regard to language expertise in French (though not specifically her own) – “the erosion of *your* language skills” (line 5). She continues her account with a characterization of the classroom as a place where French is not used in a “meaningful way” (line 6), noting that only in a French environment such as Vichy can French be kept alive (lines 7-8). The account thus touches on all elements of her identity work here – her

focus on grammar (line 6), her orientation to standard language resources such as dictionaries or more proficient/“native speaker” colleagues (line 2, 10), and the inauthentic environment of the FSL classroom (line 8-9). Despite starting this response in her position as teacher, “working with students all day long” (line 3), Janet ends with a clear orientation to an identity as L2 speaker and learner of French, a position from which she is struggling to reconcile her ascribed identity as FSL teacher – clearly evidenced in this account with the expression of her frustrations.

Overall, in Janet’s case we see a number of discursive positionings and strategies employed as authenticating devices to accomplish a sense authority as FSL teacher. These include a strict focus on developing language accuracy associated with an emphasis on standardized French which involves an expressed reliance on French language references such as dictionaries and verb conjugation manuals. The discourse of the inauthentic classroom, reproduced with Janet’s orientation to ideologies of standardized language use and a conception of L2 learning as primarily mentalist and rule-governed affords her little recourse in authenticating an identity as FSL teacher given her overt concern with improving her language expertise in French. In the next section, Karin’s case, we see similar ideologies at work yet very different means of accomplishing an authentic or “real” self as FSL teacher.

Karin

At the time of the sojourn to Vichy Karin had been teaching French immersion (FI) for close to two decades. She learned French as a third language through basic French programming in Canada, and although trilingual, she presented herself as someone who “doesn’t learn languages easily” (interview/49:38). Throughout our interactions, Karin’s self-perceptions of her French language expertise conveyed a sense of “vulnerability” with regard to her position as FI

teacher. Not surprisingly, language expertise was a salient element in Karin's identity construction, which she addressed both explicitly as well as implicitly in discussions about her teaching practices. Karin's concern about her ability to demonstrate adequate language skills as FI teacher manifested itself throughout her narrative trajectory. Consequently, we see her attentive use of French in our interactions, her understanding of L2 learning, and her orientation to portable identities (Georgakopoulou, 2007) as a means of establishing herself as authentic teacher. These authenticating strategies and resources form a central aspect of Karin's orientation to her language expertise, an orientation that is based on an ideology of monoglossic bilingualism (García, 2009; Roy & Galiev, 2011) and which draws on a prevalent FSL discourse known as "bilingualism through monolingualism" (M. Swain, 1983) as well as a "container" view of language. This discourse incorporates a view of language as a finite, bounded unit of knowledge which can be acquired to completion, and is therefore necessarily measured against a "native speaker" standard. I begin my discussion of Karin's identity construction by outlining her direct orientation to language expertise. Next I demonstrate the way in which resources such as language preference, classroom décor, and a portable identity as mother function as a means of authenticating a position as FSL teacher. I conclude with a brief discussion about the overall impact the Vichy sojourn had for Karin and the implication of her identity work within the larger context of the FSL profession.

Language expertise: "Des petites choses comme ça"

As noted above, Karin's overt orientation to self-perceived language expertise was a central feature of her identity work. Karin attended to this issue with explicit mention of her difficulties in French, "la difficulté à trouver mes mots" (*the difficulty to find my words*) and an expressed desire to "travailler mon français" (*practice my French*) (Vichy journal/1st entry). In

these accounts she often articulated a sense of vulnerability, particularly when describing her relations with other French speakers, such as her francophone colleagues. Although Karin refers to her colleagues as mentors, who provided much needed support during the first years of her teaching, she also acknowledges her fear of interacting with other FSL teachers, “j’avais peur d’ouvrir ma bouche...parce que peut-être ils vont entendre toutes mes fautes” (*I was afraid to open my mouth because perhaps they will hear all my mistakes*) (interview/52:05). These characterizations of her colleagues as both mentors and as gatekeepers of the language certainly make evident a “native speaker” orientation on her part. Uneasiness vis-à-vis her language expertise, again framed in terms of “vulnerability,” is also made relevant with respect to her interactions with French-speaking parents as demonstrated in interview extract below:

Extract Karin 1 (interview/12:58-13:50)

- 1 M: et ça va très bien avec les=
2 K: =oui, ça va très bien et c’est pour ça c’est très très important pour moi de me sentir compétent
3 parce qu’il y a rien de pire que d’envoyer ses- (.) son trésor à l’école et imaginer- (.) qu’est-ce
4 qu’ils vont apprendre quelle- quelle faute vont-ils apprendre [aujourd’hui
5 M: [heh heh heh
6 K: quelle faute est-ce qu’il y aura qui sera fossilisée [aujourd’hui heh heh
7 M: [heh heh heh heh
8 K: à l’éc(h)ole heh=
9 M: =mais est-ce que- est-ce que c’est quelque chose que tu as- bon (.) c’est un sentiment ou une
10 opinion ou est-ce que c’est quelque chose qui a été communiqué [par les parents]
11 K: [no ::n] c’était- c’était
12 rare- oh de temps- <quand je pense à ma carrière il y a des moments où quelqu’un a envoyé un
13 petit- (.) une note-> oh je pense que tu as mal écrit ce mot-là-là- <des petites choses comme ça>
14 et ça m’a tracassé beaucoup parce que j’étais- je me sentais déjà comme- vulnérable. mais non je
15 dirais jamais que c’était- j’avais cette réaction- (.) en général je suis bien- très bien accueillie
16 M: voilà
17 K: et encouragé et même par les parents francophones
18 M: [mhm]
19 K: [oui] je- ils sont très contents que leurs enfants soient dans ma classe
M: and it’s going really well with the::-
K: yes, it’s going very well and that’s why it’s- it’s very important to me to feel competent because
there is nothing worse than sending your treasure to school and imagining (.) what they’ll be
learning which mistake they will be learning [today
M: [heh heh heh
K: which one of the mistakes will be fossilized [today heh
M: [heh heh heh
K: at sch(h)ool heh=

M: =but is it- is it something that you have- okay (.) is it a feeling or an opinion or is it something that was communicated to you [by the parents]

K: [no ::] that was- that was rare- oh someti- <when I think about my career there're moments when someone sent a little- (.)a note-> oh I think that you misspelled this word <minor things like that> and that tormented me greatly because I was- I already felt like- vulnerable. but no I would never say that it was- I had this effect (.) generally I am well- very well received

M: there you go

K: and encouraged and even by the francophone parents

M: [mhm]

K: [yes] I-I- th-they are very happy that their children are in my class

The extract opens with my asking her about the nature of her relationship with her students' parents with the suggestion that it appears to be going well (line 1). Karin agrees that this is the case and then adds that this is why she feels the need "de [s]e sentir compétent" (*to feel competent*) (line 2). She then launches into an account in which she takes on the parents' perspective in a display of empathy, speaking from their point of view as she lays out her idea of what parents must have to endure as they send their precious children to school every day. The main concern is what the children will learn that, specifically, the kinds of mistakes they will be internalizing from the teacher that day. Despite her self-deprecating and humorous take on the topic as she animates the voices of the parents the account foregrounds language expertise as the central element of her interaction with the students and thus as pivotal to an identity as competent teacher.

My subsequent question as to whether such concerns had been communicated to her produces a small story about an incident involving a note from a parent wishing to make her aware of a word she had misspelled (lines 12-13). Although Karin initiated this story on her own account, she mitigates both offering this story in the first place as well as the subsequent telling of it. Her initial response to my question is in fact *no* (line 11). This is immediately followed by an account in which she indicates that something like this has happened, though only rarely over the course of her career (lines 11-12). The account ends with her framing such an incident as

merely a “minor thing” (line 13). The story nevertheless gets told, and despite the mitigation work throughout Karin makes the point of informing me that these moments caused her a great deal of torment, given her already existing vulnerability (line 14). The addition of this comment with “et” (*and*), as opposed to a contrasting conjunction such as “mais” (*but*) only highlights the extent to which these incidents affected her. Finally, following this acknowledgement, she then hedges a quasi-negation of the entire incident by concluding that “en général je suis...très bien accueillie” (*generally I’m...very well received*) (line 15), “même par les parents francophones” (*even by the francophone parents*) (line 17). In its entirety, the account projects an image of Karin as someone who is constantly struggling to negotiate an outer appearance as “competent” teacher – someone who is able to handle her own mistakes with humour but who simultaneously takes such moments to heart. Taking up a position as French teacher is likened here to a balancing act, one that involves reconciling her own needs, desires, and frustrations as L2 learner and user of French with the “native-speaker” authority that is assumed to be inherent in the professional identity of an FSL teacher.

Karin iterates the feelings of insecurity she experienced especially as a novice teacher in her final email correspondence, in response to my request to comment on preliminary findings in regard to how she has experienced the learner/teacher tension:

Extract Karin 2 (email correspondence, November 2011)

1 I believe that there has always been a tension like this in my professional life from the very
2 beginning of my teaching career about 20 years ago. Especially at the beginning I did not feel that
3 my language skills were adequately developed and I sensed that I needed to be very careful, vigilant
4 in both my preparation and in my day to day interactions with my students, colleagues and parents in
5 order to appear sufficiently bilingual for the job. ...Since I did not have the opportunity for an
6 extensive immersion situation in order to build my own language skills I have had to create that for
7 myself over the years.

Karin's anxiety about her legitimacy as FI teacher is specifically related to the (self-perceived) inadequacy of her French language skills. She attributes this anxiety to not having had the kind of authentic (or natural) L2 learning experience typically associated with an "extensive immersion situation" (line 6) such as study abroad. Most striking about this account is the effect this concern about her language skills has had on Karin's teaching practices – prompting her to be "very careful" and "vigilant" (line 3) in order to "appear sufficiently bilingual for the job" (line 5). For Karin, taking up an identity as FI teacher means being able to appear "native-like," that is, being able to perform this expertise as a natural (i.e., "native") attribute. Her orientation to a "native speaker" standard as an assumed criterion of legitimate French language teaching once again points to the accountability these teachers are faced with in taking up a position as FSL teacher when such a positioning is premised on "non-native" language expertise.

French only

Instances of Karin being "careful" and "vigilant" about her language expertise in a position as FI teacher were demonstrated throughout her narrative trajectory and involved a number of strategies directed at building the kind of authentic immersive environment that she herself had done without while learning French. A notable example of this was her explicit emphasis on monolingual French language use, both in her interactions with me and with regard to her teaching practices and the décor of her classroom.

Aside from using French in questionnaire responses, her Vichy journal, and in our email correspondence, Karin was the only focal participant who directly asserted a desire to communicate with me in French. She addressed this matter at the start of our first interview: "Je n'sais pas si tu préfères parler en anglais, en français, mais j'essaye toujours utiliser mon français

autant que possible” (*I don't know if you prefer to speak in English, in French, but I always try to use my French as much as possible*) (interview#1/00:43-00:49). On one level, using French offered a concrete display of her language expertise by allowing her to demonstrate “competent speaker” of French and thus position herself as legitimate FI teacher. On another level, her explicit orientation to this topic during the interview highlighted the way in which language preference functioned as an authenticating resource for Karin in coming off as legitimate in her position as FI teacher in interaction with me as her audience.

The interior décor of her classroom appeared to serve a similar function, its content (posters, signs, books, games, even storage box labels) attesting to an insistence on French only, a topic explicitly discussed in the first debriefing session on the day of my classroom observation. Of particular interest here is the way in which Karin oriented to my mention of the classroom décor:

Extract Karin 3 (debriefing#1/9:58-11:29)

- 1 M: et c'est important pour toi n'est-ce pas? uh tu le fais- c'est pas juste par hasard qu'il y a des-des
 2 affiches partout [heh heh]
 3 K: [écoute (.)] je suis étudiante de la langue française et je m'améliore à toutes les
 4 années (.) alors je n'ai pas eu un programme d'immersion
 5 M: mhm
 6 K: uh pour- pour m'aider je n'ai- n'avait pas une année quelque part dans un pays ou dans un
 7 environnement francophone .hhh j'ai appris deux semaines ici trois semaines ici avec mes
 8 collègues alors je suis toujours une étudiante de la langue et c'est avec ça que j'arrive ici et
 9 j'essaye de m'améliorer et avec cette même passion j'essaye de passer- passer la même- la même
 10 attitude?
 11 M: c'est ça.
M: and it's important for you, isn't it? uh you do it- it's not just by chance that there are posters everywhere [heh heh]
K: [listen (.)] I am a student of the French language and I improve each year (.) even though I didn't have an immersion program
M: mhm
K: uh to-to help me I didn't- didn't have a year somewhere in a country or in a francophone environment .hhh I learned two weeks here three weeks here with my colleagues so I am still a student of the language and it's with that that I arrive here and I try to improve and with this same passion I try to pass- pass on the same- the same attitude?
M: exactly.

My suggestion that the French posters covering her classroom walls were not simply put up by chance (line 1) prompted Karin to directly mobilize an identity as L2 learner of French (“étudiante de la langue française”), first in opening and again in concluding her account (lines 3 and 8). Making this identity relevant here is interesting, especially since my suggestion focused the discussion on her teaching, specifically the way in which the classroom itself functioned as an extension of her teaching French as a second language. The account Karin offers in response, however, shifts the emphasis from teaching to learning. The posters are no longer simply an instructional resource but rather a means of creating the kind of authentic immersion environment she herself did not have as a learner of French, an environment which contributes to her continuing language development today and which, in turn, allows her to pass this knowledge and passion for French on to her students. Here again we see her own language expertise as the defining element of legitimacy as French language teacher, her own ongoing development of French providing a model of “authentic” L2 acquisition for her students.

In this instance, then, the authenticating effect is produced by the activity of learning or language acquisition itself, the idea that total immersion in the language may be seen as approximating the kind of authentic language socialization a “native speaker” experiences in her or his L1 environment. In this sense, the monolingual French environment of the classroom becomes an authenticating device for Karin, the maximization of French language use, both for herself and her students, a means of attending to issues such as fossilization (alluded to above in extract 1, line 6) and students’ potential overreliance on English. The “container” view of language (Martin-Jones, 2007) evident in this account, the idea that language is a bounded, stable unit of knowledge typically associated with monoglossic bilingualism (García, 2009; Roy & Galiev, 2011), in some ways itself affords an authenticating resource through its alignment with

prevailing cognitivist perspectives of L2 learning (e.g., Selinker, 1972; Valette, 1991) which continue to be grounded in a “native speaker” orientation. A perfect example of this type of authentication was further illustrated during our discussion about Karin’s policy regarding students’ use of English in class, represented in the form of the introductory speech she typically presents to her students on the first day of school:

Extract Karin 4 (debriefing#1/39:44-40:30)

1 K: ma politique est la suivante. (.) moi je dis aux élèves le moment qu'ils arrivent dans la classe au
2 début de deuxième année (.) selon moi dans ton cerveau il y a une petite route, on dirait que c'est
3 bleu. et c'est la route anglaise c'est bien formé et ton petit auto roule facilement maintenant sur la
4 route (.) tu as une deuxième route, dirait- on dirait que c'est rouge. et là (.) c'e::st pas aussi bien
5 formé il y a beaucoup de cailloux il y a des roches, .hh on s'arrête souvent, en départ on ne peut
6 pas passer (.) ça c'est ta route (.) française. alors pour- ce qu'on fait à l'école- on est en train
7 d'essayer de développer ta route française qu'elle soit aussi bien passable que ta route .hh
8 anglaise et c'est comme ça- .hh donc ce qu'on fait dans la classe on doit faire un effort même s'il
9 y a un caillou là ou une roche on devrait foncer pour essayer de voir si on peut passer à travers...

K: *my policy is the following (.) I say to the students the moment that they arrive in class at the start of grade two (.) the way I see it there is a little road in your brain, let's say it's blue. and that's the English road it's well built and your little car rolls effortlessly now along this road (.) you have a second road, let's – let's say that it's red. and see here (.) it's not built in the same way there are many stones and rocks, .hh one stops a lot, in the beginning one cannot pass (.) that's your (.) French road. so in order- what we do in school- we are trying to develop your French road so that it is as driveable as your .hh English road and it's like that- .hh therefore what we do in class we have to make an effort even if there is a stone there or a rock we have to accelerate to try and see if we can get around..*

1

Based on this view, second language acquisition development of the L2 is to be measured against L1 proficiency. The notion of two separate highways clearly draws on a discourse of “balanced bilingualism” associated with an image of “two full containers, side by side” (Martin-Jones, 2007, p. 167), which, in this case, is represented by two separate highways, also side by side. According to this scenario, the red highway may be seen as leading towards increasingly more accurate, monolingual (i.e. authentic) use of French, that is, towards the “native speaker” ideal on which ideologies of monoglossic bilingualism and the monolingual classroom (Lippi-Green, 1997) continue to rely. In other words, mixing the two languages by resorting to English is seen

as producing incorrect, i.e. inauthentic language use (Valdès et al., 2003; see also Meadows, 2013). This monoglossic approach to bilingualism offers a view of FSL teaching in which the FI teacher as monolingual speaker of French represents the definitive authentic resource for facilitating bilingualism among L2 learners of French. This notion of an authentic speaker resource is further illustrated by Karin's orientation to a portable identity as mother, outlined below.

“Maman”

Portable identities (Georgakopoulou, 2007) can be understood as extra-situational, “brought along resources” that are not “necessarily or automatically...brought about” in interaction but which figure “loosely,” without deterministic connection to other identity categories (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 91). The identity of “mother” is implicit with assumptions about authenticity, specifically in association with the “moral significance of the mother tongue” (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 61) as well as associated ideologies that insist on monolingual purism (Bucholtz, 2003; Pavlenko, 2002). Given the young age of her students, recruiting an identity as mother further contributes to the construction of a “natural” context for language learning by framing L2 teaching as a form of language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) akin to first-language acquisition.

The parental identity of “mother” or “Maman” (mommy) identity was apparent throughout Karin's narrative trajectory. Questionnaire responses and journal entries included numerous references to “mes petits,” “my little ones,” or “my little 7-year-olds.” The final journal account made this parental positioning especially relevant. In this last entry Karin summed up her learning experiences from the pedagogy workshop with particular emphasis on oral language which, in her view, aligns especially well with the advantages of French

immersion where “l’enfant peut apprendre la langue à la façon naturelle...avec la langue parlée” (*the child is able to learn the language naturally...through the spoken language*) (journal/final entry). Here we have, in addition to a discourse of monoglossic bilingualism, an orientation to the ideology of orality, as primordial, most authentic form of language (Briggs, 2007) and commonly associated with a mother identity. The journal entry concludes with the following account in which Karin laid out her projected pedagogical approach upon returning to BC:

Extract Karin 5 (Vichy journal/final entry)

1 En revenant chez moi je vais prendre le temps - et je vais me donner la permission de m'amuser et
2 jouer en français avec mes petits de 2e année! C'est comme ça qu'une maman enseigne la langue
3 maternelle à son enfant et - c'est comme ça (avec des modifications puisque j'ai 24 enfants) que je
4 dois planifier mes journées. Si on s'amuse avec eux ... ils seront plus motivés et inspirés pour
5 apprendre cette nouvelle langue - une expérience qui peut être très stressante pour certains enfants!
*(When I return home I will take the time – I will give myself permission to have fun and to play in
French with my little Grade 2s! That's how a mommy teaches the mother tongue to her child and –
that's how (with some modifications since I have 24 children) I have to plan my days. If one has fun
with them...they will be more motivated and inspired to learn this new language – an experience that
can be very stressful for certain children!)*

This final account presents a story which foregrounds an agentive position as FI teacher. It involves the identity display of a teacher who has decided to take charge, to have fun with her students and engage them in language learning through play (lines 1-2), despite the considerable work and challenges usually associated with L2 learning. This disassociation from the seriousness of the L2 classroom is accomplished in the narrative with explicit mobilization of an identity as “maman” (line 2). Inextricably tied to the role of mother is the responsibility of passing on the (mother) language to her children, not through teaching but through the more natural, all-encompassing process of parenting. The image of engaging students in fun play and games during the course of a day constructs a world in which these children are not merely “learning” French but are socialized into the language as part of a natural, authentic process akin to L1 socialization. This notion of parental responsibility is evident in her manifest awareness of

how stressful learning a new language can be for certain children (line 5), a further means of highlighting her concern for her students, not only in terms of academic success but with regard to their general well-being, as a mother would do. Finally, Karin's reference to "planning [her] *days*" (line 4) as opposed to classes or lessons also reinforces the use of a mother identity in terms of time spent with the children. The issue of contact time was, in fact, a salient issue throughout our discussions and was explicitly addressed during another interview exchange in which Karin also directly recruited a mother identity:

Extract Karin 6 (interview/8:47-9:05)

- 1 M:hh est-ce que tu peux m'expliquer- juste me donner une idée de la- d'une semaine typique ce
 2 que tu fais avec les enfants tu les vois .hh alors tous les jours?
 3 K: je suis la- je suis leur (.) presque-maman je les vois de::- du début à la fin de la journée, pendant
 4 la semaine je les vois
 5 (0.6)
 6 K: uh sauf les deux demi-heures et une fois quarante minutes par semaine
 7 M: ouais
 8 K: alors j'ai trois périodes de préparation
 9 M: mhm=
 10 K: =autrement (.) c'est moi que s'occupe de tout
 11 M: wow
*M:hh can you explain- just give me an idea of the- of a typical week what you do with the kids
 so you see them .hh every day?*
*K: I am the- their (.) almost-mom I see them the entire day fr::- from beginning to end, during the
 week I see them
 (0.6)*
K: uh except for the two half hours and once forty minutes per week
M: yeah
K: so I have three periods of prep
M: mhm=
K: =otherwise (.) it's me who's in charge of everything
M: wow

Karin's immediate response to my question about her weekly routine was "je suis leur presque-maman (.) (*I am their almost-mom.*) and concludes the account with an associated responsibility of this recruited identity: "c'est moi qui s'occupe de tout" (*I'm the one who takes care of everything*). Aside from the direct mobilization of a mother identity in her initial response, the considerable amount of time Karin spends with the students constitutes the main focus of this

brief exchange, most clearly articulated with “je les vois du début à la fin de la journée...” (*I see them from the beginning to the end of the day...*). For Karin, the amount of instructional time appears to be indicative of the extent of her responsibility for the children in her class, again as someone whose role is fundamental the students’ language socialization in French.

With regard to Karin’s identity display generally, one might say that her construction of an FI teacher identity, in some respects, represents the most overt illustration of the constraints imposed on the teaching and professional practices of FSL educators by a “native speaker” ideology. This is made evident with the overall impact the sojourn as an event appears to have had on Karin’s professional identity. Half a year after completing the research process, Karin indicated in our email correspondence that the sojourn to Vichy had “given [her] the courage to mix more confidently with francophones” and that she had, for the first time, attended the annual national convention of the *Association canadienne des professeurs d’immersion*. The sojourn as a construct, with all its associated assumptions and expectations and the experiences it ultimately affords, itself appears to function here as an authenticating resource, which in Karin’s case provided a space in which to see herself as a member of her professional community of FI teachers.

Overall then, for Karin it is primarily the emphasis on monoglossic bilingualism in connection with a discursively constructed positioning as mother that work to authenticate an identity as FI teacher. Displaying expert, monolingual language competence and constructing a monolingual French language learning environment both serve to accomplish an identity that approximates a “native speaker” ideal and thereby imply an “authentic” language learning process akin to L1 socialization. In the following section we see a different focus in

authenticating a “true” identity as FSL speaker and teacher. Instead of a strict focus on her own sense of self as with Karin, for Helen authentication is accomplished in relation to others.

Helen

Helen was the only novice FSL teacher among the focal participants and had just completed her first year of teaching prior to the Vichy sojourn. Her teaching experiences up to point had included teaching both core French and French immersion classes at the junior secondary level, ranging from grade eight to ten. Like most of the other focal participants, she learned French in school as an additional language, in her case outside of Canada but also in an English-dominant environment. She continued studying French at the post-secondary level and spent a year abroad in France in conjunction with her university studies. Similar to Janet and Karin, Helen directly acknowledged her status as L2 speaker of French with a consistent focus on her competency in the language. Throughout our research interactions, this orientation to language expertise (her own and others’) made visible a noticeable tension around Helen’s efforts to reconcile ongoing development of her French language skills with her position as FSL teacher, a position premised on already existing expert knowledge of the language. For Helen, ongoing language development was associated with a distinct variety of French as well as a distinct type of speaker: European French spoken by francophone speakers from France. Her view of what constituted legitimate French was grounded in a notion of authenticity that drew on Eurocentric and purist language ideologies, manifested most noticeably in the discursive resources she employed to authenticate and validate an identity as FSL teacher. These resources involved disassociating from Canadian/Quebécois colleagues, an emphasis on accent both as topic and performance, and similar to other participants, a focus on teaching oral French.

My analysis of Helen's identity construction focuses on the first two authenticating resources – the way in which she positions herself in relation to others during the sojourn and in her local school context and her preoccupation with French pronunciation/accent. I begin with a discussion of Helen's orientation to language expertise and the discourses she draws on to account for her concerns and frustrations with her competency in the language. I then demonstrate how the discursive resources these discourses offer constitute a process of authentication as a means of legitimating an identity as FSL teacher.

Language expertise: “B2 or something”

As noted above, a focus on language expertise was a salient feature of Helen's narrative trajectory. Explicit references to her language development and self-perceived level of expertise in French, especially as compared to her colleagues, were frequent. Positioning herself as a competent speaker of French typically entailed an evaluation of others' language expertise against which to measure her own level of French. Such evaluations were constructed in a way so as to authenticate her own expertise in the language, usually involving the de-authentication of others' competency in French. This dual process of de-/authentication engaged the notion of authenticity based on general language expertise defined in terms of a “native speaker” standard and/or with reference a specific language variety, a particular accent or the national affiliation of the speaker. A good example of this kind of discursive manoeuvring was represented in the following extract from our first (telephone) interview. Just prior to this exchange we had been discussing Helen's expectations about the sojourn prior to arriving in Vichy, which had led to a brief discussion about the confusion on the first day at CAVILAM and the French language test that some of the teachers had been required to take in order to be placed in either the teaching

pedagogy workshops or French language classes. The excerpt below focuses on Helen's placement in one of the upper level language classes and her reaction to this:

Extract Helen 1 (interview/28:15-29:35)

- 1 H: because I took the placement test they put me in a placement- I can't remember what it was B2
2 or something which was probably you know (.) right at that time
3 M: uhuh
4 H: and I walked in and saw some of the people that I was with and this is really- this is really mean,
5 I'll be quite upfront about it (.) this was me being a snob but there were a couple of people in our
6 group whose French (.) I didn't particularly think was very good
7 M: mhm
8 H: and I had been placed with them
9 M: mhm
10 H: and I was not impressed with that. (.) at all
11 M: mhm
12 H: and so I got up and walked out and saw um (.) cute boy- what was his name (.) um
13 M: oh (.) yeah uh- Julien
14 H: yeah that's it heh and uh I said I thought I wanted to do this but I've changed my mind I want to
15 do that (.) .hh and he said where do you want to go? and I said I wanna go here he uh had
16 someone take me there a::nd [yuh
17 M: [oh ok
18 H: so:: it was no problem to change once I had a vision .h although I heard afterwards that there
19 were some other people that had tried to change and had had no luck. so I counted myself as
20 quite lucky uh- to have had uh-a-a- apparently um (.) it was very clear that I needed to change
21 'cause he didn't give me any argument heh heh heh

Faced with the prospect of being placed with people “whose French [she] didn't particularly think was very good” (line 6), Helen decided to request placement in a different program at CAVILAM. In the narrative she characterizes this program change as posing “no problem” in her case (line 18), compared to some of her colleagues who reported not having been as successful in trying to change after the fact. And while Helen describes herself “as quite lucky” (line 19-20) in relation to others who also tried to change, she ultimately attributes, although implicitly, the ease of her entry into the teaching workshops to her level of French, which made it “very clear” (line 20) that a change was necessary in her case.

In this brief interaction we see a number of discursive strategies characteristic of her narratives, in particular the validation or authentication of her own expertise in relation to other

L2 speakers of French. The issue in this story is Helen's categorization at a B2 level of French based on the placement test administered at CAVILAM. Although Helen initially validates this assessment level as "probably right...at the time" (line 2), the remainder of the exchange serves to contest this placement and to account for her decision to change programs. Instead of offering an alternative assessment of her own language expertise, an evaluation about the French of others in group is given, which in this case is described as not very good (line 6). The comparison established here effectively de-authenticates the French the others in the group are speaking in relation to her own, and in this way provides justification for her to change to a different program. Helen's disaffiliative positioning with regard to the other teachers in the cohort (i.e., not being impressed to be placed with this group (lines 8, 10)) is pre-emptively characterized as "mean" and as involving "being a snob" (line 5). Ultimately however, the decision to leave the group is presented as sanctioned, notably based on the authority of a "native speaker" who reportedly agreed with her self-assessment that she clearly "needed to change" (line 20). Other actions alluded to in the narrative, such as "walking out" and "being lucky," further serve to justify this decision.

Elsewhere Helen overtly expresses her frustrations with what she perceived to be her limitations in French, followed by account that work to project an identity which continues to align with a positioning as FSL teacher on professional development abroad. On the one hand she acknowledges that her feelings about being too intimidated to speak with others are "not particularly rational," that she "can't expect so much" in such a short time in France (Vichy journal/3rd entry). On the other hand, she rationalizes her difficulties in French by attributing these to memory lapse as opposed to lack of knowledge, as demonstrated in the following extract below. This entire account is an attempt to justify her "rough beginning" at CAVILAM and the

effect the placement test had on her in terms of undermining her confidence to speak French and consequently her participation in the sojourn as a legitimate FSL professional:

Extract Helen 2 (Vichy journal/1st entry)

1 The biggest problem with our rough beginning was it undermined my confidence in my ability to
2 speak French, and made me 2nd guess my decision to be here. I also find it difficult to speak French
3 w/ other Canadians, when in fact, I really just want to speak French with the French. HOWEVER I
4 have realized that there is a huge amount of learning going on for me - and part of that is sharing my
5 teaching experiences with other teachers, and not just in French. I tend to want to immerse myself
6 here - and because of the nature of this group - it won't be completely possible. I have also realized
7 that I am regrouping my knowledge and am poised to take several big steps forward. It's been 25
8 years since I was last in France 25 years since I have "lived in French" - and I have reached the end
9 of my "knowledge" for now. I am in the process of accumulating more - and soon I will burst out of
10 this place and leap forward with what I can communicate + understand! I can't wait!!

Crucial here is the way language knowledge is characterized by Helen. It is something which can be "regrouped" (line 7) and "accumulated" (line 9), its acquisition can "reach an end" or be temporarily halted (line 8), and its re-emergence can cause a sudden ability to "communicate and understand" (line 10). Here again we have a "container view" of language in association with a monoglossic conception of linguistic competence as something bounded and retrievable. In terms of authenticity, knowledge of French is characterized as originating specifically in France and based on an acquisition that involved "living in French." Retrieval of this former knowledge is consequently dependent on being able to "re-find" (interview/30:09) this French, in France, by way of being able to "speak French with the French" (line 3). For Helen, knowledge of French is thus presented as always present, just not readily available, that is until her return to France twenty-five years later. This view is also articulated in a subsequent journal entry:

Extract Helen 3 (Vichy journal/3rd entry)

1 In my past, I was quite bilingual + fluent, but no longer... As well, I find that I am intimidated to
2 speak w/ some people - but not others... I hear people around me who speak quite well, and I wish
3 that I were there! ##sigh##. Can't expect so much in only 1 week but of course I do. I just want it all
4 back - I'm so pleased for the experience, but resentful that I haven't remembered it all in 1 week 25
5 years later.

These characterizations of her challenges in French are reminiscent of participants' responses in Chapter 5 in accounting for an increase in confidence (e.g., merely refining already existing language skills). At the same time, extract 2 and 3 above point to the importance of France as authentic immersive context for Helen, and the extent to which a successful outcome of this PD abroad depends on Helen's access to that "authenticness" (line 5). Regardless of how frustrations and difficulties with French are rationalized, justifying her expression of these concerns underscores the problematic laid out in Chapter 5: as FSL teacher giving others cause to suspect limited or inadequate use of French violates normative expectations associated with this professional identity and therefore requires an explanation.

The distancing factor

Another way in which language expertise is addressed in Helen's narratives is as an authenticating resource with which to work up a position as a "more real" speaker of French in relation to her FSL colleagues. This is in part accomplished by distancing herself from the Canadian groups of teachers, as exemplified in extract 2 above with the claim that she finds it difficult to speak French with her Canadian colleagues (lines 2-3). Limiting her interactions to native French speakers of France (line 3) is a means of positioning herself in closer proximity to what she perceives to be authentic French. Although the reference to "sharing...teaching experiences with other teachers" (lines 4-5) implies alignment and collaboration with her peers, the overall account constructs her interaction with her Canadian counterparts as hindering access to the kind of purist, monolingual French immersion setting she had anticipated in Vichy. This kind of discursive positioning is prominent throughout Helen's narratives, such as in a journal entry relating her experience with the DELF training session during the second week of the sojourn:

Extract Helen 4 (Vichy journal/3rd entry)

1 Honestly (after feeling so pissed off at the beginning that I wasn't part of DELF), I'm not terribly
2 excited for week 2. I'd far rather continued with the courses, and to be able to interact with a variety
3 of people. I'm not at all thrilled about limiting my interactions to CDNs only. Already I see that I'm
4 making the same mistakes as the people I'm hanging with - I'd so rather be w/ people who speak
5 better than me -I also realized today how much I enjoy the physical freedom enjoyed by the
6 women of other countries. People I barely know touch me easily, or hug me - or smile genuinely and
7 sincerely. Physical proximity is different in different cultures, and I love coming face to face w/
8 these differences. Today I felt part of a group of Slavic women, accepted, welcomed + wanted in a
9 way I've rarely felt in Canada.

In this account, disaffiliation from Canadian colleagues is justified similar to her decision to change to a different program (outlined in extract 1 above), namely the desire to be with people who speak better than Helen (lines 4-5). This disaffiliative stance is reinforced with a concluding small story about Helen's interactions with "a group of Slavic women" also attending classes at CAVILAM, among whom she felt more "accepted, welcomed + wanted in a way [she's] rarely felt in Canada" (lines 8-9). On the one hand, this reference to the country instead of her Canadian colleagues as on other occasions may be seen as making relevant Helen's immigrant status in Canada. On the other hand, it again signals Eurocentrism in connection with a variationist ideology evident throughout Helen's narratives above and particularly overt during our discussion about her colleagues in BC (see extract 8 below).

All about accent

Another authenticating discursive strategy frequently oriented to in Helen's narratives is accent, particularly the standardized pronunciation associated with European (i.e., Parisian) French. For Helen authentic French is firmly rooted in France, its ownership clearly bestowed on the French speakers in that country (Kramsch, 1997; Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994). Given that FSL teacher identity is predicated on expert language use, achieving legitimacy as French language teacher is therefore contingent on re-establishing her former "bilingual + fluent" self

(from 25 years ago). Accomplishing this requires proximity to “authentic French,” which in Helen’s case involves distinguishing between differing levels of authenticity, and by extension differently valued authenticity effects. This notion of hierarchized authenticity is made relevant in a short exchange about being in the monolingual setting of France as opposed to the bilingual French-English environment in BC. The central discursive device she employs in this small story is accent – in this particular case both in terms of pronunciation and (coincidentally) syllabic articulation. The exchange followed from my asking her to clarify what she meant by being “France-crazy”:

Extract Helen 5 (debriefing #1/39:23-45)

- 1 M: you said you become someone else
2 H: oh yes
3 M: in what way
4 H: um I'm-I'm H  l  ne (.) not Helen I'm H  l  ne
5 [el'  n] [h  l  n] [el'  n]
6 M: heh heh heh
7 H: and that- that has- um the edges of that are- (.) are less defined now that I'm here (.) and so you
8 saw I- (.) my colleague and I float in and out of French on any given day [right?]
9 M: [oh that's] interesting
10 H: but when I am in France (.) I'm a different person. (.) speaking French

In this short exchange Helen depicts becoming “someone else” in French as embodied in her name, H  l  ne versus Helen. In French the pronunciation of her name is markedly different, with stress on the last syllable and an accentuated open mid unrounded vowel ([  ]) instead of schwa ([  ]). Performing a distinctly French pronunciation thus offers another means of working up an authentic persona in French. Helen contrasts this “French” identity of France with the bilingual identity of her home context with a description about her interactions with her colleague, characterized here as involving “float[ing] in and out of French” (line 8). Consequently, this identity is “less defined” (and therefore presumably less French). She summarizes this short identity display as follows: “when I am in France I’m a different person speaking French ” (line

10), her emphasis on the word “different” clearly reinforcing that a monolingual French identity constitutes the “truly authentic” identity as speaker of French.

Helen’s use of accent as an authenticating resource in terms of pronunciation or speech style (Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh, 2009) is evident elsewhere. Rampton has described this as “break[ing] into artful performance,” an act of speaking that is put on display for a particular audience (2006, p. 27). Another instance of such a performance occurred at the end of our second-last debriefing session involving a short interaction with Helen’s FSL colleague. Noteworthy here is Helen’s performance of an exaggerated Parisian accent to differentiate herself from her Quebecois colleague. The day before I had asked her to clarify a reference in her BC journal to “having fun...with the accent,” to which her response had been that she sometimes exaggerates a Parisian accent given her penchant for being “very theatrical” (debriefing#2/5:15-5:41). The interaction below occurred at the end of a discussion about Helen’s approach to teaching French as contrasting with that of her colleague’s (indicated in the transcript as “C”):

Extract Helen 6 (debriefing#4/15:48-15:54)

- 1 H: hi! ((to her colleague who is walking by the open classroom door))
2 C: salut
3 H: salut (.) à demain
4 C: à demain bonne soirée
5 H: ouais
6 M: merci=
7 H: =toi aussi
[osij]
H: hi! ((to her colleague who is walking by the open classroom door))
C: hi/bye
H: bye (.) see you tomorrow
C: see you tomorrow have a nice evening
H: yeah
M: thanks=
H: =you too

In this brief exchange, we see Helen initiated the colleague’s inclusion in our interaction by greeting her colleague as the latter walks past Helen’s open classroom door. C responds with

“salut” (line2) which in French can signify both a greeting and a farewell. Helen immediately orients to her colleague’s language choice by switching to French and reciprocates with the same expression before adding the parting phrase “à demain” (*see you tomorrow*) (line 3). We see her colleague aligning with Helen’s orientation to a farewell by repeating “à demain,” then tagging on the additional parting phrase “bonne soirée” (*have a good evening*) (line 4). Helen accepts her colleague’s well wishes with a simple affirmative “ouais” (*yeah*) (line 5) while I respond with a brief “merci” (*thank you*) (line 6), to which Helen quickly adds “toi aussi,” (*you too*) (line7). The last syllable of “aussi” is pronounced in a stylised “Parisian accent” with a fronted, closed vowel and the addition of the palatal approximant [j] in final position – a pronunciation characteristic of the Île de France region (Carton, Rossi, Autesserre, & Léon, 1983) and clearly juxtaposed with the more informal “ouais” in the previous turns of this exchange. The expression “ouais” represents a Quebecois variant, which in standard Quebecois French is commonly used as an informal alternative to “oui” (*yes*) (Boulanger & Rey, 1992). Although “ouais” is also used in France it tends to be viewed as a marked, popular pronunciation, whereas in Canada the open mid vowel variant has even been described as a *québécoisme* (Heller, 1999c; Lappin, 1982; Léon & Bhatt, 2005). Given the spontaneity and informality of the entire interaction, the stylised, tense articulation of her last turn appeared somewhat exaggerated, and for this reason clearly highlighted the distinctively European French identity she was performing in contrast to the French-Canadian identity of her colleague.

Helen’s orientation to accent and pronunciation as a topic is salient in her accounts about L2 learning, frequently with respect to her own language development as well as others. Her preoccupation with pronunciation highlights the way accent may be used as a marker of

authenticity in constructing a particular identity. In her second-last journal entry, for example, she remarks on the difficulty of mastering the pronunciation of an additional language:

Extract Helen 7 (Vichy journal/4th entry)

1 Today I started thinking about the music of language. It seems to me that is one of the last things
2 to go. That's to say, in order to become truly fluent in a language one must speak the language with
3 its music, not just the vocab, grammar, etc... I started thinking about this because I live (here in
4 Vichy) with other students (Rumanian, Vietnamese, + German) and I notice that we all speak French
5 with the music of our maternal language. It is particularly noticeable with the Vietnamese because
6 they have a music that is so different than that of the French. But I have noticed it with other
7 nationalities as well. I particularly notice it with Canadians who speak French with a flatter more N
8 American accent, than French.

The extract begins as a general observation with the opening figurative expression, “the music of language” (line 1) lending the narrative a reflective tone. The initial congenial tenor is reinforced with Helens’ use of the first-person plural – “*we* all speak French with the music of *our* maternal language” (lines 4-5) – thereby including her in the story as a fellow L2 learner who shares the challenges of “becoming truly fluent” (line 2) in French “with other students” (line 4) at CAVILAM. The word “truly” again indexes an “authentic” standard, although in this case this standard appears to pertain specifically to European French, based on the final observation of this entry. In this last sentence “Canadians” are characterized as “speak[ing] French with a flatter more N[orth] American accent,” which establishes a contrastive categorization that indexes Canadian French as representing a less than “true” French. Although the term “flat” may be interpreted as merely pointing to a different (perhaps less agreeable) pronunciation of French, in terms of music the notion “flat” implies *sounding incorrectly*. In other words, if native-like pronunciation of French is the final step in attaining a status as true (i.e., authentic) French speaker, North American French amounts to an inauthentic variety given the way its pronunciation has been characterized here. A positioning “with other students” at CAVILAM indexes a clear disassociation from Canadian speakers, and by extension from the inauthentic

French that is spoken in North America. Here we see a discourse of language subordination (Lippi-Green, 1997) as particularly relevant, specifically the French Canadian linguistic ideology identified by Heller (1999b) which is connected to ideological notions of linguistic purism (Bucholtz, 2003; Cameron, 1995).

The Eurocentric orientation evident above is most overt in a final illustration of Helen's identity work. In some ways, this last extract offers a useful summary of Helen's identity work in that it also comprises not only a demonstration of her use of accent but also another example of the authenticating/de-authenticating process we already saw in extract1 above. The exchange centers on Helen's characterization of her colleague in response to my question about other French teachers at her school:

Extract Helen 8 (interview/18:03-19:24)

- 1 M: um so I- I'd like to know a little bit more about the other French teacher that you work with .h
 2 H: her name is ((name of colleague))-
 3 M: [mhm]
 4 H: [and] she's uh wonderful she's Quebecois- born and raised in Quebec
 5 M: okay
 6 H: so she's a francophone
 7 M: [okay]
 8 H: [she's] been (.) in (.) um Western Canada for twenty-eight years now
 9 M: okay
 10 H: I'd say she probably ((adjudicator tone)) sp[↑]eaks (.)at an A2↓ heh heh
 11 M: uh- heh- (.) rea(h)- (.) w-w(h)a- (.) r(h) okay-okay ↑this is so ↑interesting okay g-go on heh
 12 H: it's a- because I think about this right? because- I mean .hh I've done nothing with the DELF this
 13 is just so not the community that is ready [to be] dealing with th[at
 14 M: [heh] [heh heh heh
 15 H: however I still really think about it
 16 M: uhuh (.) [uhuh]
 17 H: [um] so yeah (.) well what I notice about her is that (.) um (.) she speaks (.) really
 18 really quite well but every once in a while (.) .hh um you can tell that she's not a native speaker
 19 (0.8)
 20 M: she's not a native speaker.
 21 (0.2)
 22 H: yeah sh- so y- she's not a native English speaker
 23 M: <e- n- ingsh- oh you> mean she speaks English at A2
 24 H: yeah she speaks English at A2
 25 M: o::h <okay okay> .hh and her French- but her French is::-
 26 H: <=oh her French is p- her French is perfect> but-
 27 M: y-yeah

28 H: but (.) she:: (.) um (.) she speaks
 29 (0.3)
 30 H: u::h French with far less of a (.) Quebecois accent than many of the people that we were in
 31 France with
 32 (0.3)
 33 M: oka↑y
 34 H: she has worked I think to (.) lose it and to speak a cleaner (.) .hh kind of (.) accentless [French]
 35 M: [o:::h]
 36 kay [okay]
 37 H: [she's] wonderful.

As a whole, this exchange works to construct an equal positioning for Helen and her colleague as L2 speakers of French and English respectively, ostensibly in an effort to legitimate Helen's position as FSL teacher in relation to a senior, francophone colleague. The first part of the interaction constitutes the de-authentication of the colleague based on a characterization of this colleague as L2 learner of English. This is primarily accomplished with an assessment of the colleague's language expertise as A2 according to CEFR reference levels used in the DELF (line 12). The assessment is presented along with an indication as to the considerable amount of time the colleague has been residing in Western Canada, contributing to the effect of this assessment by implying that a higher level of expertise in English can well be expected after three decades in an English-dominant environment. After my initial misunderstanding about Helen's reference to an A2 level classification the discussion turns to what I had assumed we had been discussing all along, her colleague's language expertise *in French*.

The remainder of the exchange functions as a further de-authentication of her colleague's language expertise, this time as a speaker of French. Qualifying her colleague's "perfect" French (line 26) with the observation that her Quebecois accent is far less pronounced than many of the people she had been with in France (lines 28-31) amounts to de-authenticating this particular variety based on accent. The subsequent account offered in support of this qualification – that her colleague speaks a "cleaner...kind of accentless French" which "she has worked...to lose" (line

34) – only serves to underscore the notion linguistic authenticity as hierarchized with regard to French language varieties. The implication that a Quebecois accent is less than “perfect French” is clear. In effect, the apparent commendation that the colleague’s French sounds “cleaner” and therefore less like a Quebecer does double duty here. First, orienting to the difference in accent in terms of purity (i.e., authenticity) serves to mitigate the de-authentication of her colleague’s less authentic French. Second, as a contrast it indexes European French as more authentic, and by extension Helen’s pronunciation of the language as closer to “real” French. Once again, the interaction makes visible the way accent functions as an authenticating resource. In the end, the narrative above works to de-authenticate her colleague on two accounts, both as an English L2 speaker and as “native speaker” of French, both of may be seen as working to elevate Helen’s positioning vis-à-vis her colleague, first as an English “native speaker” and second, as speaker of a more authentic French.

Evident throughout the narratives represented above is a view of authentic French as solely associated with European French, a view that aligns with prevailing assumptions in FSL education (Levis, 2005; Train, 2000). For Helen this authenticity is accessible by way of mimicking a standardized Parisian French accent and by locating L2 learning of French exclusively in France. Seeking out the proximity of French from France indexes disassociation from Canadian or Quebecois varieties of French, historically conceived as “corrompu” (corrupted) or “bâtard” (bastard) and as deviating from the prestigious norm spoken in France (Joseph, 1987; Lappin, 1982; Martel & Cajolet-Laganière, 1995). In essence, Helen’s notion of authenticity is grounded in *le bon usage* ideology relevant in contemporary mainstream conceptions to this day, one that privileges the French spoken in France as the only “authentic” and globally valued French variety fit for the L2 classroom (Kircher, 2012; see also Auger &

Valdman, 1999; Chapelle, 2009; Heller, 1999b; Nemni, 1998). In other words, we see Helen positioning herself in alignment with a subordinating discourse that specifically engages notions of prestige associated with the French spoken in France (Joseph, 1987; Martel & Cajolet-Laganière, 1995) as a way of authenticating her language expertise and thereby substantiate the legitimacy of a position as FSL teacher.

Interestingly, Helen's preoccupation with French pronunciation and European French as the locus of authentic language expertise leads her to view ongoing French language development as contingent on her ability to "come into contact with Francophones and mimic them" (email correspondence, September 2011). The notion of mimicry, however, indexes not so much using or speaking as simply *re*-producing language. In other words, mimicking other speakers of French means taking up a position as "animator" as opposed to "author," where one is merely a "sounding box" without the ability to express one's ideas or views (Goffman, 1981, p. 144). Here ideologies of language ownership (Higgins, 2003; Norton, 1997) come into play which speak to the question of who is or can become "owner" of a language as legitimate language user. Helen's conception of "authenticity," with its fixation on the idealized (European) "native speaker" as rightful owner and only authority in this regard, highlights the disempowering effect these notions of ownership tied into normative standards of "native speakerness" and authentic language use can produce. The animator-position made relevant in the above accounts combined with a conception of L2 learning as mimicry effectively signals a sense of powerlessness, one that reinforces the idea that as "non-native speaker" of French Helen has no other recourse but to "imitate" a language she will never "own" legitimately. The notion of authenticity she insists on for legitimacy as FSL teacher actually leaves her in a position lacking of agency.

In sum, Helen's primary tactics involve de-authenticating others' French language expertise – often in terms of European versus North American varieties of French – as well as an overriding emphasis on accent. Both are clearly grounded in a “native speaker” ideology that, although meant to invoke a sense an “authentic” or self, ultimately positions her as someone who wants to but can never be “truly French.” In the next section, Carolyn's orientation to language expertise is also explicit and in terms of a “native speaker” standard. Yet unlike Helen, this orientation is expressed without frustration or in relation to others; rather, it is presented as a productive resource in constructing a legitimate identity as FSL teacher.

Carolyn

Carolyn had been a core French teacher at the secondary level for close to three decades at the time of the Vichy sojourn. As a participant in this study she represents a somewhat unique case in that she is the only one who does not overtly demonstrate the learner/teacher tension to the same extent as the other focal participants. During our interactions, Carolyn appeared extremely comfortable in her position as FSL teacher, her “even, relaxed tone” (field notes) indicative of the unproblematic nature with which she characterized learning as an integral part of her teaching. A consistent focus on professional learning and language development was, in effect, the most salient aspect of her narratives and consequently also the central positioning mechanism for working up a legitimate identity as FSL teacher. In Carolyn's case, knowledge acquisition (in the form of continued language development and cultural learning) constituted a professional responsibility, one that highlighted her investment in language teaching as a means of authenticating/validating a position as FSL teacher. Knowledge acquisition may be seen to function as an authenticating resource in two ways – first, professional development experiences

were consistently framed as constituting potential instructional resources for the classroom and second, Carolyn's L2 learner identity was displayed as an example of successful L2 learning. As a result, Carolyn projected an identity as a "teacher-learner" (Freeman & Johnson, 1998), as continuously evolving and developing, an identity foregrounding ongoing language development as the central legitimating component of a position as teacher.

On the surface, this explicit orientation to L2 learning appeared to be comfortably reconciled with her position as FSL teacher and did not seem to generate the same tension observed in the identity displays of other focal participants. Nonetheless, there were instances in which this tension was implicit, notably when an orientation to a "native speaker" standard was made overtly relevant. In the following section I demonstrate how Carolyn's focus on learning and ongoing knowledge acquisition functions as an authenticating feature of her positioning as FSL teacher, and how, at the same time, this focus never steers free of a "native speaker" orientation that at times constrains Carolyn's access to an L2 teacher identity.

Language expertise: "To teach is to learn"

Carolyn's manifest focus on linguistic and cultural learning is closely connected to an explicitly articulated awareness of her status as L2 learner of French and, as such, of her continued efforts to develop her French language expertise. A prominent topic throughout our interactions is how her increasing engagement with French over the course of her career led to a higher level of language competence.

Extract Carolyn 1 (online interview/1st email response)

- 1 ...When I first started teaching in the 1980s, there was no French Immersion program. So other than
- 2 the French spoken in class (basically grade 8 French), I didn't have any other opportunities to use
- 3 French. I spoke English with my colleagues, even the French dept. head. After one year in ((city)), I
- 4 worked in ((city)) for 1 semester — same story. I began teaching at ((school)) — same story at the

5 beginning. Even though there were 4 French teachers at the time, we always spoke English with
6 each other. Basically, French was just for the classroom! Eventually, French Immersion was
7 introduced at the end of the 80's/early 90's. However, we were still pretty much teaching in isolation;
8 I had little contact with the French Immersion teachers. When I became dept. head I began to use a
9 little more French outside of the classroom because our French Immersion team meetings were held
10 in French. Finally, as the staff evolved, we began to use more and more French outside of class.
11 Now, I communicate entirely in French with my five FI colleagues and one of my Core French
12 colleagues. In front of the students, ALL of us communicate in French...

In sum, in the early years of Carolyn's career "French was just for the classroom" (line 6) but over time, with the introduction of French immersion programs, this eventually extended to interactions outside of class time, such as department meetings. Today, French represents the preferred means of communication for her with both colleagues and students at her school.

Carolyn provided this account early on in our research interaction, in response to my asking her about her language learning experiences *as a student*. Her specific focus in this account on how her French developed as a teacher, rather than as a student, clearly demonstrates the extent to which her L2 learning experiences are fundamental to her professional life. Also noteworthy here is that her increased use of French is described as aligning (line 10) with the language practices of her colleagues in the school and thus gives Carolyn an opportunity to present herself as a sanctioned member of her professional community. As such, the account provides a success-story of sorts, demonstrating how her past and ongoing efforts to improve her French language expertise are a key contributing factor to a legitimate identity as French language teacher.

A similar discussion occurred in our face-to-face interview during which I again raised the issue of language use in the classroom. This time Carolyn's L2 learning trajectory emerged as a then-and-now narrative, her experiences as a novice FSL teacher (e.g., "looking up words the night before") clearly contrasted with the way she is able to use French today – "now it's more natural" (f2f interview/16:55). What is significant about this exchange is that Carolyn directly associates her present-day "natural" language expertise with her ability to legitimately

claim membership as “French teacher” today, as demonstrated in the following concluding sequence of this interaction:

Extract Carolyn 2 (f2f interview/17:15-17:36)

- 1 C: I wouldn't have considered myself bilingual before
2 (0.3)
3 M: oh really
4 (0.6)
5 M: at what [point did you
6 C: [a::nd
7 (1.2)
8 C: I guess the last ten years I [feel] much more comfortable
9 M: [°okay°]
10 (0.4)
11 M: uh [huh]
12 C: [tell]ling people I'm a French teacher
13 (.3)
14 M: okay=
15 C: =right because
16 (0.3)
17 M: oka[y]
18 C: [o]kay I can actually understand ((smiling)) what you say to me when you speak to me in
19 French
20 M: [((smiling)) yeah]
21 C: [<'kay I'm not>] gonna worry about- oh maybe I(h)- (.) they will speak too fast...

Important here is the way in which “feeling more comfortable” is attributed to “actually understand[ing]” what people say when they speak French (line 18). The ability to come off as a legitimate FSL teacher, i.e., “telling people I’m a French teacher” (line 12), is presented as directly resulting from her efforts to improve her French over the years. In other words, being able to demonstrate “natural” language expertise aligns with normative expectations about what it takes to be an FSL teacher, namely an expert (authentic) speaker. It is for this reason that we can interpret an ongoing investment in language learning (as well as the manifest result of such learning) as working to authenticate a position as French teacher. As in Karin’s case, L2 learning as a means of approximating “natural” or “native-like” language expertise draws on a discourse of “balanced bilingualism” which, as already noted, continues to represent the targeted standard

of “true” bilingual competence in FSL education (Roy & Galiev, 2011). This discourse incorporates a view of language as a finite, bounded unit of knowledge which can be acquired to completion, and is therefore necessarily measured against a “native speaker” standard. In Carolyn’s case, this view of language does eventually signal some trouble, as discussed in the last section below. Before doing so I briefly illustrate the way and the extent to which cultural learning and artifacts in conjunction with language development form part of the authentication process made evident in Carolyn’s narratives.

Learning for teaching

As already mentioned, the basis for Carolyn’s present level of expertise as French teacher is her strong commitment to continued language development and cultural learning of French. This commitment is particularly evident in her descriptions of the cultural excursions undertaken in Vichy, as well as of the professional development activities in which she has participated locally in her home setting. Unlike the travel narratives of other participants, Carolyn consistently frames her experiences as teachable knowledge, rather than as a personal reflection of her travels or cultural encounters. Her descriptions of visits to neighbouring villages and towns, for example, are reminiscent of culture capsules found in French language textbooks, affording ready-made instructional materials possibly in anticipation of how she might present these experiences as motivating (authentic) knowledge to her students in class:

Extract Carolyn 3 (Vichy journal/2nd, 3rd, 4th entries)

- 1 Aujourd’hui, je suis allée toute seule à Clermont-Ferrand. Les usines de Michelin y sont situées. (*Today I went on my own to Clermont-Ferrand. The Michelin factories are located there.*) (2nd entry)
- 2 On a passé l’endroit où on met en bouteilles de l’eau Volvic. Maintenant, je connais l’origine de ce produit disponible au supermarché de chez nous. (*We passed by the place where they bottle Volvic water. Now I know the origin of this product available at the supermarket at home.*) (3rd entry)
- 3

- 4 À cause d'une grande gamme de fleurs qui poussent dans cette région, on y trouvera aussi des
5 parfumes différentes pour les fromages. Un autre produit important de l'Auvergne est le vin.
*(Because of the great variety of flowers which grow in this region, one also finds different cheese
flavours there. Another important product of Auvergne is the wine.)* (4th entry)

Each one of the brief excerpts above includes “cultural” snippets about France, bits of information that are easily integrated into course content as cultural points of interest for students. Brands such as Michelin tires (line 1) and Volvic bottled water (line 2) are well known products in North America and Carolyn’s first-hand knowledge of the origin of these affords authentic teaching content. Her orientation to this knowledge as an instructional resource is evident in line 2 with her reference to now having this knowledge (“Maintenant, je connais...”). Meanwhile, students’ potential familiarity with this product at local supermarkets (line 3) makes this knowledge a useful pedagogical resource through which students can authentically connect with France. The third excerpt also appears to function as ready-made instructional content, the reference to cheese and the importance of wine to the Auvergne region (line 5) representing a further valuable piece of information about two of the most iconic products associated with life in France. Not only is this knowledge about France presented for the purpose of teaching, having this knowledge simultaneously allows Carolyn to showcase an authentic association with France. At the same time, her use of French to create this “teaching content” in a sense projects her journal writing as a form of “teacher prep” and by extension, works up an identity as competent French language teacher.

While Carolyn’s orientation to the pedagogical value of new resources is to be expected on study abroad, all the more interesting is that her focus on learning-for-teaching is also evident in accounts related to French-language activities undertaken at home. One such account is

offered as part of a response during our online interview, in which Carolyn describes participating in a French cultural event currently taking place in the region:

Extract Carolyn 4 (online interview/4th email response)

- 1 Désolé, la semaine dernière était trop chargée et j'ai dépensé toute la fin de la semaine aux pavillons
- 2 des Jeux O, etc....J'ai visité Atlantic House, Place de la Francophonie (où j'ai trouvé pas mal de
- 3 ressources pour la classe), Ice Sculpture compétition...J'ai regardé les jeux à la télé, un peu en
- 4 français, à la radio toujours en français.

Sorry, the last week was too busy and I spent the entire weekend at the Olympic pavilions, etc....I visited the Atlantic House, the Place de la Francophonie (where I found a good amount of resources for class), Ice Sculpture competition...I watched the games on TV, a little in French, on the radio always in French.

In this short narrative the exhibits are described as providing her with considerable instructional resources (lines 2-3) while following media coverage of the event is constructed primarily as a language learning enterprise for herself (lines 3-4). Similar to extract 3 above, taking part in this event is framed as an educational pursuit, one which affords new teaching resources as well as an occasion to further develop her use of French. Here again learning and acquired knowledge serve to reinforce a position as competent, diligent L2 teacher, an identity that further emphasized with Carolyn's use of French in this correspondence.

Learner and/or teacher

A significant consequence of Carolyn's manifest investment in ongoing language development in constructing an FSL teacher identity is that, despite an explicit orientation to a teacher identity a positioning as L2 learner always remains relevant – at times to the point where the learner identity gets in the way of legitimate membership as French language teacher. The reason for this is that, in Carolyn's case, a position as L2 learner continues to conflict with an identity as French language teacher given that an FSL teacher identity remains premised on a

“native speaker” standard. Carolyn’s orientation to a “native speaker” ideology as well as the disaffiliative positioning this produces in relation to a teacher identity for her were displayed on several occasions, two of which I present below. The first example, represented in extract 5 below, is a response to a post-questionnaire item which asked her to outline the most important aspects of her stay in Vichy:

Extract Carolyn 5 (post-questionnaire/item #32)

32) What is/are the most important thing/s that you have learned or experienced during your stay? Please explain why.

- 1 1) Different strategies to teach and practice language skills (both for me & students). During
- 2 the “parcours” I was exposed to many different ways to “activate” and “motivate” learning.
- 3 2) Interaction with native speakers of French and people who live in Vichy / Bellerive. - I
- 4 gained a great deal first-hand knowledge.

In this first example, both L2 learner and teacher identities are directly displayed alongside one another, while the “native speaker” standard is also explicitly referenced. The first part of the response constitutes an account that alludes to both teaching and practicing language skills (line 1), where “teaching” signals a teacher identity and “practicing” an activity normatively associated with L2 language learners. The qualifying remark in parentheses “both for me & students” indexes alignment with students as L2 learners of French – although only partially as a “bracketed” identity. The subsequent mention of teaching workshops (the parcours) as providing an opportunity to experience “different ways to ‘activate’ and ‘motivate’ learning” (line 2), in this case clearly recruit a teacher identity.

The second part of the response foregrounds her own language learning experiences while in Vichy, this time with reference to her “interaction with native speakers of French and people who live in Vichy/Bellerive” (line 3). This interaction with francophone locals is presented as providing “first-hand” (i.e., authentic) knowledge of both the French language and,

presumably, French culture. France as authentic learning environment is clearly implied here, and we can assume that Carolyn's reference to knowledge once again frames her learning experiences as a direct resource for her teaching. Thus, while the first account primarily displays teacher, this identity is accompanied by the supplementary identity category of L2 learner. The second account, meanwhile, foregrounds her status as L2 learner and "non-native" speaker of French, although a positioning as teacher is nonetheless cautiously implied.

This alternating positioning of either learner or teacher became particularly noticeable in an exchange at the end of our debriefing interview, in this case producing an occasion in which we see Carolyn disassociating from a French language teacher identity in favour of a position as L2 learner:

Extract Carolyn 6 (f2f interview/33:23-34)

- 1 M: um you- you have these exchanges (.) was Vichy different than the exchanges that you have
2 with your class or is it a similar experience or- well I sup-
3 C: it was less responsibility [(chuckling)] you have]
4 M: [yes you were more] ((chuckling)) in charge of yourself=
5 C: =you have a group of kids heh heh to be worried about .hh ((change to more serious tone)) um
6 (1.6)
7 C: but I guess in terms of learning (.) probably (.) I would say (.) it's very similar (.) because when
8 we do the exchange I live with (.) a tea- you know a family right a teacher so (.) we're constantly
9 (0.5)
10 C: u::m
11 (0.4)
12 C: or I'm constantly immersed in the culture an' uh-
13 (1.2)
14 C: in speaking French n' n' n'all that
15 M: mhm

In this extract the discussion centered on how Carolyn's role as coordinator/teacher on annual student exchanges in her school compared with the Vichy sojourn. The issue of learning is quickly raised (line 7) in association with being "constantly immersed in the culture" (line 12) and "speaking French" (line 14) while in France, both of which are in part attributed to her stay with the host teacher and family during the school exchange. Interesting here is Carolyn's shift

vis-à-vis the host teacher from a position as co-conversationalist within the family context to recipient of the “immersive” environment that this family provides, presumably as “native speakers” of French. The shift is evident in the pronoun change from “we” to “I” (lines 8-12), signaled here with a drawn-out “u:m” (line 10) and the two pauses that frame this hesitation (lines 9 and 11). Thus, despite the similarities Carolyn draws between the Vichy and student exchanges, both of which constitute an engagement as teacher for her, we see her taking up a position as learner in relation to the host teacher in France. In this position Carolyn is someone who merely *benefits from* but does not *contribute to* the setting in which she finds herself. Consequently, we see her foregoing an identity as teacher altogether, her immersion in the cultural and linguistic context of France in this particular instance not framed as learning-for-teaching but instead simply representing a learning experience. Significant here is that this particular instance of identity negotiation does appear to demonstrate a tension between Carolyn’s learner/teacher identities, a tension seemingly generated primarily through an orientation to a “native speaker” standard, in this case represented by the host teacher. A positioning as “non-native speaker teacher” thus remains limited to one of learning only.

What Carolyn’s identity work clearly demonstrates overall is that, as “authenticating” as ongoing development of French and first-hand cultural knowledge may be, as long as language expertise is defined in terms of “nativespeakerness” as a measure of legitimacy as FSL teacher, “telling people I’m a French teacher” will continue to be an uneasy endeavour. The FSL teacher category as it is produced in this study premised on a “native speaker” standard is not easily reconciled with activities of learning, especially ongoing language development in the form of professional development. The next case, Tamara, involves merely an implicit orientation to language expertise and instead, a more direct emphasis on a process of authentication that

engages notions of European history and tradition as a means of constructing an authentic FSL identity.

Tamara

Tamara was also a long-time teacher of core French with a career spanning close to two and half decades. Tamara's background appears to have included English, French, as well as her family's heritage language, Ukrainian, although the extent of her use of each of these languages was never clearly articulated. At the same time, her European heritage constitutes a central feature in her construction of an identity. Similar to some of the other sojourn participants she had a background in music, which in her case functioned as a central narrative resource in displaying a professional identity. Her professional identities as music teacher and as musician were consistently recruited to convey a sense of authenticity in drawing on an ideology of Eurocentrism and associated notions of historicity and stability (Coupland, 2010). The discursive resources she employed to construct this conception of authenticity highlight an emphasis on cultural material productions, what Kramsch (1995) has called a "historical" approach to culture. An emphasis on tradition and culture is central to Tamara's identity construction, based on a process that she herself referred to as "historicization." Foregrounding her musical and educational background in connection with a European context also allowed Tamara to display a pluri-professional identity, possibly as a way to circumnavigate discussions about her linguistic identity as French speaker, and to some extent also as FSL teacher.

I begin my analysis of Tamara's identity construction by demonstrating how she hedges an affiliation with French as a speaker in her home context of Canada, in favour of a plurilingual identity that she then explicitly extends to her professional (teacher) identity. I subsequently

focus on the authentication process she undertakes, her construction of an ideology of authenticity that draws on Europe as the locus of that authenticity in terms of cultural tradition and history.

Language expertise: “I’m the everything teacher”

Tamara’s orientation to language expertise was the least straightforward among the focal participants in this study. It was rarely alluded to or implied in our interactions and on the few occasions it did become relevant Tamara clearly hedged the issue. During our interview she did not articulate a linguistic affiliation, despite a direct question about such an affiliation. On one occasion this ambivalent positioning vis-à-vis her linguistic identity was demonstrated in a small story about a colleague’s self-perceived language expertise as follows:

Extract Tamara 1 (interview/38:27-54)

1 T: ...one colleague that I travelled with (.) has sort of learned French as a second language (.) and I
2 thought that her French was very very good (.) you know (.) but she didn't feel confident in
3 teaching anything beyond you know Grade 2 or whatever (.) you know

Her own linguistic identity is not made clear in this small story. Positioning her colleague as an L2 learner of French could be seen to index a relational positioning for herself as someone who is not an L2 learner, and yet the qualifier “sort of” in her characterization signals a distancing from the issue of language expertise altogether. At the same time, the subsequent evaluation of her colleague’s French (line 2) may be interpreted as implying a more expert level and therefore authority in French. A similar example occurred only a few minutes later in a discussion about the DELF sessions at CAVILAM and the way BC teachers had been introduced to the DELF exams. According to Tamara, seeing the exams before discussing their structure would have

been more helpful: “...and before even looking at samples (.) I would have had the experience (.) even as a francophone (.) to- t- to-....” (interview/50:07). Here the utterance “even as a francophone” is not directly attributed to herself or anyone else. The most apparent example of this resistance to a linguistic identification was offered during our interview when I asked her about her affiliation with either of Canada’s official language communities (anglophone and francophone). This followed from a discussion about her relationship with the other FSL teachers at her school (both in French immersion) during which I raised the question of whether she is a francophone or L2 speaker of French:

Extract Tamara 2 (interview/20:11-21:49)

- 1 M: how would you characterize the relationship between francophone teachers and- (.) I mean (.)
 2 and teachers who learn French as a second language or is that (.) even an issue is it- (.) wh- (.) I
 3 guess y-y-you would be f- wh-what would you consider yourself to be (.) not francophone oh
 4 yes francophone
 5 T: well in Quebec we were called the allophones right? heh heh
 6 M: heh heh that's right of course I guess that's the Ukrainian bit then that's right heh heh that's right
 7 yeah okay do you- is that- is that a label that you take on?
 8 (1.0)
 9 T: oh yes
 10 M: yeah (.) do you prefer that to anglophone or francophone or do you-
 11 T: well um that's just- that's just how I see myself
 12 M: okay=
 13 T: =and it's- it's how I see myself (.) though in-in many ways um i-in the school I mean, they have
 14 the primary teachers and the intermediate teachers right and I'm sort of the everything teacher
 15 and you have the French teachers and the English teachers and I'm- I'm the everything teacher
 16 and (.) so (.) at some point
 17 M: oh I see (.) it's- so that allophone is carried over to- (.) to the way you see yourself as a teacher
 18 now
 19 T: yeah yeah I don't- I don't have to relate to one group-...

Of particular interest here is the way committing to a linguistic identity is hedged, and by extension even to a professional identity as teacher. Instead of a direct answer as to whether she identifies as francophone or anglophone, Tamara offers up the alternative identity category *allophone* in the form of a tag question, which serves to downgrade this categorization (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). The utterance “well in Quebec we were called the allophones right?” (line

14) may be interpreted as “a question to be answered rather than as an assertion to be agreed with” (p. 20), which in effect shifts epistemic authority in this matter to me. Her answer merely suggests that this non-official linguistic designation was commonly used in Quebec and that she assumes I have knowledge of this, without directly claiming the label for herself. This is substantiated in my next turn in which I express my agreement with “that’s right, of course” (line 6) and then ask her directly as to whether she identifies with this label (line 7). Although her answer is initially “oh yes” (line 9) the follow-up account “that’s just how I see myself” (line 11) again demonstrates disaffiliation from this identity, suggesting that it is merely a label she has been given and taken on, perhaps also as a way of not directly affiliating with either of Canada’s official linguistic identities, francophone or anglophone. Of particular interest is the way this ambivalence to an official linguistic categorization is extended to her professional identity as FSL and music teacher, based on a self-characterization of herself as “the everything teacher” (lines 14 and 15), that is, as someone who does not “have to relate to one group” (line 19). A refusal to commit to only one identity, to “take sides,” whether socio-political or linguistic or professional is clearly, if indirectly, articulated.

Authentic Europe

As evident throughout Tamara’s narratives, alongside this ambiguous, non-committal positioning vis-à-vis a linguistic affiliation we nevertheless see her displaying a professional identity associated with plurilingual knowledge and practices. This plurilingual identity was accomplished by asserting knowledge of also German and Spanish in addition to Ukrainian and English, which then made it possible to connect this identity to an authentically European context that embraces plurilingualism in contrast to the oft-cited North American monolingual

perspective (e.g., Pratt, 2003; Ricento & Burnaby, 1998). The contrast between monolingual-oriented Western Canada and plurilingual Europe is made relevant on a number of occasions and in many respects serves to convey the nostalgia for Europe built up during the course of Tamara's narrative trajectory.

Concrete demonstrations of a plurilingual identity were provided by Tamara throughout the interview. Such displays (see extracts 4 and 5 below) appeared not to be specifically related to a position as FSL teacher; rather it seemed as if they were offered to deflect attention away from an identity as FSL teacher in favour of other, related identities, such as music teacher and musician. Foregrounding of these two portable identities was already evident in the pre-questionnaire where her position as music teacher was listed above her FSL commitment. Elsewhere, displays of these identities were built around narratives that highlighted her educational background in music and the humanities in association with a European background, often evoking a sense of nostalgia for European culture and history. In these narratives a conception of authenticity was most clearly articulated, defined both spatially and temporally in terms of Europe or France, as places marked by particular cultural tradition and history. This conception of authenticity constituted a central element in Tamara's identity work, typically in the form of a product – authentic artifacts and cultural productions (e.g., state diplomas, music, textbooks, poetry) originating from this locus of authenticity. A first instance of an orientation to this type of authenticity was evident in our initial email exchange in which we negotiated the location and exact time to meet for an interview. This email correspondence, represented in extract 3 below, followed directly from Tamara accepting my request to participate in the follow-up phase of the study. The following email excerpts are represented in chronological order. Some

parts of the email text have been deleted or changed to avoid identification of place names and businesses:

Extract Tamara 3 (e-mail correspondence/January, 2010)

1 **Sent:** Sat 4:43 PM
2 **Subject:** Re: Vichy
3 Hi Tamara,
4 ((deleted text)) Now, schedule-wise: You'll have to let me know what your days look like...
5 If you are sure you don't mind coming to ((name of city)) we have a number of options: I could
6 likely get us an empty classroom at the school ((deleted text)). Or, at the university where I teach, I
7 could find us a quiet space whenever suits you. ((deleted text)) Let me know what works best for
8 you. And thank you so much again for participating. Meike

9 **Sent:** Mon 7:59 AM
10 **Subject:** Re: Vichy
11 Hi Meike,
12 ((deleted text)) This Saturday afternoon is free and a good time for me to look at some choral music
13 in ((name of city)) while meeting with you in a coffee shop (?). We'll figure something out. I still
14 think that face-to-face will be the best way to talk. Tamara

15 **Sent:** Mon 9:29 PM
16 **Subject:** Re: Vichy
17 Hi Tamara,
18 The weekend works great. I didn't even consider it. I assume you'll be on Third Street near the
19 campus perhaps? There is a music shop down there, I think. There are a few cafés down there as
20 well and if those don't seem to work in terms of noise we can always pop over to the university
21 building. What do you think? What time is good for you? My Saturdays are completely open. I am
22 hoping to audio-record our interview – would that be a problem? Meike

23 **Sent:** Tue 8:20 AM
24 **Subject:** Re: Vichy
25 The ((name of music store)) is now by the museum and the other ((name of music store)) is on Main
26 Street. I'll go to either one, or perhaps to both...AND... I can look forward to having coffee with you
27 in between! DOES IT GET ANY BETTER??? Let me know if this works for you. Tamara

28 **Sent:** Tue 8:23 PM
29 **Subject:** Re: Vichy
30 Hi Tamara,
31 well, I see I need to get out more! :) Ok. You name the time and the place and I will be there. Meike

32 **Sent:** Thu 3:29 PM
33 **Subject:** Re: Vichy
34 I'll most likely spend most of my time on Third Street, but have precious little idea about the cafes
35 around there. How about Cafe Piacenza on Fifth? How's 2:00? Earlier or later are all better, too.
36 Tamara

37 **Sent:** Tue 8:23 PM
38 **Subject:** Re: Vichy
39 Hi Tamara,
40 The Caffè on Fifth sounds good. As long as it's not too loud. We'll give it a try. ((deleted text))

The email exchange above lays out a negotiation of an interview meeting in which Tamara and I each offer a small story of projected events (Georgakopoulou, 2007) – mine with a focus on conducting research, hers with an orientation to creating an authentically European experience as background for a particular identity display. My opening email suggests a primary interest on my part in working out a potential meeting place for an interview which would accommodate Tamara’s schedule as well as provide a quiet location where audio-recording would be possible and (lines 4-8). In her response, Tamara proposes that Saturday afternoon would be “a good time for [her] to look at some choral music while meeting with [me] in a coffee shop (?)” (lines 12-13). This proposition may be taken not so much as a question but a subtle pitch for a more social location, one that involves coffee rather than a classroom. This is emphasized with her closing statement that “face-to-face will be the best way to talk” (line 14). The follow-up email shows my agreement with her suggestion as well as my assumption that a particular area of the city is implied, one in which music store and cafés are abundant. In Tamara’s next response a clarification as to the location of the music stores is offered as well as an iteration of her preference for a coffee shop (line 26). My attempt to decide on a suitably quiet location is eventually dropped with an account about lack of a social life (line 31). Tamara’s final proposal includes a suggestion about a specific café on another street in the area, an Italian café as suggested by the (unsuccessful) Italian spelling “Caffe,” (line 40) in my follow-up response.

Of particular interest in this exchange is that an “authentically” European setting (in this case Italian) gets negotiated as a meeting place for our first interview. In local online reviews this café is described as “really reminiscent of an Italian bar,” and as “a real Italian café.” In other words, among customers who have provided a review of this locale there is relative consensus that this café is “authentically Italian.” On the day of our meeting this certainly turned out to be

the case, not least in terms of an authentic soundscape typically associated with Italian cafés, including the noisy clatter of dishes, hissing espresso machines, and animated voices. In this sense, the setting conveniently provided Tamara with a tangible space of “authenticness” in which to construct an identity manifestly grounded in a conception of authenticity distinctly defined by an association with Europe.

A process of historicization: “It’s about being whole”

Within this setting, Tamara’s narratives about travelling and studying in Europe in conjunction with various identity displays as a plurilingual speaker contribute significantly to the particular conception of authenticity constructed here. Extract 4 below offers one such example. Just prior to this bit of discourse Tamara had relayed an account about how much she used to enjoy speaking French with a francophone colleague at a former school, comparing it to “how good the cheese tasted in France” (interview/23:26). In response to my request to elaborate on this comparison she explained that “it just has to do with being whole” (interview/14:12). In the following exchange she repeats this notion of “wholeness” and then expands on it with a story about her unexpectedly finding some familiar French poetry at the home of her host family in Vichy:

Extract Tamara 4 (interview/24:57-26:12)

- 1 T: ...that's what I enjoyed about Vichy I enjoyed- (.) I enjoyed being whole in that way and- (.) did
2 I write in my journal- like I read- I relearned all of this French poetry
3 (1.0)
4 M: no no you didn't say that
5 T: oh (.) um like I- when I went to my- my ((name of school)) you know a hundred years ago (.) we
6 had these books- th-they- uhh it was called Lagarde et Michard
7 M: mhm
8 T: and (.) you would use those in preparation for your baccalauréat français (.) well lo and behold,
9 what do you think they use today in France (.) Lagarde et Michard
10 (0.7)
11 T: so I went into their-heh heh- went into their living room and I was shocked (.) I see Lagarde et
12 Michard

13 M: oh you- your family where you were stay[ing]
 14 T: [yes]=
 15 M: =of course yes yes
 16 T: an-and the boy- he had just finished premiere which is when you do when you do your (.) um (.)
 17 baccalauréat français like and then you do all your other subjects the next year () and so I took
 18 it out (.) and in the morning I made my coffee and I learned- I relearned my French poetry (.)
 19 you know (.) like- ((begins reciting Victor Hugo)) demain, dès l'aube, à l'heure où blanchit la
 20 campagne, je partirai. vois-tu, je sais que tu m'attends. j'irai par la campagne j'irai- ((*Tomorrow,*
 21 *at dawn, at the hour that whitens the countryside I will leave. You see, I know that you wait for*
 22 *me. I will go by the countryside, I will go-*)) euh- I mean and it was
 23 (2.5)
 24 T: I (.) felt (.) s::ohh (.) happy(h)
 25 M: heh heh heh

This narrative makes relevant several elements constitutive of the authentic European identity being constructed here. First, it demonstrates that Tamara's educational background was not only completed in French at a French school (as opposed to through an FSL program), but that she is holder of France's widely recognized state diploma, *le Bac*, a distinct product of the French education system harking back to the Napoleonic administration (El Atia, 2008). Second, the exchange constitutes a knowledge display on a number of points, including first-hand knowledge about the education system and curriculum in France, knowledge of the French literary canon based on the widely used literary anthology Lagarde et Michard,¹⁹ specifically the poetry of France's principal Romantic literary figure Victor Hugo, as well as her ability to recite this poetry fluently in French. It is her recitation of the poem's opening lines which most visibly demonstrates the function of this narrative as a site of authentication where not only the story itself authenticates Tamara's identity but also her telling of it. In this sense, specifically in relation to the attributed label of allophone, the sense of wholeness reconstructed in this narrative may be seen to represent a preferable identity for Tamara – an identity which authenticates her as

¹⁹ Lagarde, A., Michard, L., Audibert, R., Lemaître, H., & Van Der Elst, T. (1988).
ais du programme: anthologie et histoire littéraire (Vol. 3): Bordas.

a whole person, instead of someone who is caught between two official but inaccessible linguistic identity categories and therefore relegated to a “non-official” identity.

The notion of authenticity employed by Tamara in her narratives draws on this concept as an ideological construct. Coupland (2010) has defined authenticity in terms of a value system of various dimensions that allows people to “anchor personal, social and cultural identities” (see Chapter 3). In Tamara’s case these are her linguistic and professional identities. The recurrent references in her narratives to tradition and the past make use of the dimension of “historicity” as a resource for conveying a sense of durability and timelessness. Connected to historicity is the dimension of “systemic coherence,” defined by Coupland “as a matter of ‘making sense’ and imposing order,” i.e., stability (p. 104). In Tamara’s conception of authenticity we might say that this coherence or stability is a product of the sense of tradition and history she associates with a European identity. Tamara’s orientation to historicity was made especially evident in our final interview discussion about the Vichy sojourn. At one point during this conversation I referred back to our earlier exchange in which Tamara had explained that her experience in France had “to do with being whole” (interview/24:12). In the following extract she elaborates what she had meant by this, again in relation to what she experiences in Canada or BC:

Extract Tamara 5 (interview/1:28:22-1:29:15)

- 1 M: but like you were saying that- I guess- (.) so I guess for you it would be that- that memory of- of
2 being whole again of reconnecting? with what you thought wasn't there anymore or with ref- (.)
3 with finding it again? (.) would that be correct to say?
4 (0.9)
5 T: yeah (.) and it's almost like- (.) it's almost like me sitting down at the piano right cuz I don't
6 practice much anymore
7 M: uh huh
8 T: and if I just sat down and if I could play like the last times I played really well or quite well even
9 heh that would be the same thing right (.) because that- that puts you- that connects you to
10 yourself and it connects you to this- this whole (.) historical tradition right?
11 M: right

12 T: an-and that's- (.) and because (.) you know instead of pretending oh it's me and my music it's not
13 about that right? it-it makes you part of- of years and years of history and-an' () it's the same
14 thing I mean there's (.) French culture I mean there's just something about it it's- (.) it puts you
15 in touch with (.) with not just Vichy and not just Paris but (.) a whole- it's more than that (.) an'
16 it's- there's a history there right?
17 M: yeah
18 T: it's this everything that came before you
19 M: ha interesting
20 T: and that's what we miss here right?
21 (2.0)
22 T: that's what ↑I miss here
23 M: that's what you miss in terms of sort of being cut off from that-
24 (1.0)
25 M: did you feel that- that- cut off like that in Quebec as well or did you feel like you were a little
26 closer (.) there was more (.) history so to speak there
27 (1.2)
28 T: um
29 (4.6)
30 T: I- I-
31 (2.0)
32 T: you know what (.) I guess what I really compare my experiences to is (.) what I had in Germany
33 and what I had when I was in the Ukraine after err- and in France the times that I have been
34 there
35 M: mhm
36 T: and it- um- (.) you know like my- my teacher in Germany you know was this old guy you know
37 (.) Herr Schilde (.) ((mimicking voice)) oh Fräulein das ist eine ga::nz alte Überlieferung (.) die
38 geht bis zum Chopin zurück (*oh Miss that is a ve::ry old rendition (.) it goes all the way back to*
39 *Chopin*) ri(h)ght a(h)n' heh heh heh an- an- and that
40 M: heh heh that feeling of- yeah
41 T: you know it's- it's not- it's not about ((taps table)) being here it's about you know-
42 M: yeah
43 T: that's- (.) we talk about contextualization right or- or for me it's historitis- historicitation or
44 whatever the word would be and it's being part of something that's bigger than you are right?
45 M: and you don't get that feeling here?
46 (1.5)
47 M: it's interesting, my-
48 T: generally I don't (.) no.

In this exchange Tamara explains the impact the Vichy sojourn had on her in terms of other European experiences in her life. Significant here is her recruiting once again an identity as musician to evoke a sense of nostalgia for Europe, this time however, with a specific focus on the notion of historicity. She accomplishes this by referring back to a time when she “played really well” (line 8), then characterizes the experience as “connect[ing her] to this whole tradition” (line 10), the larger historical tradition which allows her to be “part of years and years

of history” (line 13). Here again we see a contrast being established between a historical connection to Europe – “this everything that came before you” (lines 18) and the local context of BC, “that’s what ↑I miss here” (line 22).

My subsequent question as to what “here” means elicits a small story about her time as a music student in Germany as a further identity display of an authentically European. The story indexes her familiarity with historically authentic musical works, an old rendition of Chopin’s (line 37), and provides a concrete display of her knowledge of German as a further demonstration of a plurilingual identity. Of particular interest is how she establishes this association with Chopin’s composition through the elderly German piano teacher, Herr Schilde, as intermediary. Assuming a role as animator, she “performs” a stylised German version of Herr Schilde’s claim to an association with Chopin’s work in order to invoke her own connection to this authentic tradition. The impersonated cautionary tone indexed with “oh Fräulein” (line 37) underscores not only the significance of this composition in terms of its value but also the challenge involved in attempting to take on a work of such stature.

As an authenticating resource, the narrative’s effect of projecting a sense of “realness” is constructed in terms of historical tradition, specifically *historicization* (line 43), a process which allows her to move beyond a local context – “it’s not about being here” (line 41) – and connect to a larger context as a way of re-contextualizing or authenticating where she is situated in her position as teacher within BC. This process of authentication has been described by Bauman as *traditionalization*, an “act of authentication akin to the art or antique dealer’s authentication of an object by tracing its provenience” (1992, p. 137), a useful metaphor according to Bucholtz and Hall in that it “highlights the temporal dimension of authentication, which often relies on a claimed historical tie to a venerated past” (2005, p. 602). For Tamara, this process consists of

constructing a tangible, personal connection to tradition (Hymes, 1975), and by extension “authenticness,” which not only hinges on European history and traditions in a general sense but relies on direct associations with Europe as a discursively constructed site of “authenticity” (cf. Shuang, 2012).

These identity displays, in which European culture and history are embodied through relearning, reciting, playing, performing or coming into contact with traditional European artifacts serve to reinforce authentic Europe as a place of “systemic coherence” or stability for Tamara. An explicit example of this dimension of authenticity as defined by Coupland (2010) occurred midway through an interview account in response to my asking Tamara what she ultimately took away from the cultural experience of the sojourn. Prefacing her response by noting that she is not “thinking teacher” at this moment (interview/54:44), she offered the following explanation about what her connection to Europe means for her:

Extract Tamara 6 (interview/55:34-56:30)

1 T: ...I may have been in Paris with my friend thirty years ago (.) but I- I still understand that and
2 I'm still connected (.) to that part of the world (.) and I think that's why I think the DELF is so
3 important (.) because if you go t- to Paris you know like you walk down the Champs-Elysees
4 like that's just- it's not gonna change right and the Eiffel Tower won't change it's all a certain
5 way .hh and I'm happy to be connected to something that's s:o: stable that's so (.) unchanging
6 and (.) an' in the same way (.) I think I value- and I'm an old-fashioned European right (.) but I
7 value the DELF for that reason...

Similar to Extract 5, Tamara again indicates being “still connected to that part of the world” (line 2). Emphasis is on the temporal aspect of this connection, signaled numerous times with the adverb “still” (lines 1, 2). The orientation is to a sense of longevity and permanence, evoked here with the image of “walk[ing] down the Champs-Elysees” in Paris and the Eiffel Tower, two iconic emblems described here as “something that’s so stable and... so unchanging” (lines 5-6).

The subsequent equating of the DELF with this conception of Paris/Europe as the locus of authenticity in terms of history and tradition draws on a discourse of language standardization based on the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001; Little, 2006). In this sense the DELF, like Paris, represents something which “makes sense” and “imposes order” (Coupland 2010).

Particularly interesting here is that, despite her references elsewhere to “worldly French” and *la francophonie* (Dallaire & Denis, 2000) in discussions about the DELF, she does take not up the notion of plurilingualism in terms of mobility or the breaking down of cultural/national boundaries as commonly associated with a CEFR conception of plurilingualism (see the analysis of Sara in the next section). Rather, Tamara’s orientation to the DELF is an appeal to traditional European values which have always been there and do not change. In some respects, Tamara embraces the persisting rigidity of Europe’s national boundaries still manifestly grounded in a one-language/one-nation perspective (Irvine & Gal, 2000) and in contrast to the CEFR’s intended conceptual emphasis on individual plurilingualism and cross-national mobility (Hogan-Brun, Mar-Molinero, & Stevenson, 2009; Krumm, 2007). Her acknowledgement of being “an old-fashioned European” (line 6) not only explicitly recruits a European identity to justify her penchant for stability, but an identity that itself indexes history and tradition, one that is not so much out-dated as it is authentic.

A primary authenticating device for Tamara thus involved constructing a positioning as someone who is directly affiliated with Europe, whether in terms of her Ukrainian heritage, or by way of an educational background undertaken in French, or through her German musical training. A significant component of this authentication process is the conception of authenticity that is constructed in Tamara’s narratives: tangible products such as compositions, poems, and authentic places that evoke a sense of European cultural tradition and history. This conception of

authenticity is to some extent also made relevant in the next section, yet in Sara's case it serves to subvert notions of "Frenchness" to accomplish a very different kind of identification process as FSL teacher.

Sara

Of all the focal participants in this study, Sara offers the most unique display of identity work by accomplishing a re-articulation of an FSL teacher identity. The various elements of her professional life – her educational background, her professional activities and interests as core French secondary teacher, as well as her participation in the Vichy sojourn – are all resources on which Sara draws to construct an identity as French language teacher. Central to her identity construction is an explicit disaffiliation from other FSL teachers combined with a deliberate focus on a CEFR-based understanding of plurilingualism and a conception of French as a *lingua franca*. These two features form a conceptual basis that allows her to achieve a *re*-authentication of her identity as FSL teacher, one that signals an alternative version of the FSL teacher identity category without recourse to a "native speaker" ideology. Constructing this alternative version of FSL teacher involves a strategic re-articulation of what it means to use, learn, and teach French, especially in the face of prevailing notions of authenticity operating in FSL education.

In the following section, I first outline the way in which Sara takes up a distinctive positioning vis-à-vis her colleagues and then describes how she discursively constructs a plurilingual identity as FSL teacher which is founded on and at the same time indexes notions of linguistic mobility and French as *lingua franca* in regards to teaching French. Her conceptualization of French as plural and mobile draws on a discourse of the inauthentic classroom, highlighting her reliance on essentialist notions of authenticity as dynamic resource in

the process of authenticating an identity as FSL educator. In my representation of Sara's case I address the issue of language expertise only at the end, given that this is not a central aspect of Sara's construction of an FSL identity and gets oriented to in a different manner.

Constructing distinctiveness

An initial strategy of Sara's in re-articulating an identity as FSL teacher involved her explicit disassociation from FSL peers as well as from commonly held views about L2 teaching. In part she accomplished this dissociation by projecting an identity as sojourn participant which stood in direct contrast to that of her FSL colleagues. Unlike most of the other participants, Sara expressed a specific reason for participating in the two-week DELF training workshop as well as clear expectations about this type of professional development. Her interest in the DELF was based on a prior interest in the Common European Framework of Languages (CEFR) through her involvement in current provincial curricular revisions in British Columbia (Wernicke & Bournot-Trites, 2011), as well as her experiences with online course development and delivery. With a succinct focus on the DELF training, Sara provided a very different kind of narrative about the sojourn, without broaching issues addressed by the other teacher participants such as the initial confusion on the first day at CAVILAM.

Another noteworthy feature of her accounts about the sojourn was the distinct lack of touristic descriptions with regard to cultural events and activities organized for the BC cohort in Vichy. A self-initiated story during our first interview about her vacation in France after leaving CAVILAM provides a good example of her distinct approach to professional development, a narrative that clearly contrasts with her colleagues' frequently expressed appreciation of being immersed in authentic French language and culture. Prior to her telling this story Sara explained

that she was “never been brought up to lie on a beach” and that her holiday trips always entailed “things that are...productive” (interview#1/1:09:40). The story represented below, about her stay at a Buddhist Center in Paris, is likewise presented as typical of her holidays abroad:

Extract Sara 1 (interview#1 11:05-13:34)

- 1 S: and another interesting thing happened like .h as I was planning the trip to France um (.) my
2 principal of my school he said well (.) why don't you just stay longer like they're paying for your
3 plane ticket [right]
4 M: [uhuh] uhuh
5 S: and so (.) you know I just blindly listened to him and without knowing what I was gonna do I
6 decided to stay for three extra ↑weeks
7 M: excellent=
8 S: =didn't know where I was gonna stay
9 M: heh heh
10 S: um and then I asked um (.) do you know anybody. (.) .h and (.) um (.) he didn't and I said well
11 maybe I can rent an apartment or something and (.) so for thr- I don't how this- (.) it was
12 serendipity or something but he emailed a friend of his and told him well (.) you know .h I know
13 someone who wants to stay in Paris and um he- first he sent a site about how to rent an
14 apart[ment]
15 M: [mhm]
16 S: and then- then later in the same day he sent this other website (.) well- maybe she should try one
17 of the Buddhist Centers in Paris and right when I saw that Buddhist Center in Paris I knew
18 M: [that was it]
19 S: [that's] where I wanted to stay and it was like the most amazing place for me to [stay
20 M: [heh heh
21 heh
22 ((smiling)) it must've been great (.) so that was afterwards
23 S: that was afterwards so for three weeks I stayed at this Buddhist- Paris Buddhist Center which is
24 run by a Polish woman
25 M: mhm
26 S: um who's become a monk (.) and-
27 M: oh wow
28 S: yeah no it was- I mean Paris is not really busy in August right? [um- .hh but- but it-]
29 M: [no they're all gone]
30 S: it was- it was really- so I practiced meditation in Par(h)is for three weeks heh heh heh
31 M: that's so cool heh heh heh
32 S: and so
33 M: en français heh heh
34 S: yes and there- there was a French- he used be um- I don't know what to call him like a prie- not
35 a priest but (.) uh (.) what's an abbé? (.)
36 M: ye::ah
37 S: I- I don't know what exactly but- but he used to be like Catholic but then he converted over to
38 Buddhism and so he gave these lectures on Buddhism (.) in (.) French
39 M: mhm
40 S: um [be- before
41 M: [wo::w
42 S: the- the meditation so .h and then every morning there was a chant in French
43 M: wow (.) that is [so cool]

44 S: [and] there was um, um because this woman was Polish she was connected
 45 with the Eastern European um Buddhist movement
 46 M: uhuh
 47 S: and so um (.) there were other people visiting from Slovakia and so- I- I saw- like now for me
 48 like France and Paris in particu[lar
 49 M: [uhuh
 50 S: which is what it really is it's not about French alone, it's like a universal language=
 51 M: =yeah
 52 S: yeah

In contrast to the travel stories provided by other focal participants, Sara's travel narrative includes no details about scenery and culinary experiences typically associated with France. In fact, Sara appears to take special delight in the idea that her vacation represents a decidedly non-authentic French holiday, drawing particular attention to the activity of "practicing meditation in Paris" (line 31), that is, doing something particularly "non-French" in the prototypical city of "authentic Frenchness." As a discursive, authenticating resource in constructing an identity as FSL professional, this narrative has a different, opposite effect – it orients to a traditional, essentialist conception of an authentic touristic experience in France and then subverts and re-articulates this notion of authenticity by offering a different kind of experience as a tourist in Paris. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2004), such a discursive move constitutes a process of denaturalization which works to "destabilize the essentialist claims enacted by authentication" (p. 386). In so doing, Sara clearly disaffiliates from a French language teacher identity that is grounded in an authentic notion of French associated with only France and French "native speakers." Finally, a second important feature of this narrative concerns the characters in the story, the Polish woman-turned-monk, the Catholic abbot who converted to Buddhism, and the people visiting from Slovakia, all of whom communicated with Sara and with one another in French. The implication here is that French is used by speakers of other linguistic affiliations, by plurilingual speakers who use French as "a universal language (line 51)." The idea that French

“is not about French alone” (line 51) signals a particular conception of language elaborated during the course of Sara’s interactions with me, discussed in more detail below.

Another significant means of distinguishing herself from her colleagues occurs during a discussion about how she originally became interested in French during her university studies. She attributes her decision to pursue a graduate degree in French to her strong interest in French literature and the evolution of the language, “the way the language...formed itself” (interview#1/5:10). Her initial enthusiasm for 20th century French literature shifted to French-African literature during the course of her studies, in part because it allowed her to connect with her “cultural background” given that her “parents came from a colonized country as well” (interview#1/5:31). As she explains, it was especially in French-African literature that she “saw some identification there” (interview#1/5:41). Not only are Sara’s literary interests offered in stark contrast to the more general appreciation for French language and culture commonly expressed by other FSL teachers, her emphasis on non-traditional literature itself signals disalignment from dominant assumptions about the classic literary canon as the highest standard of French and consequently as most representative of “authentic Frenchness” (Train, 2000). Rejecting a connection to French that is strictly based on an interest in using French or associated with only European French culture, affords a space in which to construct another kind of identity – a plurilingual identity as FSL teacher. How she works up such an identity is demonstrated in the extract below, which follows from our discussion about her developing an interest in non-Western French literature. The extract begins as I follow up on her suggestion of establishing a cultural connection through literature:

Extract Sara 2 (interview#1/5:48-6:14)

- 1 M: ...yeah because there is a- that cultural
2 S: yeah=
3 M: =connection that- e:specially through the literature [I find that-] (.) that [uh]
4 S: [yeah yeah] [but] it's not that I had-
5 like even now I still don't have that passion for- .h like all of these French activities are going on
6 downtown, ↑I'm not dying to [go there right
7 M: [heh heh heh
8 S: .h I mean I've- might be more excited to- if there were some Spanish- cuz I also taught
9 Spanish
10 M: o:kay=
11 S: =but that doesn't excite me (.) like the French music world or anything like that
12 M: why do you think?
13 (1.7)
14 S: I don't know.
15 M: huh (.) interesting.

The extract opens with my hinting at a connection between French literature and culture (lines 1-3) with which Sara appears to initially agree, note the latched “yeah” in line 2. However, she is quick to qualify her agreement by clarifying her connection to French culture and making very clear that the prevailing conception of culture based on authentic cultural displays and artifacts do not apply to her. She explicitly states not being passionate about French activities (line 5) nor having a special interest in French music (line 11), and does so by alluding to the francophone exhibits and theatre events on display as part of an international event taking place in the city at the time. Her interjection with continuers such as “yeah yeah” and “but” in line 4, as well as the latched final turn in line 11, all signal how important it is for her to maintain the floor and communicate this distinction with regard to her own cultural connection to French. In lines 8 and 9 she takes this one step further by also identifying as a teacher of Spanish (lines 8-9), i.e., as someone who is not committed to only French.

The overall effect of this discursive manoeuvring is not only disaffiliation from other FSL teachers and the presumed interest in French culture typically associated with teaching the language, but, more generally, a distancing from an essentialist understanding of French culture

that is tied to a notion of “authentic French.” Furthermore, recruiting an identity as Spanish teacher only serves to reinforce this disaffiliative stance and ultimately allows her to project an identity as plurilingual L2 teacher without strict allegiance to only one language. Thus, here also Sara initiates a process of denaturalization by overtly rejecting the “authentic Frenchness” commonly associated with a position as FSL teacher and offering instead an alternative version of what it means to be an L2 teacher.

The distinctive positioning Sara establishes in extract 2 is also evident on the level of the interactional context of the interview itself. Her stance vis-à-vis an authentic view of French culture is not only a means of differentiating herself from other FSL teachers but constitutes a disaffiliative action with respect to me as researcher/audience. Given her ascribed identity as FSL teacher in this interaction, the claim that she is not “dying to go there” (line 6) suggests a disaffiliation with practices that may be expected of French language teachers, such as an assumed commitment to and passion for things French. My orientation to her disaffiliative stance is made evident by my overlapping laughter (line 7) (Jefferson, 1984) as well as the drawn-out “okay” in line 10 in reaction to her identifying as also a Spanish teacher. Mostly, however, it is made explicit in the final turns of this exchange – my direct questioning as to why these things don’t excite her (line 12) as well as my final evaluative comment of her disaffiliative display, “huh (.) interesting” (line 15). Equally noteworthy is Sara’s response to my direct questioning of her action which in some way attempts to account for the positioning she has taken – the extensive pause (line 13) followed by a simple “I don’t know” (line 14), both of which further emphasize the agentive nature of her stance-taking here. As a whole, this type of positioning on Sara’s part vis-à-vis her audience ultimately destabilizes the identity category of FSL teacher

under which she was recruited as a participant of this study in order to re-articulate an alternative version of what it means to be FSL teacher.

Plurilingualism

Sara's notion of a plurilingual identity is based on a carefully considered positioning that draws on a CEFR-based conception of plurilingualism and ultimately constitutes the central resource of Sara's identity construction as FSL teacher. Her recruiting of this particular resource was especially evident in the discussion immediately following the interaction represented in extract S1 above. Sara's positioning as a plurilingual teacher of French prompted me to jump ahead to a later question on the interview protocol about how connected she felt to the local francophone community. In her response and our ensuing discussion Sara first implicitly and then explicitly articulates her reliance on a CEFR-based orientation to conceptualizing a plurilingual teacher identity:

Extract Sara 3 (interview#1/6:32-8:43)

- 1 S: so yeah I'm not- I-I have some French friends and they're good friends of mine (.) so they're my
2 connection I have individual connections but not g-
3 (0.5)
4 S: whole connections (.) an' I think um-
5 (1.7)
6 S: you know there's parts of French culture I- I find that will not accept me- (.) like I don't think I
7 would be one with them
8 M: 'kay when you say French (.) do y- uh- can you- (.) do you mean (.) French French-speak-
9 francophone do you mean uh from-
10 (0.5)
11 M: because we've got- [this is a bit of a confusing thing]
12 S: [<yuh yuh yuh I know I know I know>] yeah=
13 M: =Qu- Quebecois we've got uh Fren-France we've got so wh-wh-
14 (0.3)
15 M: can you just [clarify]
16 S: [um I think] any (.) like you know because you know Quebec- this is something that
17 I studied even in my master's like they're fighting so hard for their identity (.) .h and then (.) .h
18 France is so particular about its identity and (.) other people being in it
19 M: mhm

20 S: so I've neve:r (.) like felt- like it- after I finished my master's it was like, oh why did I spend my
21 time studying this culture when like (.) .hhh people are not even going to accept me (.) that's
22 how I felt at the time
23 M: very interesting yeah [okay]
24 S: [but] um (.) now like I- I- it doesn't matter to me anymore I-I just see
25 myself as an agent of someone who (.) really likes French literature (.) and can manipulate the
26 language - so
27 M: mhm
28 S: I don't feel the need to be part of it
29 M: right you mean you have your own [personal connections]
30 S: [yeah yeah] yeah
31 M: but they're not .h in terms of a- being a francophone [connection] it's more (.)
32 S: [yeah yeah]
33 M: a-a- a human connection
34 S: right right
35 M: okay=
36 S: =an' I think that's important like in our- our um- teaching culture here in ((Western Canadian
37 city)) because .hh we're trying to convince everyone that French is important yet .h most (.)
38 students here do not have like- you know the cultural background and- I mean even now with
39 the Olympics there's this whole debate going on, like the French say oh there wasn't enough
40 French but then the other cultural communities are saying well what about us...
41 M: [exactly exactly]
42 S: [right like so] but that's what I- I find about the European Common Framework so (.)
43 wonderful is that i- it's going to encourage like people- you can learn French (.) but you still
44 have- you know all of this other culture and language that you have is so valued...

There are a number of significant elements in this bit of interaction worthy of highlighting. First, the highly mitigated opening sequence of this exchange about linguistic affiliation signals the sensitive nature of my question about belonging, as was also the case with Tamara (see Extract Tamara 2). For Sara, however, as someone who explicitly identifies as a so-called “non-native speaker” FSL teacher and who explicitly rejects an affiliation with francophone community in favour of individual connections with “good friends” (lines 1-2) the issue conveys a heightened sense of precariousness. As in extract S1, Sara’s initial negative response and subsequent explanation constitutes an explicit rejection of a claim to membership in a linguistic community that is normatively seen to be highly significant for FSL teachers, notably as a form of authentication. The implications of a negative response with regard to her identity as French language teacher in not claiming an association with the French-speaking community prompts Sara to justify her rejection of such a connection by positioning herself as

the rejected one, “there's parts of French culture I- I find like that will not accept me” (line 6). She substantiates her apparent experience of this rejection with a knowledge display, “this is something I studied even in my master's” (line 17). Her subsequent characterization of both Quebec and French as protectionist societies with regard to Frenchness (lines 17-18) may be seen as orienting more strongly to a notion of linguistic authenticity that links “native speakerness” to an ideology of one language, one culture, one race. The disaffiliating action in this way signals the racialization that “authentic Frenchness” produces as it is practiced by the French in France and the Quebecois in Quebec as outlined in this extract (Kubota & Lin, 2009).

A second crucial element of Sara’s positioning in this exchange as plurilingual speaker is that the basis for rejecting a francophone community affiliation is a clearly deliberate move on her part, one that is founded on a specific conception of language use and, most importantly, does not engage with a “native speaker” ideology. Key to Sara’s adoption of a CEFR-based definition is the reference to “agent” and the notion of “manipulating” language. The term “agent” directly points to the Council of Europe’s concept of plurilingualism defined as:

...the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed *as a social agent* has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 168, my emphasis)

This definition of speaker or user of French circumvents ideological notions of authenticity in terms of community belonging based on ethnicity or linguistic origin. In the same way, the idea of “manipulating language” sidesteps assumptions about authentic (i.e., legitimate) language expertise in favour of an emphasis on situated language use for a specific purpose. Based on such a conception of language and language user Sara is able to claim authority as FSL teacher as

someone who facilitates an interest in and knowledge about French language and literature for her students without “feel[ing] the need to be part of it” (line 28). Her ability to circumnavigate the notion of a “native” or ethnic connection to a French-speaking region or people exempts her from the responsibility of having to account for her status as so-called “non-native speaker teacher” of French. Consequently, language expertise is no longer an issue in legitimizing her authority as FSL teacher.

In subverting a claim to a community-based francophone affiliation that is typically viewed as an inevitable characteristic of an identity as FSL teacher, Sara once again instigates a process of denaturalization with an identity display that “violates ideological expectations” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010, p. 24). By focusing on an individual connection with French and francophones Sara constructs an identity that foregrounds the prioritization of the individual learner (Council of Europe, 2001) as a means of positioning herself as someone for whom an authentic affiliation with Frenchness as FSL teacher is irrelevant in favour of a European conception of multiple language use in association with mobility and a European global identity.

French as mobile

The concept of mobility in its association with a CEFR-based understanding of plurilingualism (Krumm, 2007) and as a defining feature of current globalization processes constitutes the other central resource utilized by Sara in her re-authentication of an FSL teacher identity. This notion of mobility is foregrounded as an alternative to a common discourse around the artificiality of the L2 classroom (cf. Train, 2007b; van Lier, 1996; Widdowson, 1998) – the dilemma of the inauthentic classroom discussed in Chapter 3. Sara’s orientation to this discourse may to some extent be motivated by her investment in online L2 course development and

teaching, yet at the same time offers another means of displaying a different conception of French, one that views French as plural and mobile instead of tied to the idealized “native speaker” or connected to the French from France. The notion of the inauthentic classroom became relevant in a discussion about the difficulty of engaging authentically in French in FSL classrooms, a context which she constructed as “not real” in this particular interview interaction. She accomplished this by juxtaposing a grammar-oriented approach with her experiences of blended L2 instruction (face-to-face and online). Uninteresting activities such as “staying in class and figuring out the direct object pronouns” (interview#1/27:50-57) were contrasted with the different learning settings a blended delivery affords, ultimately constructing the institutional setting of the classroom as representative of an ineffective out-dated L2 methodology. As the following extract demonstrates, the pedagogical inadequacy of the L2 classroom becomes equated with inauthentic learning. The extract follows from our discussing Sara’s preference for instructional activities such as singing and watching movies, which do not necessarily require a classroom environment:

Extract Sara 4 (interview#1/18:51-19:13)

- 1 S: ...I liked doing puppet shows and things like- anything to make it more real
2 M: mhm
3 S: um-
4 M: real in what way?
5 (1.5)
6 S: so that we're not just sitting at our desks anymore
7 (.7)
8 M: but that you're-
9 S: active
10 (.5)
11 M: active [and] interacting with [one another] ok
12 S: [yeah] [yeah yeah] an-
13 M: okay
14 S: in a way that is more authentic to them
15 M: mhm
16 S: because i- it really it's hard to be real in French in ((Western Canadian city)) right?

Important here is how Sara's orientation to an inauthentic classroom discourse works to construct an alternative identity as FSL teacher. Situating inauthentic L2 learning in the classroom setting allows her to foreground an online L2 learning and teaching environment as a more relevant and contemporary way to achieve effective use of French, one which takes into account today's multilingual societies and plurilingual language learners and underscores the mobility of linguistic resources across different contexts. Although we see Sara taking up an essentialist understanding of authenticity in her orientation to a discourse of the inauthentic classroom without the destabilization of this construct, this orientation constitutes a necessary aspect of conceptualizing French in a particular way. In both interviews Sara repeatedly speaks about students' engagement with technology. In one such account, represented below, Sara constructs Internet use and social networking technology as a modern-day means to authentic, real-life linguistic practices of French speakers. "Authentic" here is understood in anthropological terms as "real language on the ground" in association with vernacular authenticities (Coupland, 2003, p. 420):

Extract Sara 5 (interview#2/5:08-5:27)

1 S: it's a totally different way of doing things, and even I think, what am I doing? but then I see how
2 kids are different these days, like you know they're texting and doing all that kind of stuff that
3 we never used to do when we were in school. so they- it's- it-s coming from the bottom up, this
4 approach

For Sara, the Internet offers learners in non-francophone regions such as BC "a totally different way of doing things" (line 1), an occasion to interact in French without limiting such interactions geographically to France or to a specific time in the classroom. According to her, taking into account the preferred modalities of today's students constitutes a "bottom-up" approach (line 3) where language learning and language happen on the ground and constitute something which

“comes from” the students themselves (line 3) as part of their day-to-day interactions and language practices.

Sara’s account in extract 5 is significant here because it posits a conception of French as mobile. French language learning and teaching are spatially and temporally reconceptualized as no longer bound to physically defined linguistic contexts such as France and the institutional boundaries of the FSL classroom. Linguistic resources become “local as well as translocal, real as well as virtual” (Blommaert, 2010, pp. 7-8). This kind of mobility entails “the dislodging of such resources from their conventional origins” (p. 43), which for Sara means tapping into original contexts of French language use and re-articulating these in the local setting from which these language resources are being accessed. While there may be an initial consideration of the accessed language as authentic in the sense of “original,” the act of locating this language in virtual and local contexts necessarily involves a recontextualization of its use. The effect of this recontextualization ultimately leads to a re-articulation of FSL learning/teaching which subverts not only the classroom context but also of the types of texts conventionally associated with formal L2 learning in an institutional setting in terms of modality, genre, and register. It is this effect which again destabilizes the notion of authenticity, in this case as it relates to the pedagogical standard of the L2 classroom (Train, 2000).

World French

Sara’s conceptualization of French in terms of mobility not only aligns with the CEFR concept of plurilingualism and a plurilingual identity as FSL teacher but also brings into play a conception of French language as plural, as “world French.” Similar to Sara’s earlier juxtaposition of individual versus a community-based connection to French, the concept of

French as lingua franca is recruited by Sara as an alternative to an essentialist view of French, which in its most authentic form is strictly located in France (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Train, 2000). Sara's use of the notion of world French as authenticating resource in conjunction with the concept of mobility became evident in two separate, but interconnected exchanges, one from each interview. The first occurred during our February interview and involved a story about Sara's host in Vichy who was engaged in a romantic SMS correspondence with a man at the time of her stay, affording Sara another first-hand look at French language social media practices. In our second interview, conducted three months later in May, Sara recalls this narrative during our first interview to explain how she understands the notion of culture in L2 teaching in today's world, especially in non-francophone regions such as Western Canada. I represent both exchanges below and then discuss their relevance in terms of the authenticity effects they afford in constructing a re-articulated version of the FSL teacher identity:

Extract Sara 6 (interview#1/45:27-40)

- 1 S: and then um- even while I was there he would be sending her text messages and so I got like a
2 different flavour of French like i-it was real like this guy's sending poetic messages over the-
3 heh heh heh over .hh
4 M: Iphone [heh heh heh]
5 S: [yuh heh yuh]
6 M: wow
7 S: so that was fun
8 M: yeah so you got [involved in that it]
9 S: [so it was -it was] like real it wasn't like just textbook stuff an' it wasn't like
10 the- just the literature an' interestingly like when I went to Paris- like when I was (.) doing my
11 (.) BA in French I would have like loved walking along .hh la Seine and reading all the books
12 but then .h I don't care about that stuff anymore you know...

Extract Sara 7 (interview#2/35:24-47)

- 1 S: =and how are the French using the Internet to-to expand their culture, right? TV5 is one
2 M: exactly exactly
3 S: but it- it's like a world French and I think we talked about that in our first interview- it's not just
4 like French in- (.) in- (.) on a street in Paris it's like (.) world French
5 M: mhm
6 S: yeah

In extract 6 the man's poetic text messages are presented as "a different flavour of French," one that was "real" (line 2) and not related to "just textbook stuff" or "literature" (lines 9-10). In the final turn of this extract, Sara contrasts the "realness" of this type of French with her former love of French literature and its association with France when she was a student in Paris. Both of these two stories – the present and the past – involve notions of authentic language: the contemporary "real" French of social media interactions that can travel across space and time, and a former, essentialist notion of French strictly associated with Paris, romanticized in the narrative in terms of a memory of herself "walking along la Seine...reading all the books" (line 11). Ultimately, the second memory is framed as something about which she no longer cares (line 12), thereby indexing her rejection of an essentialist, geographically-bound conception of French in favour of "real" French language practices on the ground.

In extract 7 this juxtaposition is repeated with an explicit reference to the earlier exchange. Just prior to this second exchange we had been discussing students' online access to French which, according to Sara, makes the language accessible to students' and teachers' "translocally" in other parts of the world. The extract continues this discussion about how the Internet impacts FSL education today, whereby the current conception of "world French" is contrasted with a former conception of "authentic" French defined more narrowly as "French on a street in Paris" (line 4) with explicit reference to her earlier account about walking along la Seine in extract 6. This notion of world French is also reminiscent of the earlier reference to "universal French" (see extract 1) and ties into the concept of mobility (Blommaert, 2003) in that it intersects with the idea of French as no longer bound to its authentic location in France (or Paris) but accessible in other parts of the world. International French or French as lingua franca turns the emphasis onto language use as opposed to language acquisition or development and

thus offers a different conceptual basis for an identity as plurilingual speaker (House, 2003). From this perspective L2 use is no longer viewed as an “interlanguage” (Selinker, 1972) with emphasis on learning or “perfectionnement,” nor are speakers considered in terms of an ideal norm measured against a “native speaker” standard. It is this conception of “world French” that Sara draws on to construct an identity as FSL teacher without reliance on pervasive “native speaker” ideologies and thus also without noticeable tension in regard to language expertise.

Language expertise: “I still don’t have that passion”

Constructing an identity as plurilingual teacher of French that is conceptually premised on individual plurilingualism, mobility, and French as lingua franca has implications for the way language expertise is understood and accomplished as part of that identity. This became evident in Sara’s stories about her interactions with other people while in France, stories in which the topic of language expertise was made relevant with a distinct focus on her use of French as plurilingual speaker, and not with respect to ongoing language development or tensions around her teaching. In these stories, the characters with whom she interacted were usually residents of France who use French and/or English as additional languages, in relation to whom Sara typically positioned herself as equal conversationalist. One such example, represented below in extract S7, was offered in response to my asking her directly about her “own relationship with speaking French” (interview#1/34:36) after she had mentioned being more confident after her training in Vichy (see extract S8 below). In this story, Sara presents a third-party appraisal of her language expertise in terms of a specific instance related to her worries about managing a financial transaction to pay for her course and accommodation in Paris:

Extract Sara 7 (interview#1/43:54-44:30)

- 1 S: when I needed to pay for staying at ((name of school)) I was gonna- um (.) there was something
2 about getting the money and I said to the guy- one of the guys at the hotel- he spoke English and
3 French .h a:nd (.) I said (.) well will you come with me to the bank so that they understand what
4 I'm saying if I- (.) I wanted to wire the money directly into an account rather than de- because I
5 ↓thought what if somebody robs me like you know .hh
6 M: yeah [exactly
7 S: [yeah (.) and (.) he said- he said well (.) you speak better French than they speak English (.)
8 heheheh .h so you'll do fine.

This short narrative illustrates Sara's focus on plurilingualism, both in terms of speaker identities and language use. First, it is interesting to note the lack of identity categories such as "bilingual" or "(he was) French" in her telling of the story. Instead, her wording highlights who speaks what, when, and for what purpose. The hotel employee, for example, is simply described as speaking both "English and French" (lines 2-3). Similarly, it is suggested that the hypothesized interaction at the bank may involve both French and English, indexed here with the hotel clerk's reference to the limited English language expertise of the bank employees. Sara's orientation to her own language expertise is also of interest here. First, her reason for requesting help in this matter is not presented as a general concern about her language competency but rather as a specific worry about being robbed (line 5). Second, her orientation to her language expertise comes in the form of a favourable, albeit backhanded evaluation of her use of French (line 7), phrased here with specific reference to managing a particular task (i.e., a financial transaction at the bank). Finally, it is significant that this evaluation was made by "one of the guys at the hotel" (line 2) – that is, by someone who is not a "native speaker" but just another plurilingual speaker, like Sara. Taken as a whole, this small story is typical of Sara's orientation to language expertise. For Sara, language expertise is not raised in relation to her teacher identity; nor is it ever discussed with reference to a "native speaker" ideal. Instead, language expertise is made relevant in this

discussion with an emphasis on situated language use and her ability to use the language effectively for a particular purpose at a particular time.

In sum, Sara's trajectory of identification offers an interesting contrast to that of the other focal participants. Her narratives work to construct a positioning as "being unique," both in the content of her stories as well as on the interactional level with me as researcher and her ascribed identity of FSL teacher as research participant. On the one hand, this uniqueness is made relevant with a focused interest in the DELF, her literary background in French, the foregrounding of a plurilingual identity, and her experiences with online course development and teaching. On the other hand, her professional interests have provided her access to alternative conceptualizations of language learning and teaching, grounded in a recognition of linguistic (super)diversity and linked to ethnographically-based, "bottom-up" notions of plurilingual practices (Blommaert, 2003; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). This conceptual perspective provided a key resource in constructing an identity as FSL teacher based on a re-articulation of language in which French is redefined within the local context of British Columbia based on individual language knowledge and language use. Such a re-articulation of the category of FSL teacher as plurilingual FSL educator provides for an investment in FSL teaching which is not constrained or compromised by a "native speaker" ideology or related discourses about official bilingualism and the problematic of the pedagogical standard of the L2 classroom.

Conclusion

In the above analyses I first described focal participants' approach to language expertise with particular attention to the tension that an orientation to language development and learning engenders in a position as FSL teacher, an identity category premised on authentic, "naturally"

acquired language expertise. I then examined how this tension was negotiated during the process of identity construction undertaken by each participant by considering the various resources brought into play as a means of authenticating an identity as FSL teacher.

One of the most interesting findings of this multiple case approach is that it highlights the distinctly complex and dynamic nature of participants' narrative trajectories of identification juxtaposed against a shared orientation to prevailing discourses and pervasive language ideologies. Not only did the participants' orient to language expertise in demonstrably different ways (overtly, indirectly, through hedging, by way of others, or not at all), the various accounts offered to justify expertise in French were equally diverse. The authenticating resources made relevant in participants' identity displays worked to construct an identity that was authenticated with narratives specifically designed to construct a particular type of professional identity as FSL teacher. The range of devices and strategies involved the recruitment of different types of (portable) personal and professional identities based on varying conceptualizations of authenticity, L2 learning, bilingualism and plurilingualism, French language and culture, notions of national, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural affiliation, as well as different ideas about France and other French-speaking regions both in Canada and the rest of the world. In a sense, no concept or perspective the participants have drawn on can be taken for granted in terms of its meaning and function from one case to the next. In sum, this illustration of similar discursive tools and identity categories, utilized and recruited by more than one participant in different ways and for different purposes, attests to the very complex, individualistic, and agentic nature of this identity work for each of the participants in this study.

CHAPTER 7: CONTRIBUTIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND QUESTIONS

Le meilleur français est une « idée...C'est un idéal qui se cherche, mais qui ne se trouve pas; c'est une force en action qu'on peut seulement définir par le but où elle tend ; c'est une réalité en puissance qui n'aboutit pas à l'acte ; c'est un devenir qui n'arrive jamais.

(Vendryès, 1924, p. 258)

The best French is an 'idea'....It is an ideal in search of itself, but never finding itself; it is a force in action definable only by the goal toward which it is headed; it is a potential reality that never comes about; it is a becoming which never happens

(translated and quoted in Joseph, 1987, p. 161)

Introduction

In a recent article, Kramersch (2012) questions whether there still is “such a thing as an inauthentic or illegitimate ‘impostor’ in a world in which you can be anything you want to be?” (p. 2). The article focuses on plurilingual speakers who find it difficult to manoeuvre the “fluid boundaries and uncertain categories of identity” in a globalized world characterized by mobility and recontextualized semiotic resources (p. 1). Given the intersecting nature of ideological constructs such as belonging and ownership with the standardizing construct of “native speakerness,” a related question tailored to this study might be: if one can, in fact, be any sort of FSL teacher one wants to be, how so? By all accounts, it appears that constructing such an identity requires the outright rejection of discourses articulating ideologies of standardization, the “native speaker,” and “real” language. Kramersch suggests that “the NS has lost much of its aura, at least for internationally spoken languages” (p. 15). For the FSL teachers in the present study one might say that this is not the case. Perhaps we might ask how legitimacy can be achieved on terms that do not link authority and expertise to notions of exclusive proprietorship of language and “native-like” language use, similar to the way Kramersch, in her recent article, problematizes the connection between authenticity and legitimacy.

A decade and a half ago Firth and Wagner's (1997) critique of SLA research singled out the "native/non-native speaker" as the only identity that really matters. In L2 education, a mostly unquestioned consideration of the "native speaker" construct continues to prevail in much of the research, which as an ideological orientation foregrounds issues of causation and language proficiency as a central concern in SLA (Tollefson, 2011). While studies specifically investigating L2 teacher professional identity have pointed to "an underlying tension" among L2 speaking teachers in reconciling an engagement in both the learning and teaching of the L2 (e.g., K. A. Johnson, 2001), the commonly cited "negative associations of the NNES categorization" (p.26) are less often examined for the ideological basis that sees the "NS/NNS" dichotomy sustained and reproduced in L2 education. The present study has undertaken this task from a participant-oriented, discourse-analytic perspective by investigating FSL teacher professional identity construction with a specific focus on notions of authenticity in L2 education. This final chapter offers a summary of the research process and principal findings and outlines some implications for L2 teacher education and professional development. I conclude with some questions for further research in L2 teacher education and development.

Summary

The basis for this study was a two-week professional development sojourn in Vichy France, undertaken in July, 2009 by a cohort of 87 FSL teachers from BC with a research focus on professional teacher identity construction. The inquiry specifically considered participants' conceptions of L2 learning and teaching in terms of authenticity and the ideological grounding of the "native speaker" construct in FSL teacher identity construction. Processes of authentication,

which involve articulating an authentic or “real” self, were of particular interest as the basis of legitimating participants’ identity as French language teachers.

Data generation during the first phase of the research process undertaken in France included questionnaires and travel journals, as well as extensive field notes based on partially recorded observations of both in-class and extra-curricular activities. The second phase of the study was conducted over the subsequent school year in British Columbia and involved seven focal participants. Data generation included multiple semi-structured and open-ended interviews, classroom observations, journal reports, and email correspondence. Data were compiled for both large-scale as well as individual case analysis based on a discursive-constructionist approach.

Analysis of the data began in Chapter 5 with a wide-scale investigation of participants’ orientation to the identity category of “French language teacher.” Responses generated for a single questionnaire item were analyzed based on membership categorization analysis (Baker, 2000; Sacks, 1972). The analysis brought to light the salience of the “native speaker” ideology in the production of the “FSL teacher” identity category, and made evident a tension in participants’ accounts about self-perceived language expertise in connection with being more confident as a French language teacher. The tension manifested in teacher participants’ questionnaire responses was submitted to further analysis in Chapter 6. This involved examining the identity displays of seven focal participants represented as trajectories of identification with a focus on self-perceived language expertise in relation to the category of “FSL teacher.” These analyses considered the identity negotiation of each individual participant at the interactional level, with a specific interest in the discursive resources operating in the construction of an FSL teacher identity based on a process of authentication. The specific processes of authentication made evident in each case engaged various indexical processes (Bucholtz & Hall, 2010) and

were analysed through narrative analysis with consideration of different levels of identification in terms of positioning (Bamberg, 1997), including discourse and situational identities as well as larger social categories.

In terms of findings, data analysis attended to the research questions as follows:

1) How are experiences and knowledge from abroad represented by the teacher participants as authentic resources in constructing an identity as FSL teacher?

Experiences, knowledge and teaching resources obtained in France about French language and culture were overwhelming interpreted in terms of an identifiable authentic origin (Kramersch, 2012) specifically in association with a “native speaker” ideal. Proximity to this authenticity in the form of “native speakerness” (i.e. successfully interacting with French speakers from France, demonstrating knowledge about French and France, etc.) was seen as legitimating and therefore authenticating/authorizing, in an unquestioned manner, a position as FSL teacher for the participants in this study. A significant finding of the Chapter 5 analysis was that it showed the FSL teacher category uneasily associated with category predicates related to continued learning, especially language learning, which constitutes a fundamental component of teachers’ professional practices. For “non-native speaker teachers,” with a considerable investment in ongoing language development, this tension was particularly salient given the overwhelming interpretation of the FSL teacher category in terms of a “native speaker” standard. In the questionnaire responses, participants’ negotiation of this tension was accomplished with reference to “being confident,” with confidence functioning as a discursive resource in accounting for the language competence normatively associated with the authority of an FSL teacher position.

Participants’ conceptions of authentic language with an orientation to “native

speakerness” as well as related ideologies of standardization were relevant in findings responding to the second and third research questions:

- 2) *How do the participants use conceptions of authenticity to construct their identities as FSL teachers in terms of professional development abroad and within their local professional contexts?*
- 3) *How does authenticity figure in prevailing ideologies about language learning and teaching in FSL education, and how do these ideologies relate to tensions around FSL teacher identity for the participants of this study?*

Focal participants’ individual narrated trajectories also signaled a clear orientation to a “native speaker” standard as definitive means to authentic language and an identity as legitimate speaker and teacher of French. Participants’ positionings in these narrated trajectories shed light on prevailing ideological understandings consistently articulated in discourses about L2 learning and teaching. In particular, participants’ discursively constructed positionings as musician, parent, traveler, administrator, L2 learner, FSL professional, and so on, made evident different conceptions of authenticity that showed this construct being interpreted in terms of “authentic values” related to notions of historicity and tradition, uniformity, order, stability, and a sense of community (Coupland, 2010). These values underpin participants’ prevailing ideological orientations to “native-speakerness,” an ideology which extends from and incorporates other ideologies of standardization with regard to language expertise and culture based on a long-standing and securely entrenched monolingual bias in SLA research and practice. With respect to how these ideologies relate to FSL teacher identity, the Chapter 6 analyses showed focal participants’ identity displays manifesting particular ideological affiliations with or resistance to discourses about the inauthentic classroom, monoglossic bilingualism, Eurocentrism, language

ownership and linguistic/cultural belonging, language “immersion,” and language purism and subordination, in particular vis-à-vis Canadian French.

Norton’s (2000) work with adult L2 learners of English has considered the role identity plays in terms of the investment people make in the learning process and how this investment itself shapes the various subject positionings that people take up in a particular setting at a particular time as L2 learners. The present study builds on this work with a focus on L2 teaching by pointing to the pivotal role identity plays in shaping the instructional practices of L2 teachers and their investment in ongoing professional development. The knowledge base of L2 teachers in terms of SLA theory, subject matter and pedagogical knowledge, as well as teaching methods and skills (Faez, 2011) must be considered as intricately connected to teacher identity. In this sense, identity constitutes a crucial element of successful L2 teaching. What this study has shown is that teachers’ ability to access other perspectives and approaches in understanding SLA is an important aspect in teachers’ construction of an identity that is legitimate and “authentic” in its authority as L2 professional. In Sara’s case, the resources for constructing an FSL teacher identity included current conceptions of plurilingualism and language use, and substantially differed from those other participants associated with FSL teacher, such as “native speaker,” ethnic or cultural affiliation, and so on. Sara’s FSL teacher identity allowed alignment with alternative conceptions of L2 learning and teaching which underscores the way identity construction and the authentication/legitimation of subjectivity hinges on individuals’ access to differing theoretical perspectives and concepts defining professional practices. It is this access to conceptual alternatives which affords an authenticated/legitimated professional identity as L2 expert without recourse to ideologically constructed labels like “non-native speaker” or “native speaker.”

Implications

Given the pervasiveness of a “native speaker” standard in SLA, it is not surprising that teacher participants overwhelmingly oriented to language expertise as the definitive element of L2 teacher identity. As already observed more than two decades ago by Phillipson (1992a) and Rampton (1990), K.E. Johnson recently made the point that:

For much of our professional history, the public discourse surrounding L2 teachers has operated under certain assumptions about the supremacy of the native speaker; that is, *if you can speak the language, you can teach it*. Thus, in part, knowledge about language has, at least in the public discourse, been defined as “native speakerness.” (K. E. Johnson, 2009a, p. 41)

A primary contribution of this inquiry is that it provides evidence that these assumptions are still shaping L2 teacher identity today, notably in association with conceptions of authenticity, despite recent claims about a shift away from a “native speaker” dependency in applied linguistics (e.g., Kramsch, 2012; Mahboob, 2010b). Relatedly, and more specifically, the questionnaire analysis alerts us to a manifest conflict between learning and teaching for FSL/L2 teachers with regard to the issue of language expertise, also evident in the displays of focal participants. These individual analyses demonstrated participants’ conception of language as a pivotal site for identity construction due to the tension the learning/teaching conflict produced based on ideological notions of authenticity in relation to the “native speaker/non-native speaker” construct. Important here is that, although signaled in the research literature in a number of studies, the discourse analytic approach of this inquiry has brought to light the discursive production of this tension as well as its impact in shaping teacher participants’ identity formation and the potential impact of this identity on professional practices – calling for a need

for further classroom research of “non-native speaker teachers” returned from studying abroad. Furthermore, the diverse and intensely complex processes of identification in terms of authenticity that this tension engenders reminds us of the individualistic and agentic nature of identity construction and the need to take such divergences into account in L2 teacher education and development programs. Certainly, it calls attention to the way various interrelated language ideologies are seen to conflict with the day-to-day professional practices of participants, specifically in participants’ endeavors to reconcile their authority as FSL teachers with assumptions that challenge this authority based on language expertise.

Johnson (2009) argues that traditional theories of language dominating SLA and L2 teacher education have “failed to provide L2 teachers with a conceptualization of language that is amenable to L2 instruction” (p. 4). I would further argue that these traditional conceptions of language and L2 teaching as the basis of L2 teachers’ identity formation constitute a fundamental obstacle in creating “rich points” for reflection inquiry where new conceptions can form. According to Johnson, in order to embrace a social practice perspective of language, teachers must become aware of underlying concepts with regard to how language expresses meaning, the situatedness of social and cultural practices, as well as an understanding of the dynamic and variable nature of language – that is, “conceptualizing language use as accessing resources and making choices about how to be in the L2 world” (p. 4). Among focal participants in this study, it is only in Sara’s case that the process of authentication was explicitly founded on a dynamic conception of language as plural and mobile. And it is this alternative conception of language which ultimately facilitates foregoing an orientation to a “native speaker” ideology in constructing an identity as FSL teacher. In this sense, the present study has definitive implications for L2 teacher education and development in that it addresses the following issue:

“how knowledge about language is presented to teachers in their education programs or how it is instantiated in their instructional materials is contingent on how language is defined and how SLA is understood” (K. E. Johnson, 2009a, p. 41). In the next section I signal some current trends in FSL teacher education in terms of policy, programming, and research alongside a consideration of this study’s findings.

The latest report about the development of FSL teachers' pedagogical, linguistic, and cultural competencies in Canada provides an overview of the knowledge and skill required by teachers of FSL programs (Salvatori & MacFarlane, 2009). The report sets forth four competencies characterizing the “Profile of an Effective FSL Teacher” in the following order: a) general teaching skills or methodology, b) sound knowledge of target language pedagogy, c) linguistic proficiency in the target language, and d) cultural understanding of the target language community. Despite an emphasis on pedagogy, methodology and cultural knowledge, the overall focus of the report orients to teachers’ language expertise. One reason for this may be that the survey on which the report is based centers on the issue of language proficiency itself. Out of the eight survey questions four address FSL teachers’ language expertise, two of these explicitly with specific reference to ongoing language development. In other words, language expertise is foregrounded in priority to matters of teaching methodology or the cultural component, notably with an emphasis on teachers’ use of the “target teaching language” and access to a “French speaking environment” as essential site for L2 teacher knowledge development.

Not surprisingly, then, the report’s findings also focus on “language proficiency enhancement opportunities,” both directly and in conjunction with development of cultural knowledge. Assessment of FSL teachers’ proficiency is discussed at some length both in terms of education program eligibility and hiring practices. In contrast, methodology courses are

briefly categorized as including three main types: L2 education, elementary/secondary methodology, and subject specific methods taught in French, with language expertise thus again inferred as a pertinent element of pedagogical knowledge. Meanwhile, the content or uptake of methodology courses among candidates is not discussed. This is an important point, however, given that recent research has shown discouraging results with regard to language teachers applying newly acquired knowledge through professional development to their teaching practices (Bartels, 2005). As observed by Johnson “while L2 teachers do appear to learn about language, its forms, uses, and functions, in their L2 teacher education programs, this knowledge appears to have little impact if any on how they actually teach second languages” (2009a, p. 43; see also Wright, 2010). In terms of the findings of the present study, it might also be worthwhile to investigate how this knowledge shapes teacher students’ sense of identity as FSL teachers, particularly the impact of different conceptions of language on their positionings within FSL professional communities and institutional contexts. Finally, recommendations of the report for continuing teacher education and PD likewise foreground developing L2 language proficiency and further endorse “intensive French immersion programs in authentic French-language milieus” (p. 13). An emphasis on continued language development in FSL teacher education and professional development is thus clearly articulated, and yet the implications of such an investment for FSL teacher identity have yet to be considered.

This is also the case in some of the research literature on FSL teacher education, which reveals a similar, taken-for-granted preoccupation with teachers’ competence in French. The work of Bayliss and Vignola (2000, 2007), for example, specifically focuses on FSL teachers’ language expertise, including self-perceptions of their ability to use the language. As in the present study, the teacher participants reported being aware of their shortcomings with regard to

their French language expertise “and yet felt that they were skilled enough to be in the classroom” (2007, p. 390). Bayliss and Vignola also make the observation that their participants are particularly interested in grammar courses that “touch on their most commonly perceived weak points,” while methodology is viewed as potentially helpful “in the preparation of grammar lessons” (p. 387). Not only do we see these teacher participants negotiate proximity to a “native speaker” standard while accounting for legitimacy as FSL teacher, the focus on grammar once again makes relevant a discourse of standardization. The question that comes to mind is: Are teachers and teacher candidates focused on language expertise because “adequate” acquisition of the language in Canada is proving difficult or is it that concerns about “correct” language continue to define the field of L2 education in Canada, or both?

Scholarly discussions of conceptual models of L2 teacher knowledge base typically emphasize a range of skills, strategies, experiential and theoretical knowledge related to L2 teaching, with language proficiency only one element among issues related to pedagogy and methodology (Faez, 2011). In her outline of L2 teachers’ knowledge base in the Canadian context, for example, Faez draws on Jack C. Richards’ (1998) model as well as Freeman & Johnson’s (1998) focus on contextual considerations, notably listing in first place theoretical foundations as a significant element of L2 teacher knowledge. These foundations are described as pertaining to “developing a critical understanding of major second-language teaching theories and their implications for teaching, as well as the assumptions, values, and beliefs underlying one’s own pedagogical practices.” In other words, theory and conceptual knowledge offer a means of challenging teachers’ preconceived notions of what constitutes language teaching based on their experiences as language learners, the latter often leading to the view that there is only one right way to teach an additional language (K. E. Johnson, 2009a).

And yet, an important issue in all this is not only what teachers learn in methodology courses or on professional development abroad nor how this knowledge is subsequently applied in the L2 classroom. What appears to be a missing link in the theory-practice equation is a consideration of L2 teacher identity as the pivot on which the application of new knowledge ultimately hinges. Thus, teachers' apparent or self-acknowledged "shortcomings" in terms of language expertise cannot be productively addressed if teachers are not given an opportunity to effectively engage with theoretical concepts and theory to potentially question prevailing language practices without specific attention to how this applies to their own positioning as L2 teachers. In view of this study's findings regarding the tension between L2 learning and L2 teaching, the current constructivist-oriented focus of L2 language teacher education on "learning experiences...with an emphasis on awareness-raising, collaborative learning, reflection and learning from experience" (Wright, 2010, p. 267) must therefore attend to the question of what exactly learning-as-teacher means in terms of L2 teacher identity and the larger discourses at play within the profession.

Finally, in terms of access to knowledge, despite this emerging agenda (see also Johnson, 2009a), socio-cultural perspectives as well as critical approaches are not always fully perceived by teachers enrolled in education programs. Neither do they figure significantly at language education conferences, with instructional strategies frequently prioritized without awareness about the theoretical foundation of these or the possibility of alternative understandings. A concept such as "fossilization" is often referred to as representing merely factual information without any sense that this notion might be taken up as a contested concept in the field (Bhatt, 2002; Ortega, 2009) and that it speaks to only one way of looking at L2 learning and teaching. Moreover, the permeation of ideologies leading to uncritical use of this term must undoubtedly

be factored into teachers' self-perceptions of their expertise in the L2. How then will so-called "non-native speaker teachers" arrive at different understandings of who they can be as professionals? As Jack C. Richards (2008) has pointed out with regard to teacher learning, it is not a matter of "translating knowledge and theories into practice" but rather of "constructing new knowledge and theory through participating in specific social contexts and engaging in particular types of activities and processes" (p. 164). The lack of questions being raised with regard to the ideological basis for L2 teacher practices as well as professional identity makes evident the need for insights into the type of methodology education currently offered to teachers, the kinds of concepts and topics and opportunities for engagement with this knowledge, as well as how this knowledge is valued and managed, and why.

Questions: Directions for future research

The findings of this study bring to light some of the underlying challenges L2 speaking teachers face in their day-to-day activities, specifically the tensions they constantly have to negotiate within their professional communities as a result of prevailing ideological orientations in L2 education. In a more local context, I would hope that a greater understanding of the tensions affecting FSL teachers in BC and other regions might inform future professional development initiatives as part of language teacher education. With regard to research in SA, awareness of pre-conceptions and unquestioned expectations with regard to sojourners experiences and potential successes are paramount in preparing for inquiries and program evaluations.

In terms of L2 teacher education programs, the present study not only signals potential gaps in local teacher education programs, but equally significant, it underscores the importance

and value of current programmatic initiatives in language teachers education/development and initiatives that focus on curriculum and methodology. At the same time it calls for further research into how methodology courses themselves are designed and conducted with reliance on dominant discourses in SLA, reproducing prevailing language ideologies without challenging these. Finally, it opens the window on the need for in-depth examination of how these discourses are sustained by other stakeholders in the field of FSL education in Canada, notably parents, students, administrators, policy makers. Ultimately, the aim is to understand how language teachers can access different conceptions of language, language learning and teaching, and thus fashion a professional identity that is based not on what they *are* not, but on what they can *do* and are already accomplishing every day in their classrooms as teachers of French.

Finally, with regard to hiring policy and practices, one can only hope that the persisting, long-time adherence to “near-native” ability as a criterion for hiring L2 teachers or modern language instructors in many post-secondary institutions will eventually wane (see also Mahboob, 2010a; Nemtchinova, 2010; Romney, 2010). While K-12 FSL programming does make allowances for teachers with varying levels of language expertise (Veilleux & Bournot-Trites, 2005), at the post-secondary level priority continues to be given to “native speaker” candidates irrespective of their ability to demonstrate effective teaching practices or any knowledge of more current teaching methodology for that matter. Based on my own experiences as L2 instructor, any proposed changes to posting announcements in favour of other language is either questioned, outright ignored, or changed back to original, institutionally sanctioned wording. This despite observations that “[n]ear-native ability is largely in the eyes of the beholder... both difficult to define and difficult to defend,” (Valdès, 1998, p. 157).

Qualities and limitations

The qualitative research paradigm adopted in this study in conjunction with a discourse-analytic perspective has provided for an in-depth examination of participants' representations of their professional experiences, not only in terms of the detail generated in the data but with regard to providing for extensive variability across different accounts from individual participants. While this type of research does not permit generalization of these experiences to other individuals and contexts, the methodological approach of the study nonetheless affords ways "to generate new insights and knowledge" based on inferences that can be made from the claims demonstrated here (Duff, 2006). Whereas focal participants' identity constructions provide distinct displays of identification, the discursive resources and larger ideological orientations underpinning this identity work can be understood as manifesting a social order applicable the larger context of the FSL community in BC and even Canada, and conceivably L2 education more generally. In other words, generalizability does not apply to the specific kinds of identities invoked in participants' narratives. Rather it applies to the functioning of these identities as interactional resource in the negotiation of authentic/ legitimate positionings vis-à-vis the level category of "FSL teacher," with links to potentially similar claims presented in other studies (e.g., Allen, 2010; K. A. Johnson, 2001).

In terms of scope, the study represents an ambitious endeavour in considering such a large cohort of teachers on study abroad, especially given the multi-level programming at CAVILAM and wide array of activities for the teacher participants from BC. Inquiry into a sojourn of this scale by a single researcher should ideally involve on-site preparation prior to participants' arrival. It also requires full access to and information about the research site and PD activity as well as cooperation from organizers and administrators with regard to logistical

issues involved in the research process (e.g., time allotted to the completion of questionnaires, opportunities for communication with participants, etc.). These could have been improved upon in conducting the present study and they are certainly elements that should receive specific attention when it comes to doing SA research, given the complex and variable nature of such learning initiatives and all that is involved.

With regard to the issue of impact of the study on the participants involved, the objective of this inquiry has been to offer a descriptive examination of FSL teachers' representations of their experiences abroad in order to address the lack of research in this particular area to date, specifically with regard to teachers and in terms of the perspectives currently evolving in SA research (Kington, 2009). It is for this reason that the inquiry engages a level of criticality that is defined as follows: it focuses on ideology, specifically on underlying ideological orientations in L2 education; it acknowledges the historically situated nature of research by acknowledging that researchers "critically reflect on their institutional roles, their relationship of power with their subjects, and the aims and uses of their research" (Tollefson, 2011, p. 809). At the same time, the inquiry does not directly target social change as a primary goal by assuming participants would be directly impacted by the findings of this inquiry in terms of self-understanding and self-determination (Anderson, 1989; see also Britzman, 1994). In view of the fact that this inquiry did not set out "to promote change of inequality through sustained critique and direct action" (Talmy, 2010a, p. 129) nor recruited participants with specific social inequalities or marginalized positionings in mind, the primary aim of this study is to describe and "raise questions about the taken-for-granted meanings and assumptions about language teaching/learning" (Kubota & Austin, 2007, p. 75). Nonetheless, implications of the study's

findings point to further research in this area which could potentially lead to a more transformative involvement of participants.

Conclusion

I conclude with a nod to the potential for transformation by drawing on Britzman's (1994) idea that teacher's themselves have to critically explore the discourses which shape their identities. Weedon asks how we might begin to "dislodge" the long-established binaries within which identity becomes "fixed" by others (2004, p. 24). For L2 teachers, perhaps the answer lies in a more extensive engagement with concepts rather than only language ability, as a way to question and reflect on their practices vis-à-vis naturalized assumptions about language learning and teaching that often seem to misalign with what happens in the classroom and the world around them. Certainly, this requires that L2 teacher education programs and institutionally organized professional development initiatives, whether study abroad or local, take into account an approach that considers ideology as an integral element of ongoing L2 teacher development. And perhaps study abroad may then be conceptualized as merely an additional opportunity for language use, another means of experiencing one's ability to negotiate and function in the language, as opposed to an occasion for "trying on" someone else's language. From this perspective, "classroom French" then becomes just one of many repertoires, equally authentic and legitimate as the French one might encounter on the quay overlooking the Seine, *avec un petit bouquin entre les mains...*

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APPENDIX A. INFORMATION BROCHURE WITH APPLICATION FORM

Stage d'été Vichy France 2009

A collaborative project between the BCTF, BC Ministry of Education and BC school Districts.

A unique opportunity for French Immersion, or Core French teachers in BC.

The Ministry of Education is offering grants for a two week training session focusing on the Diplôme d'Études en Langue Française (DELFF), providing opportunities to spend time learning or perfecting their French, immerse themselves in French culture, and familiarize themselves with some language instruction initiatives.

Project goals

The project consists of two levels of competency:

1) teachers at beginner/intermediate/ advanced levels of French

- Approximately 60 teachers from BC are invited to participate in a two-week session of French language learning, cultural activities and instructional training.
- Participants must be speakers of French as an additional language at any level of competency and currently teach in a French program (Core French, Intensive French or French Immersion)
- All participants will reside in families in France and will participate in all the activities of the session in France.
- An orientation and training session will be held for all participants prior to departure.
- All participants will commit to some involvement in the implementation of the Common Language Framework or the DELF upon their return.

2) Expert level -Trainer DELF/DALF

Approximately 20 BC teachers will participate in an intensive training session in the Common Language Framework and the diplomas DELF/DALF (Diplôme d'éducation en langue française et Diplôme avancé en langue française)

Candidates must have strong native-like fluency in French or speak French as their first language. Advanced level participants must be willing to be implicated as corrector/examiners of the DELF diploma in the Lower Mainland or other region of BC, according to their language level for the following 3 years after the program. Participants will receive certified training by the Centre International d'Étude Pédagogique de Paris as correctors/examiners of the DELF/DALF diploma and will receive certification as examiners/correctors at the end of the session.

These participants will also participate in some follow-up sessions in BC to complete their training.

Research project UBC:

Associated with the CAVILAM program is a **research project** conducted by a doctoral student in the Department of Language and Literacy Education at the University of British Columbia, which involves an evaluation of the CAVILAM program in Vichy based on pre- and post-participation questionnaires. This evaluation will be followed up with a long-term study of a selected group of teachers who are willing to participate in an in-depth study over the following school year (2009-2010). The objective of this study is to gain a better understanding of how teachers integrate their socio-cultural and linguistic experiences from abroad into French language classroom practices. For the participants, this study will involve close collaboration with the UBC researcher through classroom visits, interviews, the provision of class materials as artifacts, and journal writing. As there has been very little research conducted on teacher development through study abroad programs, this research project has the potential to contribute significantly to the field of study abroad research and potentially improve opportunities for, as well as access to, study abroad programs for language teachers. The participation in the evaluation of the program and the follow-up study will be conditional to the signing of a consent form. This will be explained by the researcher to all participants upon arrival in France.

Costs: Costs of tuition and most activities of the two-week session will be paid through a Ministry of Education grant (approximately \$2000)

Transportation to and from France and any additional costs will be the responsibility of the participant. Individual school Districts may choose to fund the remaining costs at their discretion.

Site: Vichy, France CAVILAM Centre d'Approches Vivantes des Langues et des Médias (<http://www.cavilam.com/>)

Accommodation: Homestay with French families, one student per household.

Meals: breakfast and dinner provided by the family

Lunch: at the Centre (included in tuition)

Cultural activity fee: Participants are expected to participate in evening activities and weekend cultural tours. This fee will be included in the tuition.

APPENDIX B. SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION ABOUT RESEARCH STUDY

QUESTION :

Les participants doivent-ils participer à la recherche de l'U.B.C. ?

RÉPONSE :

Non. La participation à la recherche d'UBC **n'est pas** obligatoire. L'étude durera un an et sera expliquée par l'étudiante de l'U.B.C. le premier jour à Vichy. Le but de cette étude est de faire avancer le niveau des connaissances en ce qui concerne les séjours d'enseignants dans les pays étrangers. Les enseignants qui veulent y participer signeront un formulaire de consentement. Le consentement des participants avec signature est nécessaire pour que la chercheuse puisse utiliser les données pour son étude. De plus, les données seront présentées de façon anonyme.

Pour les participants qui accepteront de participer à l'étude, les données comprendront :

- les dossiers de candidatures
- les questionnaires qui font partie de l'évaluation du projet CAVILAM
- des visites en classes au printemps 2010
- des entrevues
- Un mini-test de correction d'erreurs ou un texte à trous à compléter
- Un journal de bord sur certaines activités d'enseignement

Toutefois, tous les participants devront remplir un questionnaire à la fin du programme, le matin du 31 juillet 2009, qui servira comme évaluation du projet (ce qui est différent de l'étude). Seuls les questionnaires des enseignants qui auront donné leur accord pour participer à l'étude seront utilisés pour la recherche.

QUESTION :

Do the participants have to participate in the UBC research study?

ANSWER :

No. Participation in the UBC research study **is not** obligatory? The study will be conducted over one year and will be explained by the graduate student from UBC on the first day of the program in Vichy. The objective of this study is to contribute to knowledge about study abroad opportunities for teachers. Those teachers who wish to participate in the study will sign a consent form. The participants' signed consent is required in order to allow the researcher to use the collected data for her study. Any reporting of the data will entail the anonymity of the participants.

For those participants agreeing to participate in the study, data collection will include:

- application forms
- questionnaires which form part of the program evaluation at CAVILAM
- classroom visits in the spring of 2010
- interviews
- a short test involving the correction of errors or a cloze text
- a journal about certain learning activities

However, all participants will have to complete a questionnaire at the end of the program, on the morning of July 31, 2009, which will serve as a program evaluation (which is different from the study). Only the questionnaires of participants who have agreed to participate in the study will be used for research.

APPENDIX C. SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION BROCHURE

BROCHURE DELF

1. Qu'est ce que c'est que le DELF ?

Le DELF ou **Diplôme d'Études de Langue Française** est un diplôme officiel délivré par le Ministère Français de l'Éducation nationale pour certifier les compétences en français d'étrangers dont le français n'est pas la langue maternelle, basés sur les niveaux du Cadre européen de référence pour les langues du Conseil de l'Europe (CECR).

Les examens du DELF sont :

- standardisés et reconnus dans le monde entier.
- harmonisés sur les niveaux du Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues depuis janvier 2006.
- élaborés par le Centre International d'Études Pédagogiques, sous la tutelle du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale.
- reconnus par ALTE (Association of Language Testers in Europe).

Chaque diplôme du DELF :

- est indépendant
- correspond à un des niveaux du cadre européen de référence pour les langues
- est attribué sur la base des résultats à une série d'épreuves conçues pour évaluer les 5 compétences de communication (compréhension écrite et orale, production écrite et orale interactive et monologuée).
- est reconnu par ALTE (Association of Language Testers in Europe).

Qu'est ce que le DELF scolaire?

Le DELF Scolaire est un diplôme officiel délivré par le ministère français de l'Éducation Nationale pour certifier les compétences en langue des élèves qui apprennent le français langue seconde dans les écoles qui ont signé une convention avec l'Ambassade de France. Il est destiné aux adolescents dans l'enseignement secondaire (de nationalité étrangère, ou française sur dérogation). Il correspond aux 4 premiers niveaux du Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues. Le DELF scolaire s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une convention passée entre les autorités éducatives du pays et l'ambassade de France. Il est intégré dans le cursus scolaire. Les sessions sont organisées au sein des établissements scolaires publics ou privés. Les épreuves proposent des sujets d'écrit et d'oral adaptés à l'âge et aux centres d'intérêt des candidats mais conduisent à la délivrance de diplômes strictement identiques au DELF.

Quel bénéfice à passer le DELF?

Le DELF permet d'enrichir le curriculum-vitae. Leur qualité est reconnue par les employeurs en France et dans les pays francophones, ainsi que dans le monde entier. Le test permet de juger de la capacité d'un étudiant à suivre des cours en français. Passer le DELF donne accès à toutes les universités françaises et à de plus en plus d'universités européennes et francophones sans test linguistique préalable. Ces certifications sont la plupart du temps requises pour intégrer un deuxième ou troisième cycle universitaire, une grande école, une école de commerce ou un institut d'études politiques.

2. Pourquoi une formation au DELF en Colombie-Britannique?

- Favoriser la qualité des enseignements en français.
- Développer la fluidité verbale et la confiance dans l'utilisation de la langue française
- Dynamiser les cours, leur donner un but attractif, réel.
- Mettre les enseignants en situation réelle d'apprentissage et réfléchir sur les pratiques utilisées
- Actualiser les connaissances en civilisation française par l'immersion et la connaissance de l'actualité.
- Apprendre à intégrer dans les cours les types d'exercices qui servent de base aux examens dans le cadre d'une progression.
- Apprendre à utiliser des stratégies pour communiquer et être évalué à partir de critères les prenant en compte (cf. barèmes).
- Former des enseignants aptes à contribuer à l'intégration du DELF scolaire dans le système scolaire canadien.
- Fait appel aux quatre compétences: la production orale-écrite, la compréhension orale et écrite
- Renforce la motivation des apprenants
- Permet d'acquérir une nouvelle dimension internationale : diplômes Delf-Dalf reconnus internationalement
- Facilite la mobilité internationale, étudiante et professionnelle
- Comparer la réussite scolaire d'une région à l'autre

3. Qui paye pour la formation?

- La partie formation et hébergement est payée par le Ministère de L'Éducation de CB (environ \$2000 par participant)
- La partie voyage est à la charge du candidat sous réserve d'une participation discrétionnaire de son conseil scolaire

4. Pourquoi en France?

- Pour un perfectionnement linguistique et une actualisation des connaissances culturelles sur la France et le monde francophone.
- Pour une expérience culturelle francophone à l'étranger.
- 3000 stagiaires de plus de 110 nationalités dont environ 850 enseignants de français.
- Accès au pôle universitaire et technologique de Vichy (université de Clermont-Ferrand) avec un ensemble de 9000 m² dédié à la formation
- Environnements pédagogiques multimédias en coopération (TV5, RFI, Canal Académie, organisation international de la francophonie, etc..)
- Hébergement chez l'habitant à quinze minutes à pied du CAVILAM.

5. Y a-t-il des références au Canada ?

Le DELF scolaire au Canada :

Après le succès du DELF scolaire en Alberta (ouest du pays), qui a renforcé la motivation des élèves inscrits en classes bilingues et leur a permis de mieux mesurer leurs acquis, c'est la Nouvelle-Écosse, province du Canada atlantique, qui a choisi d'intégrer cet instrument d'évaluation à ses programmes d'enseignement du français langue seconde depuis la rentrée 2008-2009.

"The Nova Scotia Department of Education has been accredited by the French Embassy as an examination centre for the DELF/DALF international French second-language evaluation. As a result, the department will be piloting a French second language evaluation of a selected number of students in grade 12 FSL programs in April, 2009. The instrument used for the evaluation will be the DELF scolaire (Diplôme d'études en langue française). The purpose of this evaluation is to give students international recognition for their accomplishments in French second language learning. Students will be evaluated on their oral and written expression and comprehension. Individual results will be represented as one of four levels on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (A1, A2, B1 or B2). The Common European Framework is used extensively in Europe and elsewhere for language learning and teaching, curriculum development, assessment and evaluation."

Cette décision qui pourrait inciter d'autres régions à adopter à leur tour cette certification de langue française élaborée par le Centre International d'Études Pédagogiques (CIEP). Ainsi l'Ontario - qui concentre plus du tiers de la population canadienne - a-t-il récemment approché le service culturel avec l'ambition d'appliquer cet outil efficace de mesure du niveau linguistique non plus seulement aux élèves des écoles, mais aussi aux étudiants anglophones se destinant à enseigner le français comme seconde langue, à leur entrée à l'université.

6. Qui va en France et qui sélectionne les candidats ?

60 enseignants qui parlent le français à titre de langue seconde et qui enseignent un programme de français (Français de base, Immersion Française ou Français intensif) vont en France pour :

- Favoriser la qualité de leur enseignement en français.
- Développer leur fluidité verbale et la confiance dans l'utilisation de la langue française
- Se mettre en situation réelle d'apprentissage et réfléchir sur les pratiques utilisées
- Actualiser leurs connaissances en civilisation française par l'immersion et la connaissance de l'actualité.
- Apprendre à intégrer dans leurs cours les types d'exercices qui servent de base aux examens dans le cadre d'une progression.
- Dynamiser leurs cours, leur donner un but attractif, réel.

20 enseignants qui maîtrisent le français ou qui ont le français comme langue maternelle vont en France pour :

- Être formés et aptes ensuite à contribuer à l'intégration du DELF scolaire dans le système scolaire canadien.
- Faire le point sur les évolutions récentes du DELF scolaire.
- Acquérir une connaissance de la philosophie générale de l'examen et des textes officiels (*Le Cadre commun européen de référence pour les langues* et les certifications)
- Observer des sessions d'examen en direct ou en vidéo :
 - épreuves orales
 - correction d'écrits
- Faire de la recherche et de la sélection de documents
- Définir des exercices pour entraîner les apprenants à la passation du DELF scolaire
- Élaborer des exemples de sujets
- Intégrer des exemples d'épreuves d'examen dans les activités de classe habituelles
- Simulation de passation d'épreuves
- Proposition de simulations de formation et discussions critiques.

La sélection des candidats se fait au niveau des conseils scolaires

7. Pourquoi devrais-je m'engager?

- Pour améliorer votre français
- Pour acquérir de nouveaux outils pédagogiques
- Pour une expérience culturelle à l'étranger

APPENDIX D. QUESTIONNAIRES

1. Pre-questionnaire

PRE- QUESTIONNAIRE

Project evaluation of the 2009 CAVILAM study abroad program for French as Second Language Teachers in British Columbia

As part of your participation in the CAVILAM program you will be asked to help us evaluate the CAVILAM program at the end of the two weeks. As part of this evaluation we need to gather some background information prior to your participation in the program.

The questionnaire contains 41 items. Please respond to these questions in a manner that truly reflects your opinions. If a question does not apply to you, indicate "NA" in the margin. You can answer in English or French. The contents of this form are absolutely confidential. Information identifying the respondent will not be disclosed under any circumstances.

We thank you for your collaboration.

Part I - General Information *(Circle, check, and/or write your answer)*

Section 1: Professional Experience

- 3) What is your employment status at the moment:
- a. Full time
 - b. Part-time
 - c. Permanent contract
 - d. Temporary contract
 - e. Other: _____
- 4) At what level do you teach?
- a. Primary K to 3
 - i. which grade(s): _____
 - b. Intermediate: 4 to 7
 - i. which grade(s): _____
 - c. Secondary
 - i. which grade(s): _____
- 5) In which school board? _____
- 6) In which program?
- a. Early French immersion
 - b. Late French immersion
 - c. Core French elementary
 - d. Core French secondary
 - e. Intensive French
 - f. Secondary French immersion
- 7) If you taught in a different program prior to your current teaching position please indicate

- 8) In which year did you start teaching? _____ Where? (city and province) _____

Section 2: Pre-service Education

9) Did you learn French as a second language?

Yes No

a. If yes, where (province/country)? _____

b. in which type(s) of school program(s)? _____

10) What type of undergraduate degree do you have? (BSc, BA, etc.. and which major)

11) Where and in which university did you do your teacher training?

12) Did you take a second language teaching method course during your Teacher Education program?

Yes No

13) Did you take (a) French or linguistics course(s) during your Teacher Education program?

Yes No

14) During your teacher training, did you spend time in a francophone context?

Yes No

a. If yes, how much time: _____ and where: _____

b. Did you take part in any specific program (*Explore, etc.*)? _____

Part II: How do you feel about your competence in French?

In this section, indicate, by circling a number, to which degree you agree with the statement, or circle the letter corresponding to your answer, or write your answer in the space provided.

13) I am confident when I use French

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

14) I am fluent in oral French

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

15) I am functional in oral French

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

16) I am functional in written French

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

17) It is easy for me to write in French

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

18) I feel confident about my knowledge of French

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

19) I have sufficient knowledge to teach in French

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

20) I know how to use different language registers depending on whom I speak to and in which circumstances (eg. academic, familiar, formal)

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

21) In oral French, I would classify myself as: (circle one answer)

- a. Beginner
- b. Intermediate
- c. Advanced
- d. Superior

22) In written French, I would classify myself as: (circle one answer)

- a. Beginner
- b. Intermediate
- c. Advanced
- d. Superior

23) I am familiar with francophone culture

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

24) I integrate cultural knowledge into my teaching of French

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

25) I feel comfortable teaching about francophone culture

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
--------------------------	---------------	-----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------	-----------------------

26) I think it is important to teach about francophone culture

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
--------------------------	---------------	-----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------	-----------------------

27) Outside of your teacher training, have you ever spent time in a francophone region/country?

Yes No

a) If yes, was it for:

- i.** Holidays
- ii.** Studies
- iii.** Work

b) how much time: _____

c) Explain if more than once: _____

28) Do you communicate regularly with someone in French outside of work?

Yes No

d) If yes, how often?

- i.** on a weekly basis
- ii.** once a month
- iii.** a few times during the year

e) in what context

- i.** family
- ii.** friends / acquaintances
- iii.** other: _____

Part III: Study Abroad

In this section, indicate, by circling a number, to which degree you agree with the statement, or circle the letter corresponding to your answer, or write your answer in the space provided.

29) I am familiar with study abroad programs as part of teacher professional development.

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
--------------------------	---------------	-----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------	-----------------------

30) I have been interested in taking part in a study abroad program.

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
--------------------------	---------------	-----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------	-----------------------

31) I am participating in the CAVILAM program to improve my knowledge and use of French.

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
--------------------------	---------------	-----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------	-----------------------

32) I am participating in the CAVILAM program to learn more about francophone culture.

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
--------------------------	---------------	-----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------	-----------------------

33) I am participating in the CAVILAM program to learn more about the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages and the DELF examinations.

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
--------------------------	---------------	-----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------	-----------------------

34) How do you rank potential benefits of studying French in a francophone context?

Please rank the following options by numbering them 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 with 1 as the top ranking and 6 as the bottom ranking. Write "NA" if you do not wish to rank an option. You can give the same ranking to more than one option. Please add any additional comments in the space provided below.

- a) ___ gaining new knowledge and resources for teaching French
- b) ___ experiencing francophone culture
- c) ___ establishing contact with other French teachers
- d) ___ personal development
- e) ___ immersion in the French language
- f) ___ other benefits: _____

Additional comments: _____

Part IV: Teaching French in British Columbia

In this section, indicate, by circling a number, to which degree you agree with the statement.

35) I feel confident as a teacher of French as a second language

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
--------------------------	---------------	-----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------	-----------------------

36) I feel comfortable around other FSL teachers who speak French as a second language

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
--------------------------	---------------	-----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------	-----------------------

37) I feel comfortable around other FSL teachers who speak French as a first language

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
--------------------------	---------------	-----------------------	--------------	---------------------	------------	-----------------------

38) As a teacher of French I feel part of the francophone community in the region where I teach

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

39) As a teacher of French I feel connected to French speaking society in Canada

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

40) Outside of work I seek contact with francophones or speakers of French in my community

1 Completely disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewha disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat agree	6 Agree	7 Completely agree
-----------------------------	---------------	--------------------------	--------------	------------------------	------------	--------------------------

41) Comments you would like to add to this pre-questionnaire: _____

THANK YOU!

Please write your full name below. Once your pre- and post-questionnaires have been matched up, your name will be removed and your questionnaires will be number-coded for data analysis.

Participant number code: # _____

Please indicate your name here: _____

2. Post-questionnaire

POST- QUESTIONNAIRE

Project evaluation of the 2009 CAVILAM study abroad program for French as Second Language Teachers in British Columbia

We would like to ask you to help us evaluate the CAVILAM program by answering the following questions concerning the courses, extra-curricular activities, and accommodations in Vichy and how you may or may not have benefited from this study abroad experience this summer.

The questionnaire contains 48 items and a short grammar test. Please respond to these questions in a manner that truly reflects your opinions. If a question does not apply to you, indicate "NA" in the margin. You can answer in English or French. The contents of this form are absolutely confidential. Information identifying the respondent will not be disclosed under any circumstances.

We thank you for your collaboration.

Part I – Participation in the program (Circle, check, and/or write your answer)

Section 1: Courses, activities, facilities and course materials

1) During the first week, **July 20th - 24th**, in which level of the program did you participate?

Perfectionnement Linguistique Programme Parcours Formation DELF

2) During the second week, **July 27th - 31st**, in which level of the program did you participate?

Perfectionnement Linguistique Programme Parcours Formation DELF

3) If you took part in the *Perfectionnement Linguistique*, indicate the level of your language program.

a) First week, **July 20th - 24th**:

A1 A2 B1 B2 C1

Name of Instructors

Language class: _____

Conversation class: _____

b) Second week, **July 27th - 31st**:

A1 A2 B1 B2 C1

Name of Instructors

Language class: _____

Conversation class: _____

4) If you participated in the *Parcours Thematiques*, please indicate the program you chose?

- Jeux, créativité et activités ludiques en classe de français
- Enrichir le vocabulaire et les connaissances en grammaire de manière communicative
- Donner du sens à la lecture et à la production de textes
- Associer l'enseignement de la langue et de la culture
- Apprendre le français de manière simple avec Internet
- Enseigner aux enfants de 7 à 10 ans
- Faire entrer les arts dans la classe

Name of Instructors: _____

5) If applicable, in which *séances découvertes* did you participate?

a) First week, **July 20th - 24th:**

Name of Instructor:

Tuesday _____

Thursday _____

b) Second week, **July 27th - 31st:**

Tuesday _____

Thursday _____

6) If applicable, please rate the following services or facilities by circling the corresponding number according to the following scale: **1 excellent 2 good 3 satisfactory 4 inadequate 5 poor 6 n/a**

- a) CAVILAM website **1 2 3 4 5 6**
- b) classrooms **1 2 3 4 5 6**
- c) multi-media labs **1 2 3 4 5 6**
- d) internet access **1 2 3 4 5 6**
- e) multi-media library **1 2 3 4 5 6**
- f) textbooks **1 2 3 4 5 6**
- g) CAVILAM documentation **1 2 3 4 5 6**
- h) video and audio resources **1 2 3 4 5 6**
- i) lab exercises **1 2 3 4 5 6**
- j) online activities **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

7) The courses fulfilled my expectations in terms of language difficulty and course content.

Yes No Somewhat

Comments: _____

8) The courses offered a diverse range of content and different types of activities.

Yes No Somewhat

Comments: _____

9) The courses integrated the experiences and expertise of the participants.

Yes No Somewhat

Comments: _____

10) The instructors presented a good balance between theory and practice.

Yes No Somewhat

Comments: _____

11) Participants had ample opportunity to work in groups with a focus on practice-oriented tasks.

Yes No Somewhat

Comments: _____

12) I found the instructors' feedback to be helpful and appropriate.

Yes No Somewhat

Comments: _____

13) The courses have provided me with new ideas for classroom activities.

Yes No Somewhat

Comments: _____

14) The group dynamic in each class played an important role in making the course a success.

Yes No Somewhat

Comments: _____

(You will be asked to answer further questions about your learning experience at CAVILAM in **PART I, Section 3** below.)

Section 2: Extra-curricular activities

15) In which weekday evening programs did you participate:

a) First week, **July 20th - 24th**:

i. ___ Soirée cinéma title of film: _____

ii. ___ Spectacle de théâtre title of play: _____

iii. ___ Soirée conte title: _____

iv. ___ Soirée dansante

b) Second week, **July 27th - 31st**:

i. ___ Soirée cinéma title of film: _____

ii. ___ Spectacle de théâtre title of play: _____

iii. ___ Soirée conte title: _____

iv. ___ Soirée dansante

Comments about the activities you attended: _____

16) How did you spend your first Saturday, **July 25th** - (*journee libre*) in Vichy and how did you find this activity (these activities)?

17) Did you participate in the excursion organized by CAVILAM on Sunday, **July 26th** - *la visite de l'Auvergne*?

Yes

No

a) If yes, how did you find this activity? _____

b) If no, what did you do instead and how did you find this activity? _____

Section 3: About the program and what you may have learned

(If you have been participating in Niveau III of the CAVILAM program, you may find that some of the questions in this section may not be applicable to you. Please indicate N/A if this is the case.)

18) What is your overall impression of the program at CAVILAM?

19) Are there topics or pedagogical points in which you are interested which were not covered during the program?

20) Are there aspects on which the instructors should focus more attention in future sessions?

21) What is your opinion on the management of the interaction in the classroom (the position of the teacher vis-à-vis the students, student engagement, group work, etc.)?

22) What type of teaching model do the instructors at CAVILAM present to their students through their classroom interactions?

23) Through your participation in the program you may have acquired new types of knowledge and resources in terms of the 1) French language, 2) French culture, and 3) teaching strategies. Which of these three do you find most valuable?

24) When it comes to implementing this new linguistic, cultural, and pedagogical knowledge and the accompanying resources (websites, artifacts, memories, stories), will you be collaborating with your colleagues by sharing what you have acquired?

25) Do you think that you will have support from your school or district to put into practice what you have learned during this program?

26) Do you think that what you have learned allows you to better motivate your students?

27) Does this program help you to allow you to present a new image of French to your students? If yes, how so?

28) Has your participation in the program provided you with a new sense of enthusiasm with respect to your profession as a French language teacher?

29) Has participation in the program increased your confidence as a French language teacher?

30) The cultural learning context at CAVILAM is both an immersion into “la vie francophone en France” and a multicultural interaction with other teachers and professionals from around the world. How is both the French context and the multicultural context important to your experience at CAVILAM?

31) Do you think you will be able to apply your cultural experiences and new learning strategies to the other subjects you teach, if that is the case? In other words, will your experiences in Vichy contribute to your teaching of subjects other than French? If yes, how so?

32) What is/are the most important thing/s that you have learned or experienced during your stay?
Please explain why.

33) Do you think you will use what you have learned and experienced over the past two weeks in your teaching at home? Why or why not?

a) If yes, in what ways?

34) Additional comments about the course work, classes, activities, instructors, etc.:

Part II - Accommodation & Services *(Circle, check, and/or write your answer)*

Section 1: Residence

35) Did you reside with a host family during your stay in Vichy?

Yes

No

a) If yes, please answer questions 36) - 38)

b) If no, please answer to question 39) - 41)

36) Please indicate the name of your host family: _____

37) Please rate your stay with a host family by circling the corresponding number according to the following scale: **1** *excellent* **2** *good* **3** *satisfactory* **4** *inadequate* **5** *poor* **6** *n/a*

a) Overall reception by your family in terms of friendliness: **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

b) Comfort of your room (furniture, temperature, cleanliness, etc.): **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

c) Meals with our family (quality, quantity, variety, atmosphere) **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

d) Interaction with the family (discussions, integration) **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

e) Travel between the family home and CAVILAM **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

38) Additional comments about your stay with a host family: _____

39) If you did not stay with a host family, which type of accommodation did you choose for your stay in Vichy?

b) ___ student residence

c) ___ studio

d) ___ hotel residence

e) ___ hotel

f) ___ other

40) Please rate your accommodation by circling the corresponding number according to the following scale: **1 excellent 2 good 3 satisfactory 4 inadequate 5 poor 6 n/a**

a) Overall quality of your accommodation: **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

b) Comfort of your room (furniture, temperature, cleanliness, etc.): **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

c) Facilities (bedding, kitchenware, appliances, TV, etc.) **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

d) Interaction with the service personnel (friendliness, helpfulness) **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

41) Did you change your accommodations during your stay in Vichy?

Yes No

a) If yes, please explain why? _____

Section 2: Overall reception and cultural interaction

Please rate the following aspects of your stay in Vichy by circling the corresponding number according to the following scale: **1 excellent 2 good 3 satisfactory 4 inadequate 5 poor 6 n/a**

42) What is your opinion on the following aspects of your experience with CAVILAM and in Vichy?

a) CAVILAM website: **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

b) Reception and orientation at CAVILAM: **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

c) Information about cultural activities: **1 2 3 4 5 6**

Comments: _____

Part III - Some thoughts on study abroad *(write your answer)*

44) Did this study abroad experience at CAVILAM and in Vichy meet your expectations?

b) If yes, in which ways? _____

c) If not, how so? _____

45) Would you recommend such a program to your colleagues? Why or why not?

46) Based on your experiences at CAVILAM, do you think study abroad is a worthwhile option for the professional development of language teachers? Why or why not?

47) As a result of your participation in the study abroad program, has your attitude changed towards:

b) teaching French?

c) learning French?

d) speaking French?

e) travelling to a francophone region or country?

48) Comments you would like to add to this post-questionnaire: _____

THANK YOU!

I agree to have my contact information made available to other CAVILAM participants via the BCTF.

Yes

No

If yes, please sign here: _____

Signature

Date

Please write your full name below. Once your pre- and post-questionnaires have been matched up, your name will be removed and your questionnaires will be number-coded for data analysis.

Participant number code: # _____

Please indicate your name here: _____

APPENDIX E. JOURNAL INSTRUCTIONS AND PROMPTS

1. Journal instructions (Phase I – France)

CAVILAM, July 20-31, 2009 - FSL Teachers on Study Abroad

meike@mwernicke.ca

Dear Participant,

Thank you for volunteering the time to keep a journal during your stay at CAVILAM. Below are some suggestions to guide your reflections about your experience abroad:

1. The unexpected: You may want to record unexpected activities or encounters, things which strike you as noticeable, different, or surprising. This may include encounters with people, or media, social customs, or the language itself.
2. New knowledge: Take note of things you are learning, whether you are glad or not so happy to have been exposed to them - either inside or outside the classroom.
3. Progress: You might like to keep track of how your experience abroad is evolving - both successes and challenges.
4. Planning ahead: Describe some of the ideas for the coming school year which may emerge as part of your learning experience.

APPENDIX F. INTERVIEW INSTRUCTIONS AND PROTOCOL

1. Protocol for initial interview

Questions préliminaires / Background questions

l'enseignement/ **teaching**
programme / **program**
école / **school**
scolarité / **schooling**
formation en éducation / **teacher education**

temps plein ou partiel / **full-time or part-time**
niveau(x) / **grade**
durée / **duration**
université / **post-secondary**

1. Quand avez-vous décidé d'apprendre le français? et pourquoi?
When did you decide to become a French teacher? Why?
2. Est-ce que vous pourriez décrire une journée typique ou même une semaine typique dans votre contexte d'enseignement? Parlez-moi un peu de votre horaire, des cours, des activités
I would like to get a sense about your teaching environment - What does a typical week of teaching look like this year or this term? What exactly are you doing these days?
3. Vos élèves, comment sont-ils ?
What are your students like?
4. Décrivez vos relations avec vos collègues, l'administration, les parents.
What kind of a relationship do you have with your colleagues? the administrative staff? with parents?

Vichy

5. Qu'est-ce qui vous a motivé à poser votre candidature pour le stage à Vichy?
What prompted you to apply for the program in France this past summer?
6. Votre opinion ou réflexions sur:
 - a. les cours au CAVILAM et le temps que vous avez passé en salle de classe.
 - b. votre interaction avec les autres à Vichy
 - c. votre famille d'accueil
 - d. les activités dans lesquelles vous avez participé**Please give me a general view of what you thought of:**
 - a. the courses at CAVILAM and the time up spent in the classroom.
 - b. your interaction with others in Vichy.
 - c. your stay with your family.
 - d. the activities you took part in.
7. Parlez-moi des connaissances ou des expériences les plus importantes que vous avez rapportées de Vichy.
Finally, what do you think you come away with from this experience? What is the most important thing for you?
8. Parlez-moi un peu de l'impact de vos expériences sur vos cours cet automne.
Let's talk about how your experiences have impacted what you have done this fall at school.

2. Protocol for online interview

Thanks again so much for agreeing to participate in an interview. I've re-read your e-journal and the questionnaires you completed and would like to ask you some more questions about your particular experiences in France and how this all relates to your teaching here in BC. Again, my study is about the impact this sojourn has on your teaching, but also more generally about what it means to you to be a French teacher and a speaker of French in Canada.

Below are some guidelines as to how we will proceed with this online interview. Please read these guidelines and let me know if you have any concerns before we begin. The data gathered through the email interviews will provide a transcript of your account and these accounts will be used to inform my research study. The questions will be presented in both French and English. Please feel free to answer in either one or both languages.

Guidelines:

- i) If you have decided that you no longer want to participate in this interview for any reason, please let me know right away.
- ii) You will be asked a few background questions at the beginning and then I will then proceed with 6-8 general questions about your teaching and our sojourn in Vichy followed by a few more questions which have come up through my re-reading of your journal and the questionnaires. Finally, there will be a quick question at the end evaluating this email research process.
- iii) The general questions will be sent to you one at a time for you to comment on and respond to. Each question may be followed up by supplementary questions. You may also ask me questions throughout our email exchanges.
- iv) I anticipate that we will be creating an ongoing dialogue. In order to achieve this, please ensure that you answer on top of the message and question sent to you. PLEASE DO NOT ANSWER AT THE BOTTOM OF IT. This will ensure the sequence of questions and answers is not broken. You are however welcome to make reference to our earlier dialogue in your answers to current questions.
- v) Please do not delete any part of the email dialogue as it develops – it is your (and my!) record of our conversation.
- vi) Discussion with you will be in the strictest confidence and participants' names will not be revealed in any documents or papers developed from this research, or to any other participants in this research.
- vii) Please reply to each email question within 3 days if possible. I will also try to reply to your response within that timescale.
- viii) It is anticipated that the email dialogue will be completed within 2 months (or thereabouts).
- ix) Once the dialogue is complete you will be asked to re-read your account to authenticate it as yours.

Once you have read the guidelines, please send me a quick email to let me know you are ok to proceed and I will send you the first question.

APPENDIX G. TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

.	falling tone
,	continuing intonation
?	rising intonation
word= =word	latched speech
[word	indicates onset of overlapping speech
word]	indicates where an utterance ends in relation to another utterance
:::	prolonged sound
word-	cut off speech
<u>word</u>	word stress
WORD	loud talk
°	noticeably quieter speech
↑↓	raised or lowered pitch
<word>	quick speech
hehehe	laughter
.hhh	indicates inbreath
w(h)ord	indicates outbreath or laughter mixed with talk
(.)	micropause
(0.0)	indicates elapsed time in silence by tenth of seconds
()	indicates inaudible speech
(word)	indicates best guess
(())	contains transcriber's descriptions or annotations